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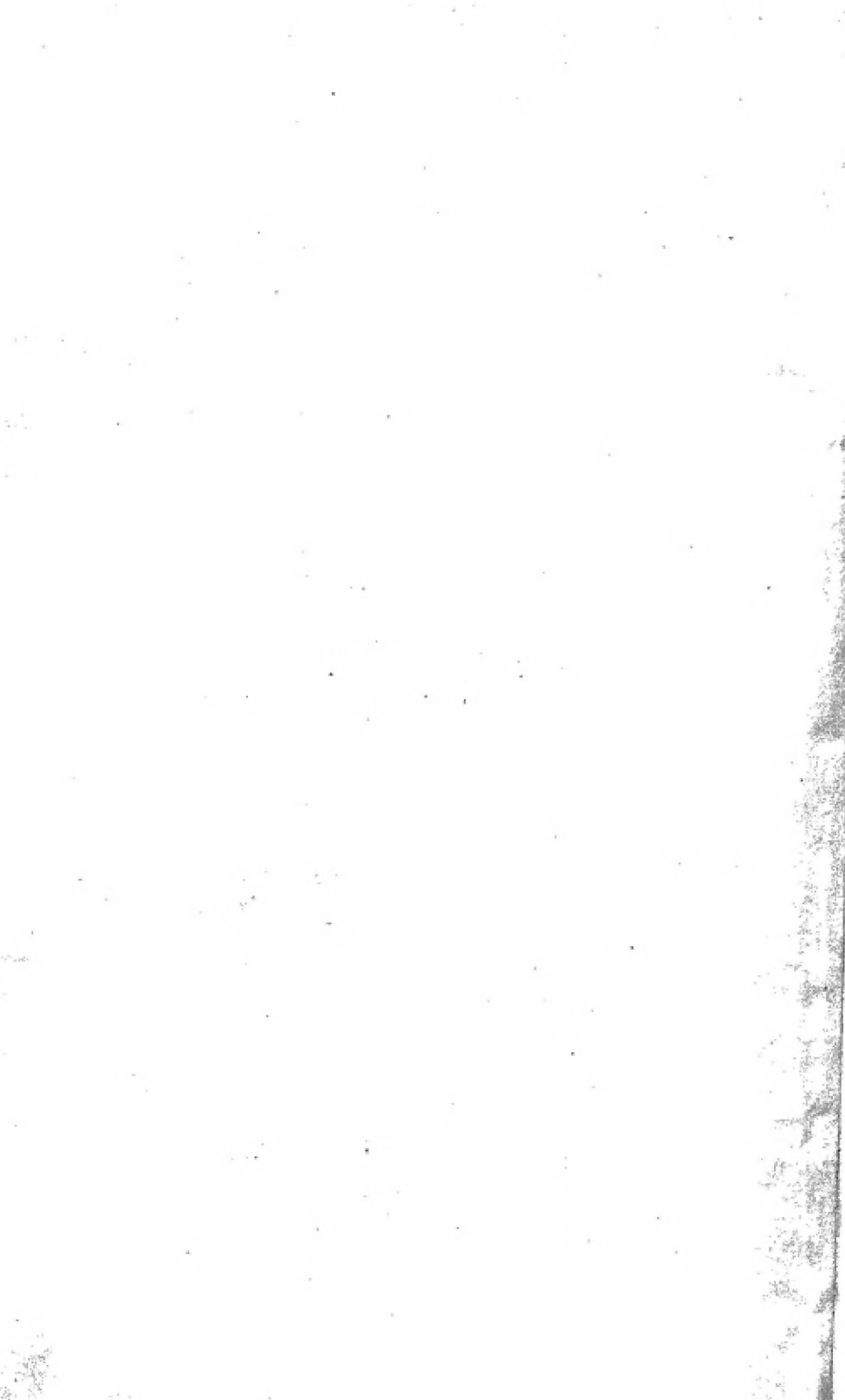
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# The Doctrine of Prajñā-pāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya.

By

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## I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE CONNECTED WITH THE ABHISAMAYĀLAMKĀRA.

In a previous work<sup>1</sup> we have given a short review of the so-called 5 Treatises of Maitreya, viz. the *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra*, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, the *Madhyānta-vibhanga*, the *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhanga* and the *Uttaratantra*. Now, among these 5 treatises, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* or, as runs its full title, the *Abhisamaya-lāṃkāra-nāma Prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra*,<sup>2</sup> is considered by the learned Tibetan tradition to be the most important as 1) a summary of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, and 2) as the text containing the special theory of the *mārga* or the Path to the attainment of Nirvāṇa according to the Mahāyānistic standpoint. The exclusive importance of this work, the place which it occupies in the Buddhist literature, the fact of its being one of the principal subjects of study in the monastic schools of Tibet and Mongolia,—all this has been already indicated by Professor Th. Stecherbatsky in his introduction to our edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and of its Tibetan translation in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*. In starting on a detailed investigation of the contents of our work, it is of course impossible to consult all the huge indigeneous literature of the

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the translation of the *Uttaratantra* in *Acta Orientalia*, vol. IX.

<sup>2</sup> Tib. Śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi man-ñag-gi bstan-beos Mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyan.

different periods, the more so because a great number of texts are unavailable. In the present work we shall take recourse to the following commentaries, Indian and Tibetan, which are held in great esteem by the learned Tibetan tradition and are considered to contain the most clear, thorough and full analysis of the subjects contained in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

#### A. The Indian Commentaries:—

1) The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ālokā* of Haribhadra, investigating the contents of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* in its relation to the *Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*.<sup>1</sup>

2) The *Sphuṭārthā*, a Commentary of the same author, elucidating the contents of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* without referring to any of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*.<sup>2</sup>

#### B. The Tibetan Commentaries:—

1) The *Luñ-gi sñe-ma (Āgama-mañjari)* of Bu-ton Rin-chen-dub.<sup>3</sup>

2) The *Legs-bśad-gser-phreñ*<sup>4</sup> of Tsoñ-kha-pa, which contains a very clear and detailed exposition of the subject and may be regarded as one of the most authoritative sources.

3) The *Rnam-bśad-sñiñ-poñi-rgyan (Vyākhyā-hṛdaya-alaṃkāra)*, of Tsoñ-kha-pa's pupil Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Tibetan tradition this work is known by the abridged titles: 1) Brgyad-stoñ ḥgrel-chen = *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-mahā-ūkā* or simply Ḥgrel-chen—"the Great Commentary," and 2) Rgyan-snañ (for Mñon-par-rtogs-pañi rgyan-gyi-snañ-ba = *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ālokā*).

<sup>2</sup> Tangyur, MDO. VII. 93—161; a separate block-print edition has been issued by the Aga (Bde-chen lhun-grub gliñ) monastery of Transbaikalia. This Commentary is known by the title of Ḥgrel-pa Don-gsal and represents the basis for all the Tibetan exegetical literature.

<sup>3</sup> Aga monastery block-print edition. Usually known by the abridged title of Bu-ston Phar-phyin—"the *Prajñā-pāramitā* (Commentary) of Bu-ton."

<sup>4</sup> Vol. XVII and XVIII of the full collection (*Gsuñ-ḥbum*) of Tsoñ-kha-pa's works. We possess, moreover, separate editions by the Labrañ and Aga monasteries.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II of Rgyal-tshab's works.

4) The *Rtogs-dkañi-snañ-ba* (*Durbodha-āloka*) of Mkhas-grub (Khai-ñub) Dge-legs dpal-bzañ-po, the other celebrated pupil of Tsoñ-kha-pa.<sup>1</sup>

5) The *Rin-chen-sgron-ma* (*Ratna-pradīpa*) usually known as *Phar-phyin skabs-brgyad-ka* "The 8 Subjects of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*," of the celebrated Jam-yañ-ñad-pa.<sup>2</sup>

This latter work is a manual (*Yig-cha*) for the study of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* in the monastic schools.<sup>3</sup> Like all the manuals of this kind, it is written according to a special plan, the analysis (*mtshak-dpyod*) always consisting of 3 parts—*dgag-gñag-spañ gsum*. 1) *dgag* means *gñan-lugs dgag-pa* = *para-mata-pratiñedha*, the refutation of the opinions of others regarding the subject in question. 2) *gñag* is *rañ-lugs gñag-pa* = *sva-mata-sthāpanā*, the establishment of the author's own point of view, containing a definition of the subject, an indication of its varieties, and so on. 3) *spañ* is an abbreviation of *rtsod-spañ* = *vivāda-prahāṇa*, the refutations of the objections of opponents which are or may be directed against the points established by the author. The first and the third part of such an investigation are written in the form of a controversy, thus forming patterns for the disputes held in the monastic schools (*chos-grva*).

Now, with the help of the works mentioned, we shall first of all endeavour to show the place which the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I of Khai-ñub's works.

<sup>2</sup> Two editions of this Commentary have been issued in Transbaikalia: one by the Tsugol (Bkra-ñis chos-bphel-gliñ) and the other by the Chilutai (Dgañ-ldan dar-rgyas-gliñ) monastery.

<sup>3</sup> Jam-yañ-ñad-pa (Hjam-dbyaṅs-bñad-pa) is the founder of the Go-mañ (Sgo-mañ) school at the monastery of Brä-buñ. A great number of the Ge-lug-pa monasteries of Tibet and, with very few exceptions, all the monasteries of Mongolia and Transbaikalia, belong to this section. Every separate branch of the Buddhist literature is studied in these monasteries with the help of the manuals of Jam-yañ-ñad-pa. Among the other schools the most important are, with the Ge-lug-pa sect, the Lo-ñä-liñ (Blo-gsal-gliñ) section of Brä-buñ and the school of the monastery of Se-ra. Each of these has its special manuals (*Yig-cha*).

occupies in the Prajñā-pāramitā literature and its relation to the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*. According to the Tibetan authors of the earlier period, among the bulky literature consisting of commentaries on the Prajñā-pāramitā<sup>1</sup> there are 4 works (or rather classes of works) which ought to be regarded as the so-called "Way-layers of the Vehicle" (of the Doctrine—*śūn-rtahī srol-hbyed*).<sup>2</sup> These are:—

1) The 6 fundamental treatises of Nāgārjuna on the Mādhyamika system,<sup>3</sup> viz. the *Prajñā-mūla*,<sup>4</sup> the *Śūnyatā-saptati*,<sup>5</sup> the *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*,<sup>6</sup> the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*,<sup>7</sup> the *Vaidalya-sūtra*<sup>8</sup> and the *Vyavahāra-siddhi*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first 16 volumes of the Tangyur consist exclusively of such commentaries. The following (XVII–XXIX) contain the treatises of the Mādhyamika system, i.e. the works of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, &c., which are likewise regarded as interpretations of the Prajñā-pāramitā.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. fundamental, independent interpretations; Gser. I. 6 a. 5—*dgoñs-hgrel gñan-la ma-ltos-par yum-gyi dgoñs-pa re hgrel-pas śūn-rtahī srol-hbyed-do*.—They are the way-layers of the Vehicle as they interpret the meaning of the Mother (i.e. the Prajñā-pāramitā) without taking recourse to the interpretations of others.

<sup>3</sup> Tib. Dbu-maḥi rigs-tshogs drug. Cf. my translation of Bu-ton's History, vol. I. p. 50 and 51.

<sup>4</sup> Rtsa-baḥi śes-rab, abridged Rtsa-śe. <sup>5</sup> Stoñ-nīd-bdun-cu-pa.

<sup>6</sup> Rigs-pa drug-cu-pa. <sup>7</sup> Rtsod-pa zlog-pa. <sup>8</sup> 'Zib-mo rnam-thag.

<sup>9</sup> This is the sixth work acc. to Bu-ton (Tib. Tha-sñad-grub-pa), a treatise which has not been translated into Tibetan. Tsoñ-kha-pa in his Gser-phreñ (Āga ed. 4 a. 3, 4) says that the sixth work is considered by some to be the Vyavahāra-siddhi, by others—the Akutobhaya (Ga-las-hjigs-med) or the Ratnāvalī (Rin-chen-phreñ-ba), but that it is not correct to insist upon the number of the treatises as being six. As concerns the Akutobhaya, we have the following interesting statement in the Stoñ-thun Bskal-bzañ-mig-hbyed of Khai-ḍub (vol. I of the full collection of Khai-ḍub's works, Tsan edition 38 b. 5 sqq.). It is said that many Tibetan authors consider the Akutobhaya to be an autocommentary (*rañ-hgrel*) of Ārya Nāgārjuna, but such an opinion shows that they have not correctly analysed the text. Indeed, the Akutobhaya, in commenting the 27th chapter of the Mūla-mādhyaṃika, quotes from the Cataḥṣatikā of Āryadeva with the indication: "It has thus been said by the venerable Āryadeva." (Btsun-pa Hphags-pa-lha.) It is quite impossible that Nāgārjuna could have quoted the work of his pupil in such a manner. The fact that Avalokitavratā in his Subcommentary to the Prajñāpradīpa of Bhāvaviveka (Tg. MDO. XX, XXI and XXII) calls the Akutobhaya an autocommentary (cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 66) is not regarded as a deci-

2) The *Prajñā-pāramitā-artha-saṃgraha*, alias *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha*<sup>1</sup> of Dignāga, in which the contents of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is systematized into 32 subjects.<sup>2</sup>

3) The Commentary on the 3 *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, viz. the *Śatasāhasrikā*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and the *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*, ascribed to the Kashmirian author Daṃṣṭrāsena,<sup>3</sup> and exposing the subject in the form of the 3 "media" (*sgo gsum*) and the 11 "instructions" (*rnam-graṅs bcu-geig*).<sup>4</sup>

sive argument for ascribing the work to Nāgārjuna. It is pointed to the fact that a great number of fundamental works and commentaries, including such which belong to the Tantric Division, have been erroneously attributed to Nāgārjuna (*Hphags-pa-la kha-gyar-ba*), and that such attributions have been frequently made by the Indian Commentators. Similar indications are to be found likewise in Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Legs-bśad-sñiṅ-po* (vol. XIV of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's works, Tsan edition 49 b. 4, 5), where it is moreover said that Buddhapālita, Candrakīrti, and Bhāvaviveka have not made a single quotation from the *Akutoḥbhaya* and have not even mentioned it in their works. This is likewise an argument for denying the authorship of Nāgārjuna.

<sup>1</sup> Tib. *Brgyad-stoṅ-don-bśad*, Tg. MDO. XIV. The analysis of this work with its Commentary by Triratnadāsa will form the subject of a special study.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my translation of Bu-ton's History vol. i, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Mcche-baḥi-sde*.

<sup>4</sup> Tg. MDO. XIV.—In Bu-ton's *Luṅ-gi-sñe-ma* (3 b. 3) the author of this work is said to be Daṃṣṭrāsena. But in his history Bu-ton says that although this Commentary is usually ascribed to Daṃṣṭrāsena, it represents in reality the Paddhati (*Gñuṅ-hgrel*) of Vasubandhu (which is mentioned by Haribhadra in the introductory verses to *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-āloka—ācārya Vasubandhu artha-kathane prāptādarah pad-dhataḥ*). The later Tibetan authors beginning with Tsoṅ-kha-pa hold the opinion of Bu-ton to be incorrect. Tsoṅ-kha-pa in his *Gser-phreṅ* (5 a. 6 sqq.) says that "other authorities consider that the Commentary could have by no means been composed by Vasubandhu, since it refers to the *Vārttika* of Bhadanta Vimuktasena (the pupil of Vasubandhu's pupil, Ārya Vimuktasena) in the subject of the 8 forms of imputation peculiar to the Great Śrāvakas (*ñan-thos-kyi skyes-bu-chen-poḥi rnam-rtog brgyad*)." Moreover (ibid. 6 a. 1) Tsoṅ-kha-pa points to the fact that in the passage concerning the last period of 500 years of the duration of the Doctrine (*lha-brgya-pa lha-ma*), the author quotes the opinion of Śāntirakṣita (*Ži-ba-ḥtsho*), who as we know is a much later author. Owing to this fact the authorship of Vasubandhu is held to be quite impossible. It is however interesting to note that in the present Narthaṅ edition of the *Tangyur* (which is considered to be the oldest form, that revised by Bu-ton himself), we have, in the title of the work, the indication: *slob-dpon Dbyig-gñen-gyi-mdzad-pa*—"composed by the teacher Vasubandhu."



4) The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* which is a treatise expounding the indirect subject-matter (*śugs-don*) of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, viz. that of the Path (*mārga* = *lam*) leading to the attainment of Buddhahood.

Now the later Tibetan authors, beginning with Tsoñ-kha-pa, consider this enumeration of 4 fundamental commentaries on the *Prajñā-pāramitā* (or of the 4 "Way-layers of the Vehicle") to be incorrect. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha*, they say, cannot be regarded as a fundamental interpretation, since, in its exposition of the 16 forms of Non-substantiality<sup>1</sup> and in its tendency of establishing a concordance between the teaching of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* and that of the 3 Aspects of Reality,<sup>2</sup> this peculiar tenet of the *Yogācāra-vijñānavāda* school, it closely follows the *Madhyānta-viḍhanga* and the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* of Ārya Asaṅga. It cannot therefore be regarded as a treatise containing an independent theory, apart from the 5 works of Maitreya.<sup>3</sup> The Commentary on the 3 *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, in its turn, in the part containing the investigation of the 16 forms of Non-substantiality and in its demonstration of the elements of existence (*dharma*) as neither becoming originated,<sup>4</sup> nor disappearing<sup>5</sup> and as being neither defiling nor purifying,<sup>6</sup> follows the *Mūla-mādhyamika* of Nāgārjuna and quotes from it. It cannot, accordingly, be viewed as exposing a theory different from that of the *Mādhyamika* treatises of Nāgārjuna.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *śoḍaśa sūnyatāḥ* = *ston-ñid bcu-drug*.

<sup>2</sup> *trīpi lakṣaṇāni* = *mtshan-ñid gsum*. These are: the imputed aspect, *parikalpita-lakṣaṇa* = *kun-tu-btags-paḥi mtshan-ñid* (*kun-btags*), the causally dependent aspect, *paratantra-lakṣaṇa* = *gtan-gyi-dbañ-gyi mtshan-ñid* (*gtan-dbañ*), and the ultimate aspect, *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* = *yoñs-su-grub-paḥi mtshan-ñid* (*yoñs-grub*). Cf. below, Chapter V.

<sup>3</sup> Gser-phreñ I. 6 a. 5-b 3.

<sup>4</sup> *anutpanna* = *ma-skyes-pa*.

<sup>5</sup> *aniruddha* = *ma-bdag-pa*.

<sup>6</sup> *sāṃkleśika* = *kun-nas-ñion-moñs-pa* and *vaiyavadānika* = *nam-par-byañ-ba*. Tsoñ-kha-pa uses here for both the extreme abbreviation *kun-byañ* (*kun-* for *kun-nas-ñion-moñs-pa* and *byañ-* for *nam-par-byañ-ba*).

<sup>7</sup> Gser. I. 6 b. 3-4.

Thus, with the exclusion of the said 2 treatises, only 2 kinds of fundamental interpretations of the Prajñā-pāramitā are admitted, viz. the Mādhyamika treatises of Nāgārjuna, elucidating the direct subject-matter of the Sūtras, i.e. the Teaching of the Non-substantiality<sup>1</sup> of all the elements of existence, and the *Abhisamayalankāra*, which is to be regarded as a work revealing the indirect or hidden meaning (*sbas-don*) of the Prajñā-pāramitā. This subject is the process of intuition<sup>2</sup> of the Highest Truth, or, what is the same, the Path<sup>3</sup> towards the attainment of Buddhahood and final Nirvāṇa.

It is here necessary to remember the different meanings in which the term *prajñā-pāramitā* is used. As we have it in Dignāga's *Prajñā-pāramitā-artha-saṃgraha*,<sup>4</sup> the word *prajñā-pāramitā* means 1) the monistic Highest Wisdom personified as the Buddha in his Cosmical Body (*dharma-kāya*), and free from the differentiation into subject and object (*grāhya-grāhaka*), 2) the Path leading to the attainment of this Wisdom, and 3) the text (of the Sūtras) containing the Teaching which is conducive to the realization of the former two. The first is *Prajñā-pāramitā* in the direct sense of the word (—the Climax of Wisdom personified as the Cosmical Body of the Buddha), whereas the Path and the text are metaphorically likewise designated by the name of *Prajñā-pāramitā*,<sup>5</sup> as being the factors bringing about the attainment of the Highest Monistic Knowledge. Thus, we have *Prajñā-pāramitā* in the sense of "the Path towards the attainment of the Wisdom of the Buddha."<sup>6</sup> As such it represents the main subject-matter of the *Abhisamayalankāra*. The latter accordingly represents a summary of the contents of the Sūtras which is put in correspondence with the Teaching of the Path. All

<sup>1</sup> *śūnyatā* = *stoh-pa-tūid*.      <sup>2</sup> *abhisamaya* = *mñon-rtogs*.

<sup>3</sup> *mārga* = *lam*. In the Tibetan tradition *abhisamaya* and *mārga* are always spoken of as synonymous—*mñon-rtogs dañ lam don-gcig*.

<sup>4</sup> *prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayaṃ sa Tathāgataḥ. | sūdhya-tādarthya-yogena tācchābdayaṃ grantha-mārgayoḥ* (quoted in the *Abhis.* śloka M. S. Minaev. 23 b. 4–5).

<sup>5</sup> *auspacārīkī prajñā-pāramitā* = *śer-phyin blaḡa-pa-pa*.

<sup>6</sup> *mārga* (*-lhitā*) *prajñā-pāramitā* = *lam-śer-phyin*.

the topics of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, in a direct or hidden form, have been included in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in an extremely condensed way. The whole treatise, as shows its title *Prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra*, is intended to communicate briefly, in metrical aphorisms (*kārikā*), the teaching contained in the *Sūtras*, which is interpreted from the standpoint of the theory of *mārga*. It is, so to say, a catechism, a text to be learned and recited by heart.

In general, as concerns the *Prajñā-pāramitā* section of the Buddhist Canon, the earlier Tibetan authors<sup>1</sup> consider its main texts to be the following:—

I. The 6 "Mother" works (*yum drug*):—

- 1) The *Śatasāhasrikā*;<sup>2</sup> 2) The *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*;<sup>3</sup> 3) The *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*;<sup>4</sup> 4) The *Daśasāhasrikā*;<sup>5</sup> 5) The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*;<sup>6</sup> 6) The *Samcaya*.<sup>7</sup>

II. The 11 "Filial" works (*sras bcu-gcig*):—

- 1) The *Saptaśatikā prajñā-pāramitā*;<sup>8</sup> 2) The *Pañcaśatikā*;<sup>9</sup> 3) The *Trīśatikā*;<sup>10</sup> 4) The *Prajñā-pāramitā-naya-śata-pañcaśatikā*;<sup>11</sup> 5) The *Ardhaśatikā*;<sup>12</sup> 6) The *Pañcaviṃśati-prajñā-pāramitā-mukha*;<sup>13</sup> 7) The *Suvikrāntavikrami-pariprechā*;<sup>14</sup> 8) The *Kauśika-prajñā-pāramitā*;<sup>15</sup> 9) The *Ekākṣarī*;<sup>16</sup> 10) The *Svalpākṣara-prajñā-pāramitā*;<sup>17</sup> 11) The *Prajñāhṛdaya*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bod śā-ma-pa, as they are styled by Tson-kha-pa and his school.

<sup>2</sup> *Stoṅ-phrag-brgya-pa*, usually known in the Tibetan tradition by the abridged title of *Yum ḥbum-pa*—"the Mother (*Prajñā-pāramitā*) of 100,000 verses," or simply *ḥbum*.     <sup>3</sup> *Ñi-khri-lāa-stoṅ-pa* or *Ñi-khri*.

<sup>4</sup> *Khri-brgyad-stoṅ-pa*.

<sup>5</sup> *Śes-rab-khri-pa*.

<sup>6</sup> *Brgyad-stoṅ-pa*.

<sup>7</sup> *Sdud-pa*. Kg. ŚER. (Pr.-pāramitā), I. No. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Bdun-brgya-pa*. Ibid. No. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Lāa-brgya-pa*. Ibid. No. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Sum-brgya-pa*.

<sup>11</sup> *Tshul brgya-lāa-bcu-pa*, Kg. RGYUD. IX.

<sup>12</sup> *Lāa-bcu-pa*, Kg. ŚER. I. No. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Sgo-ñer-lāa-pa*, Kg. RGYUD. X.

<sup>14</sup> *Rab-rtsal rnam-gnon-gyis śus-pa*. Ibid. No. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Kg. RGYUD. XIII.

<sup>16</sup> *Yi-ge-gcig-ma*. Ibid. No. 7.

<sup>17</sup> *Yi-ge-ñuñ-ñu*. Kg. RGYUD. XII.

<sup>18</sup> *Śes-rab-ñiñ-po* (Śer-ñiñ). Kg. RGYUD. XII.—The principal difference

between the "Mother" and the "Filial" works is that the former contain the teaching about the process of intuition (*abhisamaya*) whereas the latter are dedicated only to the theoretical part, viz. the teaching of Non-substantiality (Gser. I. 7 a. 3).

Tsoṅ-kha-pa and his school consider this classification to be incorrect, since we have other small Sūtras likewise belonging to the division of the Prajñā-pāramitā.

As concerns the sources of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, they are contained in those of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, the contents of which may be put in correspondence with the Teaching about the process of intuition (*abhisamaya*) or the Path (*mārga*). These are:— the *Śatasāhasrikā*; the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*; the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*; the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, and the *Samcaya*. Indeed, the commentators of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* have explained it with reference only to these Sūtras, but not to the other Canonical works mentioned above. According to the tradition, there are altogether 21 Commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* composed by the Buddhist Paṇḍits in India. These Commentaries are as follows:—

I. The 12 works commenting on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in connexion with the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras* (*mdo-dan-sbyar-ba*):—

1) The *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-ālokā*<sup>1</sup> of Ārya Vimuktasena.

2) The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-vārttika*<sup>2</sup> of Bhadanta Vimuktasena.

3) The summary of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* in 8 chapters, in correspondence with the subjects of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, by Haribhadra.<sup>3</sup>

4) The *Śuddhimatī*<sup>4</sup> of Ratnākaraśānti.

Connected with the  
*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*.

<sup>1</sup> Tib. Ņi-khri-snaṅ-ba. Tg. MDO. I. 15—249 (Fek.). Full title acc. to Tg.: Ārya-Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-sūtra-Abhisamayālaṅkāra-vṛtti.

<sup>2</sup> Tg. MDO. II. 1—207. The authorship of this text, as it appears in the Tangyur, is considered to be dubious. Cf. below.

<sup>3</sup> Tib. Le-brgyad-ma. Tg. MDO. III, IV, V. In Cordier's Index du Bstan-hgyur this work appears as a mere reproduction of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, whereas it represents in reality a summary of the contents of that Sūtra with explanations of Haribhadra.

<sup>4</sup> Tib. Dag-ldan. Tg. MDO. IX. 87—240.

5) The Commentary explaining the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in connexion with the *Śatasāhasrikā*, ascribed to the Kashmirian Dharmasūtri.<sup>1</sup>

6) The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-ālokā* of Haribhadra.<sup>2</sup>

7) The *Sārottamā*<sup>3</sup> of Ratnākaraśānti.

8) The *Marmakaumudī*<sup>4</sup> of Abhayākara-gupta.

9) The *Samcaya-gāthā-pañjikā* Subodhini nāma of Haribhadra.<sup>5</sup>

10) The *Samcaya-gāthā-pañjikā* of Haribhadra's pupil Buddhasrījñāna.<sup>6</sup>

11) The *Prajñā-pāramitā-kośa-tāla*<sup>7</sup> ascribed to Dharmasūtri.

12) The *Aṣṭa-samāna-artha-śāsana*,<sup>8</sup> ascribed to Smṛtijñānakīrti, a Commentary with references to the *Śatasāhasrikā*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and the *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*.

Connected with  
the *Aṣṭasāhas-  
rikā*.

Connected with  
the *Samcaya*.

<sup>1</sup> *Śatasāhasrikā-vivaraṇa*. Tg. MDO. XI. 256–331. Acc. to Gser. I. 8 a. 5 sqq. this work is not of Indian origin, since it contains strange mistakes as regards the correspondence of the subject-matter of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* with that of the *Sūtras*.

<sup>2</sup> The Tibetan translation of this text forms the 6th volume of Tg. MDO.

<sup>3</sup> Tib. *Šñā-pohi-mchog*. Tg. MDO. X. 1–253.

<sup>4</sup> *Gnad-kyi zla-bod*. Tg. MDO. XI. 1–256.

<sup>5</sup> *Dkaḥ-bgreḥ rtogs-sla*. Tg. MDO. VII. 1–93. Acc. to Gser. I. 8 b. 6–9 a. 1 the Paṇḍit Śhīrapāla or Trilakṣa (*Ībum-phrag-gsum-pa*) and the Great Translator Ņog Lo-dan Ści-rab deny the authorship of Haribhadra. However, as Abhayākara-gupta in his *Marmakaumudī* directly quotes it as the work of Haribhadra, it will be correct to consider it as such.

<sup>6</sup> *Sduḍ-paḥi dkaḥ-bgreḥ*. Tg. MDO. VIII. 135–223.

<sup>7</sup> *Mdzod-kyi lde-mig*. Tg. MDO. XI. 331–340. The Gser. (I. 8 b. 4–5) has in regard of this work the same remarks as in the case of the Commentary on the *Śatasāhasrikā* ascribed to Dharmasūtri. Both are considered to have been composed by a translator or some other Tibetan author.

<sup>8</sup> *Don bgyad-kyis mthun-par-bstan-pa*. Tg. MDO. II. 207–275. Acc. to the Gser. (I. 8 b. 5–6) the authorship of Smṛtijñānakīrti is dubious, since the work is feeble and contains many mistakes as concerns the correspondence of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* with the *Sūtras*.

II. The 9 Commentaries explaining the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* without establishing a concordance with the Sūtras:—

- 1) The *Sphuṭārthā* of Haribhadra.<sup>1</sup>
- 2) The *Prasphuṭapada*<sup>2</sup> of the Mādhyamika teacher Dharmamitra (Dbu-ma-pa Chos-kyi-bśes-gñen),—a subcommentary on the former.
- 3) The *Durbodha-āloka*<sup>3</sup> of Dharmakīrtiśrī from Suvarṇa-dvīpa (Gser-gliṅ-pa).
- 4) The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛtti-piṇḍārtha*<sup>4</sup> of Prajñā-karamati.
- 5) The *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha*<sup>5</sup> of Kumāraśrībhadra.
- 6) The *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha-pradīpa*,<sup>6</sup> ascribed to Dīpaṃ-karaśrījñāna (Atiśa).
- 7) The *Prajñā-pradīpa-āvalī*<sup>7</sup> of Buddhaśrījñāna.
- 8) The *Kīrtikalā*<sup>8</sup> of Ratnakīrti.
- 9) The *Munimatalaṃkāra*<sup>9</sup> of Abhayākaragupta.

However, the main foundation of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is unquestionably the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*. Indeed, the form in which the subjects appear in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*

<sup>1</sup> Tg. MDO. VII. 93—161.      <sup>2</sup> Tshig-gsal. Tg. MDO. VIII. 1—128.

<sup>3</sup> Rtogs-dkañi-snañ-ba. Tg. MDO. VII. 161—289. Acc. to Bu-ton's Luñ-gi-sñe-ma, the author of this work is Kulandatta (?).

<sup>4</sup> A summary of Haribhadra's *Sphuṭārthā*. Tg. MDO. VII. 289—315.

<sup>5</sup> Tg. MDO. VIII. 128—135.

<sup>6</sup> Tib. Śer-phyin-bśes-don-sgron-me. Tg. MDO. X. 253—262. Acc. to Tsoñ-kha-pa, this work, being very feeble and containing many Tibetanisms, cannot be attributed to Atiśa, but must have been composed by one of his pupils or some other Tibetan author (Gser. I. 9 a. 1—2).

<sup>7</sup> Tib. Śes-rab sgron-meñi-phreñ-ba. Tg. MDO. IX. 1—87.

<sup>8</sup> Grags-cha. Tg. MDO. IX. 223—310.

<sup>9</sup> Thub-pañi dgoñs-rgyan. Tg. MDO. XXIX. 71—398. The latter work is an independent treatise elucidating the essential meaning of Buddhist Scripture in general. It does not appear as a Commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* in the direct sense of the word. However, as its 3 last chapters for the greater part contain explanations of the subjects of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, it must be counted among the Commentaries of the latter (Gser. I. 8 a. 2).

is nearest to the order of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. The latter is even sometimes called *par excellence* a summary of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, as we have it, for instance, in the title of Vimuktasena's Commentary—*Ārya-Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-sāstra-Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛtti*.

As we have mentioned before, the most valuable of the Commentaries are for us the two works of Haribhadra, viz. the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-āloka* or the Great Commentary (*hgrel-chen*) and the *Sphuṭārtha* or the Small Commentary (*hgrel-chuñ*). In each of these works we have introductory verses which refer to the authors who have previously commented on the *Prajñā-pāramitā* and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. It is said that Ārya Asanga has composed a Commentary elucidating the meaning of the Sūtras,<sup>1</sup> and that Vasubandhu has followed him in his Paddhati (*gzun-hgrel*) on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*.<sup>2</sup> Both have commented on the *Prajñā-pāramitā* from the standpoint of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school and have explained the Sūtra without directly referring to the subjects of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. The next commentator was Ārya Vimuktasena,<sup>3</sup> whose treatise contains an elucidation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, *en regard*. This work is the oldest of the 21 Commentaries mentioned before and has been written from the Mādhyamika standpoint.<sup>4</sup> After it comes the Vārttika<sup>5</sup> of Bhādanta Vimuktasena,<sup>6</sup> the pupil of Ārya Vimuktasena.

<sup>1</sup> *bhāṣyam tattva-viniścayaḥ racitavān prajñāpatām agrasā Āryaśaṅga*. Some consider that this indicates a Commentary called *Tattva-viniścaya*.

<sup>2</sup> Confounded with the Commentary of Darṣṭrāsena.

<sup>3</sup> *Hphags-pa Rnam-grol-sde*.

<sup>4</sup> So we have to understand the words of the *Sphuṭārthā*: *dbu-mar gnas-paḥi blo* — *mādhyastha-buddhyā*.

<sup>5</sup> *Rnam-hgrel*.

<sup>6</sup> *Btsun-pa Rnam-grol-sde*. The text in the Tangyur (MDO. II. 1—207), which is usually held to be the Vārttika of Bhādanta Vimuktasena, is considered by Tsoṅ-kha-pa to be dubious as regards its authorship. In the *Abhis. āloka* there are quotations from the Vārttika which are not to be found in the Tangyur text (Gser. I. 21 b. 5—6).



Haribhadra says that the explanation of Ārya Asanga and Vasubandhu was incomplete, since they did not comment the Sūtras in accordance with the Teaching of the Path (*mārga*) or the process of the intuition of the Truth (*abhisamaya*), and have moreover committed errors by explaining in conformity with the Yogācāra principles. Ārya and Bhadanta Vimuktasena in their turn have not given a full and clear exposition of the subject. This is the reason why Haribhadra has found it necessary to compose new commentaries. These have been written by him from the Mādhyamika standpoint.<sup>1</sup> In his works Haribhadra has investigated the Prajñā-pāramitā from the standpoint of the Teaching of the Path and has established a full concordance between the contents of the Sūtras and the subjects of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. He is regarded as the greatest authority in the field of Prajñā-pāramitā and *Abhisamaya*, and all the Tibetan Commentaries refer to him as their principal source.

We shall now make an attempt to give a summary of the contents of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and of the subjects treated in it. But before starting on such a work, we propose to point out the systematical construction of the Doctrine of the Path, which is the principal subject of our investigation. The Doctrine concerning the *mārga* or Path leading to the attainment of Nirvāṇa is to be found in the oldest Buddhist literature. All the Hīnayānistic schools acknowledge it, and its examination forms a considerable part of the contents of the *Abhidharmakośa* and its Commentaries. In Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā* we find many detailed and valuable explanations concerning the Path and its different stages. But as a rule, the full exposition of the Teaching of the Path in its most developed form we find in the Mahāyānistic literature. Apart from the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, the Doctrine of the Path has been discussed by Ārya Asanga in his *Yogacaryābhūmi* and in his *Abhidharmasamuc-*

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<sup>1</sup> Haribhadra belongs to the school of the Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-svātantrikas (Rnal-'byor-spyod-pa'i Dbu-ma-rañ-rgyud-pa).



caya. In the latter a clear short summary of the teaching is given in connexion with the analysis of the 4 Truths or Principles of the Saint.<sup>1</sup> In the later literature we have the *Bodhi-patha-pradīpa*<sup>2</sup> of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (Atiśa), which represents the principal foundation for Tsoñ-kha-pa's great work, the *Lam-rim-chen-mo*. Subsequently, the Tibetan authors have composed special manuals elucidating the theory of the Path on the basis of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its Commentaries, the *Bodhi-patha-pradīpa* and the *Lam-rim*. We possess, in block-print editions, the *Mñon-rtogs-rim-pa* (*Abhisamayakrama*)<sup>3</sup> of Tsoñ-kha-pa's pupil Gyal-tshab Dar-ma Rin-chen, the *Sa-lam-gyi rnam-gtāg Mkhas-paḥi-yid-ḥphrog*<sup>4</sup> of Khaidub (Mkhas-grub), and the *Sa-lam-gyi rnam-gtāg theg-pa gsum-gyi mdzes-rgyan* of the Labrañ Lama Kün-chog Jig-med-vañ-po (Dkon-mchog Hjigs-med-dbañ-po). The latter 2 works give an exposition of the Doctrine of the Path and of the 10 Stages (*bhūmi*) of the Bodhi-sattva. We here make an attempt to give a brief account of the Teaching of the Path and its degrees in accordance with the sources indicated by us. Later on we shall see how the subjects treated in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* itself are to be put in correspondence with this Teaching of the Path.

## II. THE PATH AND ITS VARIETIES.

Now, what is this "Path," and in what sense is it to be understood? First of all we have to mention the tradition which takes into consideration 3 kinds of individuals, viz. the lowest (*skyes-bu-chuñ-ñu* = *adhama-puruṣa*), the intermediate (*skyes-bu-ḥbrin-pa* = *madhya-puruṣa*) and the highest (*skyes-bu-chen-po* = *mahā-puruṣa*). The first is the ordinary worldly being who cares only for worldly matters, and the highest aim he can pursue can be only a blissful

<sup>1</sup> *cateḍri ārya-satyāni* = *ḥphags-paḥi bden-pa ḥki*.

<sup>2</sup> Tib. (abridged) *Lam-agron*, Tg. MDO. XXXI. 274-277 and XXXIII. 1-5.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. V of Gyal-tshab's works.

<sup>4</sup> A separate block-print edition issued by the Khu-luñ Dgañ-lḍan-chos-ḥkhor-gliñ (Gusinozersky) monastery of Transbaikalia is in my possession.

existence in a future life. For the individual of the intermediate and the highest kinds, i.e. the Hīnayānist (Śrāvaka and Pratyeka-buddha) and the Mahāyānist Bodhisattva, respectively, the Phenomenal World represents nothing but an object of disgust and sorrow. Such individuals accordingly search for a path to attaining a position in which one is no more disturbed by worldly turmoil. It is through constant meditation on the true aspect of existence and the full cognition of it that the deliverance from Phenomenal Existence can be secured. Accordingly, the general definition of the Path for the individuals of both the intermediate and the highest order is "the intuition (*abhisamaya*) of the Truth which is conducive to the attainment of Enlightenment, Nirvāṇa, and the liberation from the bonds of Phenomenal Existence."<sup>1</sup> Its synonyms are "the way to Final Deliverance," "the process of the cognition of Truth," "the Vehicle"<sup>2</sup> (*yāna* = *theg-pa*),—&c. It has five principal degrees which are:—

- 1) The Path of Accumulating Merit (*sambhāra-mārga* = *tshogs-lam*).
- 2) The Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga* = *sbyor-lam*).
- 3) The Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga* = *mtshon-lam*).
- 4) The Path of Concentrated Contemplation (*bhāvanā-mārga* = *sgom-lam*).
- 5) The Final Path, where one is no more subjected to training (*aśaikṣa-mārga* = *mi-slob-lam*).

The last three represent "the Path of the Saint" (*ārya-mārga*), whereas the first two are regarded as subservient degrees.

Such are the degrees of the Path in general. But in regard to the various individuals, progressing on this fivefold Path, there is another threefold division, viz. the Path of the Śrāvaka, the

<sup>1</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 1. 4—2 a. 2 *byan-chub bgrod-paḥi go-skabs phyé-bśul-du-gyur-paḥi mñon-rtogs*, *de dan khyab-mñam-pa thar-par bgrod-paḥi go-skabs phyé-bśul-du-gyur-paḥi mñon-rtogs myan-hdas-su bgrod-paḥi phyé-bśul-du-gyur-paḥi mñon-rtogs*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Sa-lam Jig. 4 b. 3 we have the synonyms *thar-lam* = *mokṣa-mārga*, *ye-lee* = *jñāna*, *mñon-rtogs* = *abhisamaya*, *yum* = *mātṛ* ("the Mother" i.e. Prajñā-paramitā in the sense of the Path), and *theg-pa* = *yāna*.

Path of the Pratyekabuddha, and the Path of the Bodhisattva (or the Mahāyānist Path). These 3 different forms correspond to the 3 varieties of the faculty of cognition of the Truth.<sup>1</sup> The Śrāvaka's cognition is that of the unreality of the Ego or individual as an independent whole.<sup>2</sup> The Pratyekabuddha comes to the intuition of the objective unreality of the external world, without becoming free from the imputation concerning the reality of the subject that perceives. Finally, the Bodhisattva on his Path cognizes the unreality of all the separate elements of existence,<sup>3</sup> which are intuited by him as merged in the unique undifferentiated Absolute.

The first 2 varieties are characterized as having only an egoistic aim, the liberation of the stream of elements<sup>4</sup> constituting one's own personality from the bonds of the Phenomenal World. In that sense the Path of "the intermediate individual" is defined as "the mental activity characterized by the aversion towards Phenomenal Existence and the desire of attaining salvation exclusively for one's own self."<sup>5</sup> The Path of the Bodhisattva is on the contrary regarded as essentially altruistic; it has for its aim the attainment of Buddhahood in order to bring deliverance for other living beings.—

The principal constituent members of this process of meditation and intuition, the chief factors for the realization of the Path, are two in number, viz. the perfect quiescence of the mind (*śamatha* = *zi-gnas*) and transcendental analysis (*vipaśyanā* = *lhag-mthos*). All the merits and achievements of the Hinayānist and Mahāyānist Saints on their Paths, the mundane<sup>6</sup> as well as the super-mundane,<sup>7</sup> are

<sup>1</sup> *śrāvaka-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra*, *pratyekabuddha-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra* and *tathāgata-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra*. Cf. M. Vyūtp. § 61.

<sup>2</sup> *pudgala-nairātmya* = *gañ-zag-gi bdag-med*.

<sup>3</sup> *dharma-nairātmya* = *chos-kyi bdag-med*.

<sup>4</sup> *saṃtāna* = *rgyud*.

<sup>5</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 2 a. 1-2. *lkhok-baḥi phun-tshogs-la blo-log-paḥi ego-nas rañ-lho-naḥi don-du thar-pa gtso-lor don-du-gñer-baḥi cha-nas-bdag-paḥi bsam-pa de skyes-lu-hbriñ-gi lam-gyi mshan-sīd*.

<sup>6</sup> *laukika* = *hjig-rten-pa*.

<sup>7</sup> *lokottara* = *hjig-rten-las-hdas-pa*.

regarded as the result of these 2 cooperating factors,<sup>1</sup> the latter being the most essential part, the foundation, of every kind of transic meditation.<sup>2</sup> We have accordingly to speak of the Path as conditioned by the joint agency of the said 2 elements. Therefore all the Yogins, all the meditators, *eo ipso* all the Saints on their Paths, must at all times take recourse to mental quiescence and transcendental analysis.<sup>3</sup>—

The state of mental quiescence is the full concentration of the mind upon an object, or otherwise, the fixation of that object in the mind (*manasikāra* = *yid-la-byed-pa*), accompanied by bodily and mental ease (*kāya-citta-prasrabdhi* = *lus dan sems śin-tu-sbyaṅs-pa*). When some object or other spoken of in Scripture is made the object of meditation, when the mind, without becoming distracted by anything else, is perpetually directed upon the said object, through the power of memory and attention (*smṛti-samprajñāna*), and by its very nature penetrates into it, and when, in this process, the felicitous feeling of bodily and mental ease arises, then we have the state of perfect mental tranquillity (*śamatha*).<sup>4</sup>

When this state of perfect concentration upon one object and the felicitous feeling of ease is attained, the meditator begins to analyse the object, the reflection of which manifests itself in his mind. He investigates the object as an empirical reality, perfectly examines its absolute nature, reflects on it, steadfastly pursues his analysis, experiences satisfaction in the process of it, distinguishes the particularities, and makes his thought-constructions. All this, taken together, represents transcendental analysis (*vipaśyanā*).<sup>5</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Lam-rim, Tshe-mchog-gliṅ edition (with 4 *mchan-bu* = *ṣipparis*), III. 2 b. 1.—*theg-pa che-chuñ-gi yon-tan hjiḡ-rten-pa dan hjiḡ-rten-las-hdas-pa-thams-cad zi-gnas dan lhag-mthoñ-gi hbras-bu yin*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 4 a. 1—2.—*theg-pa che-chuñ-gi tññe-hdzin mthah-yas-pa-tig bkah-steal-pa thams-cad kyañ gañ-du-hdus-paḡi gnad dam-pa-ni zi-gnas dan lhag-mthoñ yin* (quotations from the Samdhinirmocana).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4 b. 1—2.—*de-gñis-kyis tññe-hdzin thams-cad bodus-paḡi-phyir mal-hbyor-pa thams-cad-kyis dus thams-cad-du ñes-par zi-gnas dan lhag-mthoñ lsten-par-byas* (quotation from the Bhāvanā-krama of Kamalaśīla).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 5 a. 1—2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 5 a. 5—6.

Such are the two principal factors by which the Path, Hīnayānistic or Mahāyānistic, is conditioned. In speaking of the Path we must always have them in view.—We shall now give a general review of the Paths peculiar to the three different individuals and demonstrate their principal stages.

## A. THE PATH OF THE ŚRĀVAKA.

### a. The Path of Accumulating Merit (*sambhāra-mārga* = *tshogs-lam*).

An essential distinctive feature of the Hīnayānistic Accumulation Path is a state of mind-concentration upon the four Truths or principles of the Saint<sup>1</sup> and their sixteen aspects. The latter are:—

1) 4 aspects regarding the Principle of Phenomenal Existence:<sup>2</sup>—Evanescence<sup>3</sup> (1), Uneasiness<sup>4</sup> (2), Non-Substantiality<sup>5</sup> (3), Impersonality<sup>6</sup> (4).

2) 4 aspects regarding the cause or the driving force of Phenomenal Existence:<sup>7</sup>—Cause<sup>8</sup> (5), Driving Force<sup>9</sup> (6), Process<sup>10</sup> (7), Condition<sup>11</sup> (8).

3) 4 aspects regarding the Extinction or Cessation of Phenomenal Existence:<sup>12</sup>—Cessation<sup>13</sup> (9), Pacification<sup>14</sup> (10), Perfection<sup>15</sup> (11), Deliverance<sup>16</sup> (12).

4) 4 aspects regarding the principle of the Path:<sup>17</sup>—Path<sup>18</sup> (13), Method<sup>19</sup> (14), Activity<sup>20</sup> (15), Factor of Deliverance<sup>21</sup> (16).

<sup>1</sup> *cātvarī ārya-satyāni*.

<sup>2</sup> *duḥkha-satya* = *sdug-bśnal-bden-pa*.

<sup>3</sup> *anitya* = *mī-rtag-pa*.

<sup>4</sup> *duḥkha* = *sdug-bśnal*.

<sup>5</sup> *śūnya* = *ston-pa*.

<sup>6</sup> *anātma* = *bdag-med*.

<sup>7</sup> *samudaya-satya* = *kun-ḥbyun-bden-pa*.

<sup>8</sup> *hetu* = *rgyu*.

<sup>9</sup> *samudaya* = *kun-ḥbyun*.

<sup>10</sup> *pralaya* = *rai-skye*.

<sup>11</sup> *pratyaya* = *rkyen*.

<sup>12</sup> *nirōdha-satya* = *ḥgog-paḥi bden-pa* or *ḥgog-bden*.

<sup>13</sup> *nirōdha* = *ḥgog-pa*.

<sup>14</sup> *tānta* = *ti-ba*.

<sup>15</sup> *pravṛta* = *gya-nom-pa*.

<sup>16</sup> *nīḥsarapa* = *ñes-par-ḥbyun-ba* or *ñes-ḥbyun*.

<sup>17</sup> *mārga-satya* = *lam-gyi-bden-pa* or *lam-bden*.

<sup>18</sup> *mārga* = *lam*.

<sup>19</sup> *nyāya* = *rigs-pa*.

<sup>20</sup> *pratipatti* = *sgruh-pa*.

<sup>21</sup> *naiṛyānika* = *ñes-par-ḥbyin-pa* or *ñes-ḥbyin*.

As soon as the desire of becoming delivered from the bonds of the Phenomenal World and of attaining that kind of Nirvāṇa which is peculiar to the Hinayanistic Arhat manifests itself in a true, unartificial form,<sup>1</sup> the person in whom this takes place is considered to have entered the Hinayanistic Path of Accumulating Merit. The synonyms of the latter are:—the Steps conducive to Salvation (*mokṣa-bhāgiya* = *thar-paḥi cha dañ-mthun-pa*), the Hinayanistic Stage of Devotion (*śraddhā-bhāmi* = *dad-paḥi sa*), the Stage of preliminary activity (*ādikarmika-bhāmi* = *las-dañ-po-paḥi sa*), &c. It is defined as the full cognition of the Word of the Doctrine<sup>2</sup> by the Śrāvaka, and is characterized by the attainment of the first five supernatural faculties,<sup>3</sup> by the cognition (for the first time through inference), of the principle of the unreality of the Ego, and by the subsequent ascertainment of this unreality. We have thus three forms of cognition: direct sense-perception<sup>4</sup> (the supernatural faculties), inference<sup>5</sup> (the cognition of the Non-ego principle), and subsequent cognition<sup>6</sup> (the ascertainment of the former).

There are, moreover, three subdivisions of this Path, viz. the lowest (*mṛdu* = *chuñ-ñu*), the intermediate (*madhya* = *hbrin-pa*), and the highest (*adhimātra* = *chen-po*) in accordance with the intellectual faculty of the individual who abides on the Path. In Ārya Asanga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya*<sup>7</sup> the Path of Accumulating Merit is characterized by "moral perfection peculiar to an ordinary being,"<sup>8</sup> suppression of the senses, temperance in eating, energy in practising profound meditation without sleeping by night, and the feeling of delight and satisfaction with one's own cognition (of the Truth). Otherwise, this

<sup>1</sup> *bcos-min-gyi myoñ-ba* = *akṛtrima-anubhava*. Sa-lam Jig. 6 a. 5—6.

<sup>2</sup> *dharma-abhisamaya* = *chos-mñon-rtogs*. This is the usual definition of *sambhāva-mārga*.

<sup>3</sup> *abhijñā* = *mñon-par-tes-pa*. <sup>4</sup> *pratyakṣa* = *mñon-sum*.

<sup>5</sup> *anumāna* = *rjes-su-dpag-pa* (*rjes-dpag*).

<sup>6</sup> *bcañ-tes*. This is always opposed to *pramāṇa* = *tsad-ma* which is defined as the correct knowledge of something anew (*gsar-du mi-shu-baḥi tes-pa*).

<sup>7</sup> Aga edition, 66 b. 4—5.

<sup>8</sup> *prihagjana* = *so-soḥi-skye-ba* as opposed to the Saint (*ārya* = *hphags-pa*).

Path represents the stage where the wisdom which is the result of study,<sup>1</sup> investigation,<sup>2</sup> and meditation<sup>3</sup> becomes originated. After the termination of this preliminary degree, the future Hinayānist Saint enters—

### b. The Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga* = *sbyor-lam*).

This second degree of the Path is defined as the process of meditation directly preceding the Path of Illumination of the Śrāvaka.<sup>4</sup> Its other definition is "the cognition of the meaning (of the Doctrine)."<sup>5</sup> It has four subdivisions, called the degrees of Heat (*ūṣmagata* = *dro-bar-gyur-pa* or *drod*), of the Climax (*mūrdhagata* = *rtse-mor-gyur-pa* or *rtse-mo*), Steadfastness (*kṣānti* = *bzod-pa*), and of Highest Mundane Virtues (*laukika-agra-dharma* = *byig-rten-paḥi chos-kyi-mchog*).<sup>6</sup> These are called "the steps conducive to Illumination."<sup>7</sup>

The first of these degrees represents a state of complete mental quiescence,<sup>8</sup> connected with transcendental analysis,<sup>9</sup> during which the light of knowledge<sup>10</sup> revealing for the first time the essential nature of the four Truths of the Saint and their sixteen aspects is obtained.<sup>11</sup> The following three consist in the augmentation of this light, which ends with the full intuition of the four Truths of the Saint on the Path of Illumination. As regards the other varieties of the Path of Training, the tradition distinguishes a low (*mṛdu*), an intermediate (*madhya*), and a high (*adhimātra*) degree, which are differently interpreted from the point of view of 1) time, and 2) the

<sup>1</sup> *śrutimayī prajñā* = *thos-pa-las byun-baḥi tes-rab*.

<sup>2</sup> *cintāmayī prajñā* = *bsam-pa-las byun-baḥi tes-rab*.

<sup>3</sup> *dhāvanūmayī prajñā* = *egom-pa-las byun-baḥi tes-rab*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sa-lam Kh. 3 a. 1.*—*ñān-thos-kyi bden-pa-mñon-rtogs dan rjes-su-mthun-pa*.

<sup>5</sup> *artha-abhiśamaya* = *don-mñon-rtogs*. *artha* is to be understood in the sense of *praveśana-artha* (*Sa-lam Jig. 5 a. 6*).

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of these names will be explained later on, in connexion with the Mahāyānist Path.

<sup>7</sup> *nirvedha-bhūgiya* = *ñes-hbyed-cha-mthun*.

<sup>8</sup> *śamatha* = *zi-gnas*.

<sup>9</sup> *vipaśyanā* = *lhag-mthoñ*. Cf. above.

<sup>10</sup> *jñāna-āloka* = *ye-tes-kyi snan-ba*.

<sup>11</sup> *āloka-labdha* = *snan-ba thob-pa*.



intellectual faculty of the individual who abides on the Path of Training. It is said that the constant contemplation of the Non-ego principle produces a state of bodily and mental ease. The attainment of such a state is characteristic for one who has attained the Path of Training. After the four degrees of the latter are brought to an end, one becomes absorbed in a state of concentrated trance, which is called "the unimpeded,"<sup>1</sup> through which one directly passess over to—

**c. The Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga* = *mthoñ-lam*).**

Here begins the Path proper, the Path of the Saint.<sup>2</sup> This first subdivision of it is defined as "the direct intuition of the four Truths or Principles of the Saint."<sup>3</sup> Otherwise it is called "the Path of the Śrāvaka" characterized by a knowledge directly<sup>4</sup> cognizing for the first time the Unreality of the Ego<sup>5</sup> or the fact that the stream of elements constituting an individual is devoid of an enduring, unique, and independent Ego or Soul.<sup>6</sup> This knowledge brings about the removal of all those defiling elements which are conditioned by the incorrect views which cling to the conception of a real Ego. The said defiling forces are accordingly called "those which are to be extirpated by the perception (of the Truth)."<sup>7</sup>

This Path of Illumination has various divisions and subdivisions. First of all there is a general division into 1) "the intuitive knowledge at the time of intense concentration"<sup>8</sup> and 2) "the knowledge which is acquired after the state of trance."<sup>9</sup> The first of these is defined as the direct knowledge of the four Truths of the Saint by

<sup>1</sup> *ānantarya-samādhi* = *lar-chad-med-pañi tin-ye-hdzin*.

<sup>2</sup> *ārya-mārga* = *hyhags-pañi lam*.

<sup>3</sup> *salya-abhīśamaya* = *bden-pa-mñon-rtogs*.

<sup>4</sup> *pratyakṣeṇa* or *sākṣāt* = *mñon-sum-du*.

<sup>5</sup> *pudgala-nairātmya* = *gañ-zag-gi bdag-med*.

<sup>6</sup> *Sa-lam Kh. 3 a. 3.* *gañ-zag rtag geig ran-dbañ-can-gyi bdag-gis ston-pa* = *nitya-eka-svatantra-ātma-sūnya-pudgala*.

<sup>7</sup> *dr̥ṣṭi-heya* = *mthoñ-bas-spañ-ba* (*mthoñ-spañ*).

<sup>8</sup> *samāhita-jñāna* = *mñam-bdag-ye-tes*.

<sup>9</sup> *pr̥ṣṭha-labdha-jñāna* = *rjes-thob-ye-tes*.



the Śrāvaka whose mind is fully and exclusively concentrated upon the Non-ego principle.<sup>1</sup> It has two main subdivisions, viz. the so-called "Unimpeded Path"<sup>2</sup> and the "Path of Deliverance."<sup>3</sup> The former is defined as "the intuition of the four Truths which represents the direct antidote against the imputed<sup>4</sup> views regarding the reality of the Ego,"<sup>5</sup> and the latter is called "the intuition of the Truths at the time when the Obscurations originated by the imputed views are definitely removed."<sup>6</sup> The first of these sub-divisions is further divided into the eight forms of Perseverance (*kṣānti* = *bzod-pa*). Of these, the four varieties of "Perseverance in the cognition of the Doctrine"<sup>7</sup> refer to the object cognized, i. e. to each of the four Truths or Principles of the Saint respectively, and represent their direct intuitive cognition from the Non-ego standpoint.<sup>8</sup> Through this cognition the defiling forces that are to be removed by the intuition of the Truth (*drṣṭi-keya*) become suppressed. The other four are the varieties of the "Perseverance in the introspective cognition,"<sup>9</sup> they refer to the subjective part, i. e. they represent the intuition of the preceding four forms of Perseverance, likewise from the Non-ego standpoint.<sup>10</sup> The Path of Deliverance (*vimukti-mārga*) in its turn, consists of the eight varieties of Resulting Cognition. These are: 1) The four kinds of the Resulting Cognition of the Doctrine

<sup>1</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 7 a. 3-4. *rañ-yul-du-gyur-paḥi gañ-zag-gi bdag-med-la rtse-goig-tu mñam-par-bdag-paḥi ñan-thos-kyi bden-pa-mñon-rtogs.*

<sup>2</sup> *ānantarya-mārga* = *bar-chad-med-lam.*

<sup>3</sup> *vimukti-mārga* = *rnam-grol-lam.*

<sup>4</sup> *parikalpita-kleśa-āvaraṇa* = *ñon-egrib-kun-btags*, i. e. those Obscurations of Defilement which are due to wrong views. They are opposed to the "innate" Obscurations (*sahaja*) which are to be mentioned below.

<sup>5</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 7 a. 5. *ñon-egrib-kun-btags-kyi dños-gñen-du-gyur-paḥi ñan-thos-kyi bden-pa-mñon-rtogs.*

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 7 b. 2. *ñon-egrib-kun-btags epaṇis-paḥi rnam-grol-lam-du-gyur-paḥi ñan-thos-kyi bden-pa-mñon-rtogs.* Cf. Yaśomitra, Abhidh. vyākṣ. II Kośasthāna 31. 20. *sa (ānantarya-mārgaḥ) punar yena kleśān prajāhāti. vimukti-mārgo'py ānantarya-mārgād anantaram utpadyate kleśa-prahāya-prāpter avadhāraḥ.*

<sup>7</sup> *dharma-jñāna-kṣānti* = *chos-ñes-paḥi bzod-pa.*

<sup>8</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 7 b. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *antraya-jñāna-kṣānti* = *rjes-su-ñes-paḥi bzod-pa.*

<sup>10</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 7 b. 1.

(*dharma-jñāna* = *chos-śes*), referring to the objective part, i. e. the four Truths of the Saint respectively and 2) the four forms of Resulting Introspective Cognition (*anvaya-jñāna* = *rjes-śes*) of the preceding four. The eight varieties of Perseverance and the eight kinds of Resulting Cognition, taken together, represent the sixteen moments (*ṣoḍaśa kṣaṇāḥ* = *skud-cig-ma bcu-drug*) of the Path of Illumination. There are really only two moments,—one including the Unimpeded Path, i. e. the eight forms of Perseverance which are simultaneous, and the other representing the Path of Deliverance, or otherwise the eight kinds of Resulting Cognition which likewise go along together.

According to the *Abhidharmakośa*, the first four kinds of Perseverance represent the Unimpeded Path removing the defiling forces peculiar to the World of Gross Bodies or of Carnal Desire,<sup>1</sup> and the first four varieties of Resulting Cognition constitute the corresponding Path of Deliverance. The remaining forms of Perseverance and of Resulting Cognition do not represent the introspective intuition of the first eight, but are regarded as relating to the higher mystic worlds, viz. the World of Pure Matter or of Ethereal Bodies<sup>2</sup> and the Immaterial Sphere.<sup>3</sup> They constitute the corresponding Unimpeded Path and the Path of Deliverance removing the defiling elements peculiar to the higher Spheres.<sup>4</sup>

Another theory concerning the sixteen moments is to be found in Ārya Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya*; it will be discussed later on, in connexion with the Mahāyānistic Path.

As regards the knowledge which is acquired after the concentrated trance (*prṣṭha-labha-jñāna*), it is that which appears after the termination of the Path of Deliverance. It contains the elements of both direct sense-perception<sup>5</sup> and of constructive thought<sup>6</sup> likewise, whereas "the intuition at the time of concentrated trance"

<sup>1</sup> *kāma-dhātu* = *khod-khams*.

<sup>2</sup> *rūpa-dhātu* = *gzugs-khams*.

<sup>3</sup> *śūnyā-dhātu* = *gzugs-med-khams*.

<sup>4</sup> Gser-phreñ II. 42 a. 4—6. Cf. also Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *pratyakṣa* = *miñon-sum*.

<sup>6</sup> *kalpanā* = *rtog-pa*.

(*samāhita-jñāna*) represents exclusively the direct mystic perception of the Saint.<sup>1</sup>

The next main degree of the Path is—

**d. The Path of Concentrated Contemplation (*bhāvanā-mārga* = *sgom-lam*).**

It is defined as "the subsequent intuition (of the Truth)"<sup>2</sup> or as the process of intuition of the Śrāvaka which is characterized by the repeated practice of concentrated meditation over the Non-ego principle.<sup>3</sup> Like the Path of Illumination, it consists of the intuitive knowledge at the time of intense concentration (*samāhita-jñāna*), and the cognition which is acquired after the termination of the latter (*prṣṭha-labdha-jñāna*).

The first of these has likewise its Unimpeded Path and its Path of Deliverance (*ānantarya-mārga* and *vimukti-mārga*), which differ from the corresponding divisions of the Path of Illumination with respect to the hostile elements that are to be removed. These are the innate defiling forces,<sup>4</sup> those which are to be suppressed by concentrated trance.<sup>5</sup> They are classified in the following manner:—

First come nine forms of defilement relating to the World of Gross Bodies or of Carnal Desire.<sup>6</sup> They include all the defiling elements which are to be eradicated by concentrated trance, and represent a classification of them with regard to their more gross or more subtle character. So we have first of all the gross (*adhi-mātra* = *chen-po*), the intermediate (*madhya* = *hbrin-ba*) and the subtle (*mr̥du* = *chun-tu*) forms of defilement, peculiar to the world of Carnal Desire. Each of these varieties is in its turn split into

<sup>1</sup> *yogi-pratyakṣa* = *rnal-'byor-mñon-sun*. Cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 16 and 17.

<sup>2</sup> *ārdhva-abhisamaya* = *rjes-la-mñon-rtogs*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sa-lam* Kh. 3 b. 1–3.

<sup>4</sup> *sahaja-kleśa-āvaraṇa* = *ñon-sgril-lhan-skyes*.

<sup>5</sup> *bhāvanā-kṛya* = *sgom-spañ*.

<sup>6</sup> *kāma-dhātū* = *hdod-khams*.

three subdivisions, the grossest of the gross, the intermediate of the gross, and so on.<sup>1</sup>

Similar is the division of the defiling elements peculiar to the sphere of Pure Matter or of Ethereal Bodies, i.e. each of the four degrees of Trance,<sup>2</sup> and those which are extant in the Immaterial World,<sup>3</sup> i.e. in the Spheres of Infinite Space,<sup>4</sup> Infinite Consciousness,<sup>5</sup> Absolute Voidity,<sup>6</sup> and the Highest Point of Phenomenal Existence.<sup>7</sup> In each of these there are respectively nine kinds of defilement, so that, with the nine peculiar to the World of Carnal Desire, there will be altogether 81 forms.

In correspondence with them we have 81 subdivisions of the Śrāvaka's Path of Concentrated Contemplation, or, to speak more precisely, 81 varieties of the Unimpeded Path directly removing the defiling elements, and 81 subdivisions of the Path of Deliverance, i.e. the state when the removal of the said elements is accomplished. The 81st and last of these forms, strictly speaking, refers already to the Ultimate Path,<sup>8</sup> since the removal of all the defiling forces is fully attained.

These varieties of the Path of Concentrated Contemplation are counted in the reverse order:—First comes the most inferior form of the inferior Path of Concentrated Contemplation as the antidote of the grossest of the gross forms of defilement, and so on, up to the highest of the high, where the most subtle of the subtle defiling forces are removed.<sup>9</sup> There are two ways of accomplishing this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yaśomitra, Abhidh. vyākḥ. II Kośasthāna 32. 1—8.—*tena mārgeṇa nava-prakāraṇ kṛtāṇ praheyaṇ. adhimātra-adhimātro 'dhimātra-madhyo 'dhimātra-mṛduḥ madhya-adhimātro madhya-madhyo madhya-mṛduḥ mṛdu-adhimātro mṛdu-madhyo mṛdu-mṛduḥ ca.*

<sup>2</sup> *catvāri dhyānāni* = *beam-gtan léi.*      <sup>3</sup> *ārūpya-dhātu.*

<sup>4</sup> *ākāśa-ānantya-āyatana* = *nam-mkhaḥ-mthaḥ-yas-kyi skye-mched.*

<sup>5</sup> *viññāna-ānantya-āyatana* = *rnam-tes-mthaḥ-yas-kyi skye-mched.*

<sup>6</sup> *ākīncanya-āyatana* = *ci-yān-med-paḥi skye-mched.*

<sup>7</sup> *bhavāgra* = *avid-rtse.*      <sup>8</sup> *asaikya-mārga* = *mi-slob-lam.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Yaśomitra, Abhidh. vyākḥ. II Kośasthāna 32. 9—11.—*ihā'pi mṛdu-mṛdu-dhyām ānantarya-vimuktī-mārgādhyām adhimātra-adhimātraṇ kleśa-prakāraṇ preja-*

removal of defilement. One of these is the so-called "gradual method"; it consists in the extirpation, first of the nine subdivisions peculiar to the Sphere of Carnal Desire, then of the nine forms peculiar to the first degree of trance, and so on. The other is the "simultaneous extirpation," the removal at once, with regard to all the three Spheres of Existence, first of all the gross, then of all the intermediate, and finally of all the subtle forms of defilement.<sup>1</sup>

#### e. The Ultimate Path (*aśaikṣa-mārga* = *mi-slob-lam*).

When all the defiling elements are thus removed, the Śrāvaka Saint is considered to have terminated the Path of Concentrated Contemplation and to have entered the Ultimate Path. It is accordingly defined as the final intuition of the Śrāvaka who has arrived at the end of the Path,<sup>2</sup> has terminated the course of training, is no more under Discipline,<sup>3</sup> has completely removed all the defiling elements, and has attained the position of an Arhat.<sup>4</sup> Here there are two varieties to be distinguished, viz. the Arhat who has removed the Obscurations simultaneously, and the Arhat who has done the same by means of the gradual method. The former is characterized as being possessed of a more acute,<sup>5</sup> and the latter,—of a more feeble intellectual faculty.<sup>6</sup>

#### B. THE PATH OF THE PRATYKABUDDHA.

As we have already mentioned before, the Pratyekabuddha on his Path has to cognize the unreality of the Ego and, above this,

*hāti. evaṃ yāvad adhimātra-adhimātrābhyaṃ ānantarya-vimukti-mārgābhyaṃ mṛdu-mṛdu-kleśa-prakāraṃ prajahāti.*

<sup>1</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 4 a. 4-5. *ñan-thos-cig-car-pa-ni khams-gsum-gyi sgom-spañ-rname chen-po hbrin chuñ-su dgu-dril-nas ril cig-car-du spoñ-la yin-no.*

<sup>2</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 9 a. 6-b 1.—*ñan-thos-kyi lam-gyi hbrod-pa mthar-phyin-pañi mñon-rtogs.*

<sup>3</sup> In such a sense we have to understand the term *aśaikṣa* = *mi-slob-pa*.

<sup>4</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 4 a. 6-b. 1.—*ñan-moñs zad-par-spañs-pañi ñan-thos-kyi lam ñan-thos dgra-bcom-pañi rgyud-kyi-mñon-rtogs.*

<sup>5</sup> *śikṣa-indriya* = *dbañ-rnon.*

<sup>6</sup> *mṛdu-indriya* = *dbañ-rtul.*

the objective unreality of the external world. He has accordingly to get rid of 1) the conception of the reality of the Ego, and 2) the imputation of the reality of the external world. Another characteristic feature of the Pratyekabuddha's Path is that this Saint comes to the intuition of the Truth by himself, independently, and not with the help of others, as is the case with the Śrāvakas.<sup>1</sup> The object which he desires to apprehend clearly appears before his mind without being communicated by words.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, the Pratyekabuddha's Path of Accumulating Merit (*sambhāra-mārga* = *tshogs-lam*) is characterized by the attainment of a state of perfect tranquillity of the mind<sup>3</sup>, which is concentrated upon the idea of the unreality of the external world.<sup>4</sup>

The Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga* = *sbyor-lam*) is considered to have begun when the Pratyekabuddha becomes possessed of the power of transcendental analysis<sup>5</sup> which is directed upon the same idea.<sup>6</sup> The four degrees of this Path represent the gradual augmentation of the clearness of his knowledge.

Then comes the Pratyekabuddha's Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga* = *mthoñ-lam*), his direct intuition of the Truth. It is called "the Path of the Pratyekabuddha characterized by highest analytic knowledge directly perceiving, for the first time, the absence of an independent reality of the objective elements, or otherwise,—the unreality of the external world."<sup>7</sup> Like the corresponding Path

<sup>1</sup> Abhisam. alampkāra II. 6.—*paropadeśa-vaiyarthyaṃ svayaṃ-bodhāt svayaṃ-bhūtaṃ.*

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. II. 7.—*śūdrāṇāṃ yasya yasyārthe yatra yatra yathā yathā,  
sa so'rthah khyāty āśabdo'pi tasya tasya tathā tathā.*

<sup>3</sup> *śamatha* = *zi-gnas*.

<sup>4</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 10 a. 6.—*rañ-rgyal-gyi tshogs-lam-gyi gnas-skabs-su phyi-rol-don ston-la dmigs-paḥi zi-gnas thob-kyan lhag-mthoñ ma-thob-la.*

<sup>5</sup> *vipaśyanā* = *lhag-mthoñ*.

<sup>6</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 10 b. 1. *de-la dmigs-paḥi lhag-mthoñ thob-pa-na rañ-rgyal-gyi sbyor-lam-drod* (i. e. the degree of Heat—*ūṣmagata*) *thob-pa-yin-no.*

<sup>7</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 5 b. 2-3. *gzun-ba chos-kyi-bdag-med-tsam (grāhya-dharma-nairātmya-mātra) mñon-sum-du gear-du rtogs-paḥi tes-rab-kyis dños-su-zin-paḥi rañ-rgyal-gyi-lam or phyi-don bden-med-tsam, &c.*

of the Śrāvaka it is divided into 1) the intuition at the time of intense concentration and the knowledge acquired after the termination of the trance (*samāhita-jñāna* and *prṣṭha-labdha-jñāna*), 2) the Unimpeded Path and the Path of Deliverance (*ānantarya-mārga* and *vimukti-mārga*), and 3) the 16 moments.

The Pratyekabuddha's Path of Concentrated Contemplation (*bhāvanā-mārga* = *sgom-lam*) is "the Path dominated by highest analytic knowledge engaged in a repeated practice of concentrated meditation on the objective unreality of the external world."<sup>1</sup> The classification of this Path into 81 varieties in correspondence with the 81 forms of defilement peculiar to the three Spheres of Existence is the same as with the Path of the Śrāvaka.

Finally, the Ultimate Path of the Pratyekabuddha (*aśaikṣa-mārga* = *mi-slob-lam*) is defined as his full intuition of the Truth, when the imputation of reality concerning the external world is completely and definitely removed.<sup>2</sup> The person who has attained this ultimate position, the so-called Pratyekabuddha Arhat,<sup>3</sup> is considered to be of two kinds, viz. the Pratyekabuddha who associates himself with the multitude of the Śrāvaka Saints,<sup>4</sup> and the solitary Pratyekabuddha.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Mahāyānist tradition, the termination of the Śrāvaka's and the Pratyekabuddha's Path does not represent the final goal; the Nirvāṇa of the Hinayānist Saint is not the ultimate Nirvāṇa.<sup>6</sup> It is only a state of cataleptic trance, in which the Arhat is merged for an exceedingly long period of time that can last many aeons. At the close of this period he is awakened from such a

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 5 b. 4 5.—*gzun-ba chos-kyi bdag-med-tsam mñon-sum-du mñon-zin goms-par-byed-paḥi tes-rab-kyis dños-su-zin-paḥi rañ-rgyal-gyi lam.*

<sup>2</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 11 a. 3.—*gzun-ba phyi-rol-don-du ḥdzin-paḥi rlog-pa ma-lus-par spane-paḥi rañ-rgyal-gyi mkhyen-pa.*

<sup>3</sup> *rañ-rgyal-dgra-bcom-pa.*

<sup>4</sup> *oarga-cārin* = *tshogs-spyod.*

<sup>5</sup> *khaḍga-viśūṣa-kalpa* = *bse-ru-lla-bu.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. my translation of the Uttaratantra-vyākhyā, p. 207, 211.



state by the exhortation of a Buddha, whereupon he enters the Mahāyānistic Path, the unique vehicle conducive to Salvation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the teaching of the Unique Vehicle (*eka-yāna*) maintained by both the branches of the Mādhyamika school (Svātantrika and Prāsangika). It is expressed in Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-śloka* (M. S. Minaev, 94 a. 3-b. 14) as follows:—*mahā-śrāvakaḥ tu sopadhi-nirupadhi-saṃjñakaṃ bodhi-dvayaṃ labdhvā bhavād uru-karuyā-prajñā-vaikalyaṇa uttrasta-mānasāḥ. pūrva-avedha-ākṣipta-āyuh-parikṣa-yān nirvāṇa-sambhava'pi pradīpa-nirvāṇa-prakhyā-nirvāṇa-saṃjñino vyatirakta-trai-dhātuka-janmānaś ca cyuti-citta-anantaraṃ paribuddheṣu buddha-kṣetreṣu anāraha-dhātava samāhitā eva padma-puṣpeṣu jāyante. tatas te Amitābhādī-sambuddha-bhāskaraiv aklīṣṭa-tamo-hānaye suprabodhitā bodhi-cittam utpādyā mukty-avasthāyāṃ narakādi-cārikāṃ eva gatiṃ gacchantāḥ krameṇa bodhi-saṃbhāraṃ saṃbhṛtya loka-guravo bhavaṃtīty āgamān niścitam iti. punarbhava-kleśa-kāraṇa-nivṛttyā traidhātuka-utpattikāryaṃ nivarjate na tv anāraha-dhātu-utpattir iti kathaṃ nirodhaḥ. tasmāt sarvasmin yāne sarvathā eka-mahāyāna-samavasaraṇa-deśanaiva nyāyā lakṣyate. evaṃ cāyaṃ Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-Satyaka-satyaki-parivartādisu pāṭhaḥ sunīto bhavati: bhaviṣyasi tvam Śāriputra anāgate dhvani samyak-saṃbuddhaḥ. tathā: ekaṃ hi yānaṃ dvitīyaṃ na vidyate ity ādi. punar uttāra-parivarjanārthaṃ keśampcid Dāśadharmaka-Ratna-meghādisu eka-yāna-deśanārtha nītārtha iti Bhagavataiva spāṣṭikṛtāḥ. Laṅkāvatāre co'ktaṃ: nāsti Mahāmate śrāvaka-yānikānāṃ śrāvaka-yānena vimokṣo'pi tu mahāyāna-paryavasānikā eva ta ityādi. tathā Ārya-Nāgārjuna-pādāḥ tan-mata-anusāriṇaś ca Eka-yāna-naya-vādina āhuḥ:*

*labdhvā bodhi-dvayaṃ hy ete bhavād uttrasta-mānasāḥ  
bhavanty āyuh-kṣayāt tuṣṭāḥ prāpta-nirvāṇa-saṃjñināḥ.  
na teṣāṃ asti nirvāṇaṃ kiṃ tu janma bhava-traye  
dhātava na vidyate teṣāṃ te'pi tiṣṭhanty anārahe,  
aklīṣṭajñāna-hānāya paścād buddhaśīḥ prabodhitāḥ  
saṃbhṛtya bodhi-saṃbhāraṃ te'pi syur loka-nāyakaḥ.*

"The great Śrāvakas, having attained the 2 kinds of Enlightenment (i.e. of the Śrāvaka proper and the Pratyekabuddha) with and without residue, remain with their minds full of fear, since they are deprived of Great Commiseration and Highest Wisdom. (Cf. my translation of the *Uttaratantra-vyākhyā*, p. 142, 143, 145, 146.) Owing to the cessation of the force of lifetime, produced by the previous Biotic Force, the attainment of Nirvāṇa becomes possible. But in reality (the Hīnayānist Saints) are possessed only of that (seeming) Nirvāṇa which is called 'the Nirvāṇa resembling an extinguished light.' The births in the 3 Spheres of Existence have ceased, but, after their worldly existence has taken an end, the Arhats become born in the most pure spheres of Buddhist activity, in the Unaffected Plane (*anāraha-dhātu*, cf. my translation of the *Uttaratantra-vyākhyā*, p. 169), in a state of perpetual trance and abiding within the petals of lotus-flowers. Thereafter Ami-



## C. THE MAHĀYĀNISTIC PATH.

Before entering upon an investigation of each of the five Stages of this Path, it is necessary to point out some special details which are characteristic for the Mahāyānistic Path in general. The chief

tābha and other Buddhas resembling the sun arouse them in order that they might be able to remove the undefiled ignorance (*akliṣṭa-ajñāna*, i.e. the Force of Transcendental Illusion *avidyā-vāsanā*, cf. my translation, p. 170). Thereupon (the Arhats) make their Creative Effort for Supreme Enlightenment and, though they abide in a state of Deliverance, they act (in the Phenomenal World) as if they were making a descent to hell and the like. And, gradually, having accumulated all the factors for the attainment of Enlightenment, they become the teachers of the living beings (i.e. Buddhas). This is ascertained by Scripture. The defiling elements which represent the cause for the repeated births are removed (by the Arhats), and owing to this the effect produced by these defiling forces, i.e. the origination in the 3 Spheres of Existence, likewise takes an end. But this does not mean that there cannot be any rebirth in the Unaffected Sphere. Therefore the teaching that all the Vehicles have their issue in the unique Mahāyāna is to be regarded as correct. Thus the passage in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, in the Satyaka-satyaki-parivarta, &c. (Saddh. puṇḍ., B. B. 40. 13-15 and 65. 3-7): O Śāriputra, in future times thou shalt become a Supreme Buddha—expresses the direct meaning, as well as the other: There is one Vehicle and no other.—Again, the Teaching of the Unique Vehicle in the Daśadharmaka, Ratnamegha and other Sūtras, delivered in order to remove the fear of some (of the converts) and expressing the idea of the Unique Vehicle, is likewise to be regarded as being of direct meaning. This has been clearly demonstrated by the Lord. Moreover, it is said in the Lankāvatāra:—O Mahāmātī, there is no Salvation for the adherents of the Śrāvaka Vehicle by means of the latter. They likewise end (their activity) in the Mahāyāna,—and so on. Accordingly, the most venerable Saint Nāgārjuna, and the (other) followers of the theory of the Unique Vehicle who agree with his point of view have said as follows:—

They (the Arhats), having attained the 2 kinds of Enlightenment,  
With minds full of fear regarding Phenomenal Existence,  
Are glad, when their lifetime takes an end,  
And they are considered to have attained Nirvāṇa.  
But the real Nirvāṇa is not attained by them;  
The birth in the 3 Spheres of Existence has ceased,  
But still they continue to abide in the Unaffected Sphere.  
Aroused subsequently by the Buddhas,  
In order that they might remove the undefiled ignorance,  
And having accumulated (the factors) for Enlightenment,  
They become the leaders of the living beings.”—

of these is the teaching about the foundation<sup>1</sup> of the Path, which is the fundamental element<sup>2</sup> of Buddhahood, otherwise called the Essence of the Buddha,<sup>3</sup> the Germ or Seed<sup>4</sup> of Enlightenment, or the element of the lineage of the Buddha,<sup>5</sup> existing in all living beings. An investigation of the theory concerning this element which, according to some, represents an active force and, with others, is immutable<sup>6</sup> and identical with the Unique Absolute,<sup>7</sup> is contained in the *Uttaratantra*, the last of the five treatises of Maitreya, and has been the subject of a special study. Here it will be sufficient to make the following remarks. According to the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*<sup>8</sup> this fundamental element is essentially unique and undifferentiated. The three varieties of it, viz. that of the Hinayanist, the Pratyekabuddha, and the Bodhisattva, and their corresponding Paths are nevertheless admitted, but they are regarded as conventional, and the Ultimate Result of all of them is considered to be only one, i.e. Buddhahood, the coalescence of the individual element of the Absolute with the unique motionless Whole.<sup>9</sup> In numerous Mahāyānistic texts, Scripture and exegesis, we have the idea expressed that all living beings belong to the lineage of the Buddha and have therefore the possibility of attaining Buddhahood.<sup>10</sup> It is said that "all living beings are pervaded by the element of Buddhahood (*gotreṇa vyāptāḥ*)."<sup>11</sup> The most pregnant expression of this idea is, as we know, contained in the *Uttaratantra*, Kār. I. 27, 28, 48, 49, 94 sqq. (the 9 examples) and in the *Uttaratantra-vyākhyā*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ādharma* = *rten*.      <sup>2</sup> *dhātu* = *khams*.

<sup>3</sup> *tathāgata-garbha* = *de-bśin-gtogs-paḥi sñān-po*.      <sup>4</sup> *bīja* = *sa-bon*.

<sup>5</sup> *gotra* = *rigs*.      <sup>6</sup> *asaṃskṛta* = *hdus-ma-byins*.

<sup>7</sup> *dharma-dhātu* = *chos-kyi-dbyiñs*.

<sup>8</sup> I. 39.—*dharma-dhātor asaṃbhedād gotra-bhedo na gñijyate*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Uttaratantra*, Kār. I. 83. (Translation, p. 205.)

<sup>10</sup> Cf. my Introduction to the translation of the *Uttaratantra*, p. 107.

<sup>11</sup> In such a sense we have to understand the word *vyāpti* in *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* II. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. my translation, p. 129, 151 (the Parable of the Cloth of Silk), 185.

In the process of Illumination, the object of concentration and intuition is the Absolute as the true essence<sup>1</sup> of the meditator himself; it is thus intuited introspectively.<sup>2</sup> This theory shows a striking similarity with the Vedānta teaching of the individual soul (*jīva*) as being essentially identical with Brahman—the Ultimate Essence of the Universe, and as attaining Salvation in the coalescence with the latter.

Apart from this theory we have in the Mahāyāna another point of view, viz. that of the Yogācāras, admitting the existence of Hīnayānistic Arhats, who can never attain Buddhahood, and thus considering the three varieties of the element of the lineage (*gotra*) to be essentially different. They accordingly maintain the theory of the "three Ultimate Vehicles to Salvation."<sup>3</sup>

Thus, conventionally or not, three varieties of the Path are admitted by the Mahāyānistic tradition. It distinguishes them from the standpoint of the Obscurations that are to be removed. These are:—1) The Obscuration of Moral Defilement<sup>4</sup> and 2) the Obscuration of Ignorance.<sup>5</sup> The Śrāvaka Saint can remove only the first, i.e. the conception of the Ego and the passions connected with it. The Pratyekabuddha removes the Obscuration of Defilement and a part of the Obscuration of Ignorance, that is the imputation of the reality

<sup>1</sup> I.e. as the *dhātu*, *gotra*, *tathāgata-garbha*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *pratyātma-vedya* = *so-so-rath-gis rig-par-bya-ba*. It is interesting to note here the definition of the Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga*) as given in Skabs II. 32 a. 5–6.—"The Mahāyānist's cognition of the Truth which is dominated by the intuition, for the first time, of the Absolute as the essential nature of (the Saint's) own stream of elements."

<sup>3</sup> Tib. *mtshar-thug-gi theg-pa gsum*. As regards the Arhats who remain for ever merged in the Unaffected Sphere (*anāsrava-dhātu*) we have in the Skabs-brgyad-ka an interesting quotation from the Saṃdhirinimocana-sūtra (Skabs I. 59 a. 6 –b 1):—"There are individuals who belong to the Śrāvaka lineage and whose aim is solely the attainment of quiescence (*śi-ba bgrud-pa geig-pu-pa*). Although all the Buddhas taken together may apply their energy, it is impossible to secure for the said individuals the Essence of Supreme Enlightenment."

<sup>4</sup> *kṛta-āvaraya* = *ñion-moñs-kyi sgrib-pa* (*ñion-sgrib*).

<sup>5</sup> *jñeya-āvaraya* = *śe-b-yañi sgrib-pa* (*śe-sgrib*).

of the external world. The Bodhisattva, on his Path, has to get rid of both the Obscurations and, especially, of the subtle form of the Obscuration of Ignorance which consists in the differentiation of subject and object and of Samsāra and Nirvāṇa as two separate entities.<sup>1</sup> His Path is accordingly defined as "the process of intuition of the individual who is possessed of highest analytic wisdom cognizing the unreality of both subject and object and of all the separate entities."<sup>2</sup> This individual abiding on the Mahāyānist Path can be of two kinds, viz. 1) the Bodhisattva who from the outset belongs to the Mahāyānist lineage,<sup>3</sup> and 2) the Arhat (Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha) who has subsequently entered the Mahāyānist Path.<sup>4</sup> The former has to remove simultaneously both the Obscurations. The latter in his turn has fully extirpated all the passions, &c., i.e. the Obscuration of Moral Defilement. Therefore he has to remove only the Obscuration of Ignorance, viz. the realistic views regarding the separate elements.

The five divisions of this Path of the Mahāyānist are as follows:—

**a. The Path of Accumulating Merit (*sambhāra-mārga*  
= *tshogs-lam*).**

As we have said before, the foundation of the Path, the basis for the Bodhisattva's activity,<sup>5</sup> is contained in the fundamental element of Buddhahood or of the saintly lineage. In order that the individual may enter the Path, this germ of Enlightenment must be first aroused to life; to speak otherwise, the element of the Absolute, which immutably exists in every living being from the outset (*prākṛti-stha-gotra*), must become possessed of a reflection in the Empirical World in the form of an active element which undergoes the process of development (*paripuṣṭa-gotra*). This awakening of the Germ to

<sup>1</sup> This is the standpoint of the Mādhyamikas.

<sup>2</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 6 a. 6—b. 1.—*bdzin-pa chos-kyi-bdag-med rtogs-paḥi kes-rab rgyud-ltan-gyi gaṇ-zag-gi mñon-rtogs*.

<sup>3</sup> *niyata-gotraka* = *rigs-ñes*.

<sup>4</sup> *aniyata-gotraka* = *rigs-ma-ñes-pa*.

<sup>5</sup> *pratipatter ādhāraḥ* = *agrab-paḥi rten*.

life is preceded and conditioned by thoughts of Great Commiseration,<sup>1</sup> this essential feature of the Bodhisattva. It takes place when one becomes possessed of the highest form of altruistic tendency,<sup>2</sup> consisting in the readiness for giving away one's life for the sake of other living beings. After that comes the Bodhisattva's first Creative Mental Effort for Enlightenment,<sup>3</sup> the desire of attaining Buddhahood not only for one's own benefit, but especially for leading others to Salvation. When this first Creative Effort has been made, the Bodhisattva is considered to have entered the Path, i.e. its first preliminary degree, the Path of Accumulating Merit. The latter is accordingly defined as "the thorough knowledge of the Doctrine which is dominated by the Mahāyānistic Creative Effort for Enlightenment."<sup>4</sup> Its other names are: the Stage of the Initial Activity of the Bodhisattva,<sup>5</sup> the Preliminary Steps conducive to Salvation,<sup>6</sup> the Stage of Devotion,<sup>7</sup> &c. It has moreover three subdivisions, the inferior (*mṛdu*), the intermediate (*madhya*), and the highest (*adhimātra*).

#### b. The Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga* = *sbyor-lam*).

This second division of the Path is considered to have begun when the Bodhisattva, though still a worldly being, becomes possessed of the power of transcendental analysis<sup>8</sup> which is directed upon the Non-substantiality,<sup>9</sup> the Relativity of all the elements of existence. Moreover it is said to begin when one becomes endowed with the power of suppressing the imputation concerning the reality of the objective defiling elements and manifesting itself in an evident and

<sup>1</sup> *maha-karuṇā* = *stān-rje-chen-po*.

<sup>2</sup> *adhyāśaya* = *lhag-paḥi-bsam-pa*.

<sup>3</sup> *bodhi-citta-utpāda* = *byañ-chub-tu sems-bakjed*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sa-lam Kh. 6 b. 2*.—*theg-chen-gyi chos-mñon-rtoḡs* and *theg-chen sems-bakjed-kyis zin-paḥi chos-mñon-rtoḡs*.

<sup>5</sup> *ādikarmika-bhūmi* = *las-daṅ-po-paḥi sa*.

<sup>6</sup> *mokṣa-bhāgiya* = *thar-paḥi cha daṅ-mthun-pa*.

<sup>7</sup> *braddhā-bhūmi* = *dad-paḥi sa*.

<sup>8</sup> *vipaśyanā* = *lhag-mthoñ*.

<sup>9</sup> *śūnyatā* = *stoñ-pa-ñid*.

gross form.<sup>1</sup> Like the corresponding Paths of the Śrāvaka and the Pratyekabuddha, the Mahāyānist Path of Training is divided into four degrees,—those of Heat (*ūṣmagata* = *dro-bar-gyur-pa* or *drod*), the Climax (*mūrdhagata* = *rtse-mor-gyur-pa* or *rtse-mo*), Steadfastness (*kṣānti* = *bzod-pa*), and Highest Mundane Virtues (*laukika-agra-dharma* = *kyig-rten-paḥi chos-kyi mchog* or *chos-mchog*). The first of these is characterized by the origination, for the first time, in the mind of the Bodhisattva of the clear light of intuition, which reveals to him, though but slightly,<sup>2</sup> the unreality of all the elements of the external world. This is the first result of the concentrated meditation on the idea of the Non-substantiality of the elements, practised before on the Path of Accumulating Merit. It is called the degree of Heat, being “like the heat which precedes the fire of immediate direct knowledge of the Truth on the Path of Illumination.”<sup>3</sup> Next comes the degree of the Climax, which represents the augmentation of this light of knowledge regarding the external elements. Before entering the Path of Training, the roots of virtue of the Bodhisattva are in danger of being stopped in their growth by enmity and other defiling agencies. On the second degree of the Path of Training this is no more possible. The roots of virtue, which up to that time had been unsteady, here attain a firm and stabilized position, and the climax of their growth. This is why the second degree of the Path of Training is called “the Climax.”<sup>4</sup> After it we have “the Degree of Steadfastness” (*kṣānti* = *bzod-pa*). Here the representation of the reality of the external World has completely vanished, and now the consideration of the reality of the subject that perceives likewise begins to disappear. Accordingly, this third degree of the

<sup>1</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 12 a. 5.—*ston-ñid-la dmigs-paḥi lhaḡ-mthoñ dan-por thob-pa dan theḡ-chen-gyi sdyor-lam-du tugs-pa dus-mñam*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Haribhadra quoted below.—*īṣat-spaṣṭa-jñāna-āloka*.

<sup>3</sup> Abhis. Ālokā. M. S. Minaev, 41 a. 16—41 b. 1.—*nirvikalpa-jñāna-agni-pūrva-rūpatvād ūṣmagatam īvoṣmagatam*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sa-lam Jig. 12 b. 1—2 and Abhis. Ālokā. M. S. Minaev, 45 b., 15—16.—*cala-kuṣala-mūla-mūrdhateṣṇ mūrdhagatam*.

Path of Training is defined as "the state of transic meditation which is characterized by the origination, for the first time, of the clear light of knowledge, revealing the unreality of the subjective elements."<sup>1</sup> It bears the name of "the Degree of Steadfastness" owing to the attainment, by the Bodhisattva, of complete firmness and of a steadfast mind, so that he has no more to fear the profound Doctrine of the Non-substantiality and Relativity of all elements of existence. From this time the Bodhisattva can no more become reborn in either of the three evil states of existence. The attainment of the degree of steadfastness is accordingly to be regarded as the liberation for ever from the evil births.<sup>2</sup> Finally, when the light of the Bodhisattva's knowledge concerning the unreality of the perceiving subject becomes developed, and when he becomes able to pass into the Unimpeded Trance<sup>3</sup> which is followed by the direct perception of the Truth,—then he is considered to have attained the degree of the Highest Mundane Virtues (*laukika-agra-dharma* = *kjig-rten-paḥi chos-kyi-mchog* or simply *chos-mchog*).<sup>4</sup> It is called so, since it represents the highest point of development of the Bodhisattva while he is still an ordinary mundane being<sup>5</sup> and has not yet attained the position of a Saint. The attention is especially drawn to the incomplete, the mundane (*laukika*) character of the four degrees of the Path of Training.<sup>6</sup> At that time the meditating Bodhisattva does not yet possess the full direct intuition of the Absolute, and his knowledge is founded only upon the faith in it. Therefore the

<sup>1</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 7 a. 3.—*hdzin-pa bden-med-la gsal-maḥ dañ-por skyes-pa-tsam-gyis rab-tu-phye-baḥi kjig-rten-paḥi agom-byun.*

<sup>2</sup> Abhis. Ślokā. M. S. 48 a. 5.—*apāya-abhāvāna adhimātra-dharma-kṣamaṇāt kṛānti-gatam.*

<sup>3</sup> *ānantarya-samādhi* = *bar-chad-med-paḥi tin-ñe-hdzin.*

<sup>4</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 7 a. 4.—*hdzin-pa bden-med-la gsal-maḥ lhag-par-gyur-pa-tsam-gyis rab-tu-phye-baḥi kjig-rten-paḥi agom-byun.*

<sup>5</sup> Abhis. Ślokā. M. S. 50 a. 13.—*laukika-sarva-dharma-agra-vūd agra-dharma-akhyam.*

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. M. S. 17 a. 16-b 1.—*caturvidha-nirvedha-bhāgīyaṃ laukika-bhāvanā-mayam.*



Path of Training is otherwise called "the Stage of Faith" or, more precisely, "the Stage of Action in Faith" (*adhimukti-caryā-bhāmi* = *mos-pas spyod-paḥi sa*).<sup>1</sup> Each of the four degrees of the Path of Training has moreover three subdivisions, viz. the inferior (*mṛdu*), the intermediate (*madhya*), and the highest (*adhimātra*). Everyone of these has its special object (*ālambana* = *dmigs-pa*) of meditation, associated with a peculiar aspect (*ākāra* = *rnam-pa*) in which the said object is viewed. (The objects and aspects are indicated in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, Kār. I. 27—33.)

c. The Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga* = *mthoñ-lam*).

The definition of this first degree of the Path of the Mahāyānist Saint proper is the same as that of the corresponding Hīnayānistic Path, viz. the full and direct intuition of the four Truths or Principles of the Saint.<sup>2</sup> The main difference is that the elements of existence, as classified from the standpoint of these four Principles, are directly intuited not merely as devoid of a relation to the Ego, being at the same time real in their plurality, and not merely in their objective unreality as elements of the external world, but as having themselves no real essence of their own, as mutually dependent, i.e. relative, and as forming, from the standpoint of ultimate reality, one motionless

<sup>1</sup> Abhis. ālokā. M. Ś. 56 b. 1 sqq.—*etad uktam. evaṃ-kṛta-dharma-pravicayaḥ samāhita-cittas ca sarva-dharma-nairātmyaṃ bhāṣayan krameṇa yadā prthag-bhūta-artha-abhiniveśa-abhāvād iṣat-spaṣṭa-jñāna-ālokena mano-mātram eva paśyati tadā aśya āmagata-avasthā. sa eva atra āloka-labdho nāma samādhir ucyate mahāyāne. yadā tasyaiva dharma-ālokaśya vṛddhy-arthaṃ nairātmya-bhāvanāyāṃ vīrya-āram-bheṇa madhya-spaṣṭo jñāna-āloko bhavati tadā mūrdha-avasthā. sa eva vṛddha-āloko nāma samādhiḥ. yadā tu citta-mātra-avasthānena spaṣṭataro bāhya-artha abhiniveśa-abhāvāj jñāna-āloko jāyate tadā kṣānti-avasthā. grāhya-ākāra-anupalamāha-anupravesāt tattva-artha-ekadeśa-praviṣṭo nāma samādhiḥ. yadā punar artha-grāhaka-riṣṭeṇa-anābhāso jñāna-āloko nirpadyate tadā laukika-agra-dharma-avasthā. sa eva ānantaryo nāma samādhiḥ. sarvāś cai'tā avasthā dṛḍha-adhimuktito 'dhimukti-caryā-bhāmi ucyate.* A similar account of the 4 nirvedha-bhāgiya is to be found in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, XIV. 23—26 and Vasubandhu's Commentary thereon.

<sup>2</sup> *catvāri ārya-satyāni* = *hpḥags-paḥi bden-pa bḥi*.



Whole. The Mahāyānistic Path of Illumination has likewise its intuition at the time of intense concentration,<sup>1</sup> divided into the Unimpeded Path<sup>2</sup> and the Path of Deliverance<sup>3</sup> and the knowledge which is acquired after the termination of the trance.<sup>4</sup> The intuition at the time of intense concentration is characterized by the full absorption in the idea of the unique, undifferentiated Absolute as representing the true essential nature, the fundamental element (*dhātu*) of the meditator himself, which is to be cognized introspectively. The Absolute appears in its full light, devoid of all plurality and free from the differentiation into subject and object.<sup>5</sup> All the elements, as classified from the standpoint of the four Truths of the Saint, are intuited as separately unreal. The Bodhisattva, who from the outset is definitely possessed of the Mahāyānistic Germ of Enlightenment,<sup>6</sup> by this intuition removes all the forms of the Obscurations of Defilement and Ignorance which are to be extirpated by means of direct intuition.<sup>7</sup> The Bodhisattva, who has previously attained the fruit of Hīnayānistic Arhatship and has already done away with all the defiling forces, removes only the Obscuration of Ignorance, i.e. the realistic views in regard of the separate elements, which (views) are due to misconception.<sup>8</sup> This liberation from the realistic views is the principal feature of the Mahāyānistic Path of Illumination. Accordingly, that subdivision of it which is called the Unimpeded Path is defined as "the intuition of the Truth representing the direct antidote of the realistic views which are produced by incorrect imputation."<sup>9</sup> The Path of Deliverance is "the intuition characterized

<sup>1</sup> *samāhita-jñāna* = *mñam-btag-ye-ñes*.

<sup>2</sup> *ānantarya-mārga* = *bar-chad-med-lam*.

<sup>3</sup> *vimukti-mārga* = *rnam-grol-lam*.

<sup>4</sup> *pratyak-labdha-jñāna* = *rjes-thob-ye-ñes*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Sūtrālamkāra*, VI. 7.—*pratyakṣatām eti ca dharma-dhātus tasmād viyukto dvaya-lakṣaṇena*, and Vasubandhu thereon: *tataḥ pareṇa dharma-dhātov pratyakṣato gamane dvaya-lakṣaṇena viyukto grāhya-grāhaka-lakṣaṇena iyaṃ darśana-mārga-avaśthā*.

<sup>6</sup> *niyata-gotraka* = *rigs-ñes*.

<sup>7</sup> *drṣṭi-heya* = *mñon-spañ*.

<sup>8</sup> *parikalpita* = *kun-btags*.

<sup>9</sup> *Sa-lam Jig*, 13 a. 4-5.—*rañ-gi ños-skal-gyi spañ-bya bden-bdzin kun-btags-kyi ños-gñen-du-gyur-pañi theg-chen-gyi bden-pa-mñon-rtogs*.

by the removal of this kind of Obscuration as being fully accomplished."<sup>1</sup> We have here moreover, as with the Hinayanistic Path, the division into 16 moments, in correspondence with the four Truths of the Saint. It is necessary to mention here the special theory of the *Abhidharma-samuccaya* regarding these 16 moments, which is to be found likewise in Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-ālokā*. According to this theory the 16 moments are classified as follows:—The perseverance in the cognition of the Doctrine concerning the first Principle of the Saint<sup>2</sup> (the first moment) represents undefiled analytic knowledge, which is characterized by direct perception; by means of this knowledge the defilement which is to be removed through the intuition of the first principle of the Saint and is peculiar to all the three Spheres of Existence becomes extirpated. The resulting cognition regarding this same principle<sup>3</sup> is the knowledge which possesses the full intuition of the deliverance from the said Obscurations.<sup>4</sup> Similar are the other forms of perseverance and of resulting cognition,<sup>5</sup> respectively. The other eight moments, the introspective forms of perseverance and of resulting cognition, are characterized in the following manner:—The perseverance in the introspective cognition concerning the first principle of the Saint<sup>6</sup> is the undefiled analytic knowledge which appears directly after the resulting cognition of the Doctrine concerning the first principle of the Saint. It directly cognizes the latter as well as the corresponding form of perseverance as being the cause of all the saintly attributes. The resulting introspective

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 13 a. 5–6. *śes-sgrub kun-btags spanis-pas rab-tu-phyes-baḥi theg-chen gyi bden-pa-mñon-rtogs.*

<sup>2</sup> *duḥkhe dharma-jñāna-kṣānti* = *sdug-bśal-la chos-śes-paḥi-bzod-pa.*

<sup>3</sup> *duḥkhe dharma-jñāna* = *sdug-bśal-la chos-śes-pa.*

<sup>4</sup> *Abh.-samuccaya*, Aga ed. 67b. 6–68 a. 1, Gser. II. 41 a. 5–6 and *Abhis. ālokā*. M. S. 116 a. 13–b. 1. *duḥkha-satya-ādhipateyaṣya dharmasya pūrva-vicāraṇam adhipatiṃ kṛtvā pratyūtmam duḥkha-satya-anuḥhavi-jñānam anāsravaṃ yena duḥkha-darśana-prahātavyam kleśam prajāhāti tad ucyate duḥkha-dharma-jñāna-kṣāntiḥ. yena jñānena kṣānti-anantaram vimuktiṃ sūkṣmākaroti tad ucyate duḥkha-dharma-jñānam.*

<sup>5</sup> Gser. II. 41 a. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *duḥkhe anvaya-jñāna-kṣānti* = *sdug-bśal-la rjes-su-śes-paḥi bzod-pa.*

cognition regarding the first principle of the Saint is the knowledge which follows immediately after, and gives full ascertainment in regard of the preceding form. The other introspective forms of perseverance and of resulting cognition are to be viewed in the same manner.<sup>1</sup> Thus, according to this tradition, the introspective forms are not included in the Unimpeded Path and the Path of Deliverance (*ānantarya-mārga* and *vimukti-mārga*), since they are all of them considered to take place after the four moments of resulting cognition of the Doctrine (*dharma-jñāna*), i.e. after the Path of Deliverance. The introspective subjective character of the subsequent eight moments is especially pointed to by Haribhadra and in other works.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the other objects of intuition on the Bodhisattva's Path of Illumination, these are the unreality of the individual Ego (as with the Śrāvaka) and the objective unreality of the external world (as with the Pratyekabuddha).<sup>3</sup>

The knowledge which is extant with the Mahāyānist Saint when he has finished the practice of concentrated meditation on the Path of Deliverance is called the wisdom which is acquired after the termination of the trance.<sup>4</sup> This kind of knowledge is directed towards the separate objects and elements of the empirical world, and cognizes them as resembling an illusion. Owing to the presence of obscuring agencies which have not yet been removed, the Saint abiding on the Path of Illumination and further on, up to the time of attaining Buddhahood, possesses the intuition of the Monistic Absolute

<sup>1</sup> Abh.-samuccaya, Aga ed. 68 a. 1-4, Gser. II. 42 a. 6-b 2, Abhis. Ālokā. M. S. 116 b. 1-7. — *duṣkṛta-dharma-jñānasya anantaram duṣkṛte-dharma-jñāna-kṣāntau duṣkṛte-dharma-jñāne ca anantaram aya ārya-dharmāpām iti pratyātmam yat pratyakṣa-anubhavi jñānam anāravam tad ucyate duṣkṛte 'ntaya-jñāna-kṣāntiḥ yena jñānena tām anantaya-jñāna-kṣāntim avadhārayati tad ucyate duṣkṛte 'ntayajñānam. etam avakṣipteṣu apī satyeṣu yathāyogam kṣāntayo jñānāni ca vedīṣyāni.*

<sup>2</sup> Gser. II. 42 b. 6-43 a. 1.—Abhis. Ālokā. M. S. 116 b. 15-117 a. 1.—*tatra dharma-jñāna-kṣāntiḥ dharma-jñānena ca grāhya-avabodhaḥ. anantaya-jñāna-kṣāntiḥ 'ntaya-jñānena ca grāhaka-avabodhaḥ.*

<sup>3</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 13 a. 6-b 1.

<sup>4</sup> *prajñā-labdha-jñāna* = *rjes-thob-ye-śes*.

only at intervals at the time of his intense concentration.<sup>1</sup> When the latter is terminated, the object and aspect of it vanishes; the knowledge which is subsequently acquired is empirical and disagrees with that at the time of intense concentration. Only with the Buddha these two kinds of knowledge are not in conflict with each other.<sup>2</sup>

As concerns the removal of the Obscurations on the Unimpeded Path (*ānantarya-mārga*) and the Path of Deliverance (*vimukti-mārga*), it is presented as follows:—The Bodhisattva who has attained the highest limits of the Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga*) becomes fully prepared for the removal of the Obscuration of Ignorance which is due to incorrect imputation. As a natural consequence, there follows the momentary intuition called the Unimpeded Path, which fully suppresses the hostile elements that are to be extirpated by means of the direct perception of the truth.<sup>3</sup> The position of the Bodhisattva is here compared with that of a person who has driven out thieves from his house.<sup>4</sup> The Saint is considered to have attained that state of annihilation (*nirōdha*) of the obscuring elements which consists in the impossibility of their originating anew.<sup>5</sup> The next moment represents the full and definite removal of the Obscurations.<sup>6</sup> One has not only driven out the thieves, but has also shut the door behind them.<sup>7</sup>

#### d. The Path of Concentrated Contemplation (*bhāvanā-mārga* = *sgom-lam*).

This fourth degree of the Mahāyānistic Path is defined as "the intuition dominated by Highest Wisdom, which is engaged in a repeated pondering, investigation and contemplation of the unreality of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my translation of the Uttaratantra, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 13 b. 6.—*slob-lam-du mñam-rjes gñis hgal yuñ sañs-rgyas-kyi sar mñam-rjes ño-bo-gcig-tu hdod-do.*

<sup>3</sup> *dr̥ṣṭi-heya* = *mñon-spañ.*

<sup>4</sup> *caura-nipkāsana* = *rkun-ma phyuñ-ba.*

<sup>5</sup> *apratisamkhyā-nirōdha* = *so-sor-brtaga-mñ-gyi hgog-pa.* In such a form *pratisamkhyā-nirōdha* appears acc. to the Abhidharma-samuccaya. The theory of the Vaibhāṣikas exposed in the commentaries of the Abhidharmakośa is quite different.

<sup>6</sup> *pratisamkhyā-nirōdha* = *so-sor-brtaga-hgog.*

<sup>7</sup> *kapāṭa-pidhāna* = *sgo-bcad-pa.*

separate elements of existence, their Non-substantiality and Relativity, or otherwise, of the Monistic Absolute."<sup>1</sup> It has, like the Path of Illumination, its Unimpeded Path, its Path of Deliverance, &c. Moreover we have, as with the Hinayānistic Path of Concentrated Contemplation, nine principal varieties, as the antidotes of the innate<sup>2</sup> forms of defilement and of ignorance peculiar to the three Spheres of Existence. These nine varieties are put in connexion with the stages (*bhūmi*) of the Bodhisattva (with the exception of the first).<sup>3</sup> The order admitted here is as follows:—

The first stage of the Bodhisattva, that of Joy,<sup>4</sup> is identical with the Path of Illumination and the removal of the imputed<sup>5</sup> forms of the Obscurations. Then comes the most inferior of the inferior forms of the Path of Concentrated Contemplation, as the antidote of the grossest of the gross forms of the innate Obscurations which are to be extirpated by means of concentrated trance.<sup>6</sup> It is called the intuition peculiar to the second, the Immaculate<sup>7</sup> Stage. Thereafter comes the intermediate of the inferior forms of the Path as removing the intermediate of the gross forms of Obscuration. This is the intuition of the third Stage, called the Illuminating.<sup>8</sup> It is followed by the highest of the inferior degrees of the Path, which represents the antidote against the most inferior of the gross forms of Obscuration, and is spoken of as the intuition of the fourth Stage, called the Radiant.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly we have the three intermediate subdivisions of the Path of Concentrated Contemplation representing the intuition peculiar to the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh<sup>10</sup> Stages respectively. They are the antidotes against the intermediate forms of Obscuration.

<sup>1</sup> Sa-lan: Kh. 7 b. 8—8 a. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *sahaja* = *than-skyes*.

<sup>3</sup> Abhis. II. 30. *navaru bhūmigu*.

<sup>4</sup> *pramuditā* = *rab-tu-dgañ-ba*.

<sup>5</sup> *parikalpita* = *kun-btags*.

<sup>6</sup> *bhāvanā-hṛya* = *sgom-spañ*.

<sup>7</sup> *vimalā* = *dri-ma-med-pa*.

<sup>8</sup> *prabhākari* = *hod-byed-pa*.

<sup>9</sup> *arcismati* = *hod-hphro-ba*.

<sup>10</sup> The Unconquerable (*sudurjayā* = *sin-tu-sbyaṅs-dkañ-ba*), the Proximate (*abhimukhi* = *mñon-du-gyur-pa*), and the Far-reaching (*dūrangamī* = *rin-du-ṣoñ-ba*).

Finally we have the highest degrees of the Path, likewise three in number, corresponding to the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth Stages of the Bodhisattva,<sup>1</sup> and removing the grossest, the intermediate, and the most subtle forms of Obscuration.

These nine subdivisions have each their Unimpeded Path and their Path of Deliverance. They represent the process of complete purification of the Bodhisattva,<sup>2</sup> and his highest achievements,<sup>3</sup> his intuition at the time of intense concentration,<sup>4</sup> and that part of the Path of Concentrated Contemplation which is not in the least influenced by defiling agencies.<sup>5</sup>

The knowledge which is acquired after the termination of the concentrated trance<sup>6</sup> is characterized by faith,<sup>7</sup> by the convergence<sup>8</sup> of the roots of virtue into component parts of Supreme Enlightenment, and by the feeling of delight<sup>9</sup> with regard to one's own achievements. This is the part of the Path of Concentrated Contemplation which is influenced by defiling agencies.<sup>10</sup> This "defilement" is no other but thought-construction<sup>11</sup> and the differentiation of separate entities, which is not yet fully extirpated, and takes possession of the mind of the Bodhisattva, when his intense concentration has taken an end.<sup>12</sup>

### e. The Ultimate Path (*aśaikṣa-mārga* = *mi-slob-lam*) and the Attainment of Buddhahood.

When the Bodhisattva, abiding on the tenth Stage and separated from the attainment of Enlightenment only by one birth,<sup>13</sup> has attained

<sup>1</sup> The Motionless (*acalā* = *mi-gyo-ba*), that of Perfect Wisdom (*sādhumatī* = *legs-paḥi-blo-gros*), and that of the Clouds of the Truth (*dharma-meghā* = *chos-kyi-sprin*).

<sup>2</sup> *Sa-lam* Kh. 8 a. 2-b 1. *Abhis.* II. 30. *mṛdu-mṛdovādiko mārgaḥ tuddhir navasū bhūmīṣu*, &c. <sup>3</sup> *nirhāra* = *sgrub-pa*. <sup>4</sup> *samāhita-jñāna* = *mñam-btag-ye-śes*.

<sup>5</sup> *atyanta-viśuddha-bhāvanā-mārga* = *tin-tu-rnam-dag-gi sgom-lam*.

<sup>6</sup> *prsthā-labdha* = *rjes-thob*. <sup>7</sup> *adhimukti* = *mos-pa*.

<sup>8</sup> *pariṇāma* = *yoḥs-su-beṇo-ba*. <sup>9</sup> *anumoda* = *rjes-su-yi-rañ-ba*.

<sup>10</sup> *sāraṇa* = *sag-bcas*. <sup>11</sup> *vikalpa* = *rnam-par-rteg-pa*.

<sup>12</sup> *Abhis. Nlokā. M.S. 135 a. 8 sqq.*—*kāritra-anantaram bhāvanā-mārgo vaktavyaḥ sa ca sāraṇa-anāraṇa-bhedena dvividhaḥ. tatra sāraṇo 'dhimukti-pariṇāma-anumoda-manaskāra-lakṣaṇas trividhaḥ. anāraṇaḥ punar abhinirhāra-atyanta-viśuddhi-svabhāvo dvividhaḥ.* <sup>13</sup> *eka-jāti-pratibaddha* = *skye-ba goig-gis thogs-pa*.

the highest of the Unimpeded Paths in the Path of Concentrated Contemplation, he is considered to have terminated his course of training on the Path. This last moment of concentrated trance, called the "thunderbolt-like,"<sup>1</sup> is characterized by the removal of the most subtle forms of defilement and of ignorance. It is simultaneous with the final momentary Illumination (*eka-kṣāṇa-abhisambodha*) and the Culmination of the Bodhisattva's intuition of the Absolute.<sup>2</sup> All the factors for the attainment of the Omniscience of the Buddha are now brought to accomplishment. Owing to this, the representation of the Absolute appears in its full light; the differentiation into subject and object ceases to exist, the accidental Obscurations which had hitherto separated the Germ of the Absolute in the living being now completely vanish, and this Germ now coalesces with the Unique Ultimate Essence, which is personified as the Cosmical Body<sup>3</sup> of the Buddha. This takes place at the next moment, i.e. on the Ultimate Path of Deliverance, which represents already the final Path, the attainment of Buddhahood. It is the Path where the course of training is terminated,<sup>4</sup> there being nothing more obscure and unintelligible. The definition of this Path is "the ultimate highest form of Divine Transcendental Wisdom which is completely free from both the Obscurations."<sup>5</sup> This is the Highest Omniscience of the Buddha,<sup>6</sup> consisting in the full knowledge of the Absolute Truth

<sup>1</sup> *vajropama-samādhi* = *rdo-rje-lta-buḥi tñ-ñe-hdzin*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *dharma-kāya* = *chos-sku*. "At the second moment we have the last Path of Deliverance (*vimukti-mārga*). At that time the double representation (i.e. of subject and object) disappears, and the object of concentration (in its true aspect) becomes one with the knowledge cognizing it like one particle of water uniting with another (*chu-la chu bzag-pa-ltar*). In the aspect of this intuition, all the things cognizable in their varieties become directly perceived like a myrobalan fruit on the palm of the hand. At that time the Obscuration of Ignorance becomes completely removed, the Ultimate Limit—realized, the Cosmical Body is made manifest, and the full Enlightenment in regard of all the elements of existence in all their aspects is attained." (*Rnam-bśad* 311 a. 6-b 1.)

<sup>4</sup> *asāṅkya-mārga* = *mi-slob-lam*.

<sup>5</sup> *Śa-lam* Jig. 15 b. 5.—*sgrib-gñis zad-par spañs-paḥi mthar-thug-gi mkhyen-pa*.

<sup>6</sup> *sarva-ākāra-jñātā* = *rnam-pa-thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-ñid* (*rnam-mkhyen*).



and of the Empirical World likewise. Otherwise the Wisdom of the Buddha is spoken of as consisting of the five varieties of Highest Divine Knowledge, viz.: 1) the perfectly pure intuition of the Absolute, there being no differentiation into subject and object,<sup>1</sup> 2) the Knowledge resembling a mirror<sup>2</sup> in which everything cognizable is reflected, 3) the discriminative knowledge precisely cognizing all the separate objects and elements without confounding any of them,<sup>3</sup> 4) the cognition of the unity, the equality of oneself and of others in the sense of being possessed of the unique Essence of Buddhahood,<sup>4</sup> and 5) the active wisdom pursuing the welfare of all living beings,<sup>5</sup> which is possessed of the power of governing the five faculties of the senses according to one's desire.<sup>6</sup>

These five forms of knowledge peculiar to the Buddha are connected with his three or four Bodies,<sup>7</sup> the relation being as follows:—

1) The Body of Absolute Existence (*svabhāva-kāya* = *no-bo-nid-sku*). From the standpoint of Ultimate Reality, the element of the Absolute (*dhātu* = *gotra* = *tathāgata-garbha*) exists from the outset in all living beings, representing its true essential nature. At the time of final Enlightenment this fundamental element, as we have mentioned before, becomes delivered from all the accidental Obscurations.<sup>8</sup> There is now absolutely nothing occasional and unreal

<sup>1</sup> *dharmā-dhātu-viśuddhi* = *chos-kyi-dbyiñs rnam-par-dag-pa*. This is the true Climax of Wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*). Cf. Dignāga's *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha* quoted in *Abhis. Klokā* (M.S. 136 b, 8–9 and 138 a. 1)—*prajñā-pāramitā jñānam advayaṃ ca tathāgataḥ* and Haribhadra thereon:—*iti nyāyān mukhyato dharmā-kāyas tathāgata eva prajñā-pāramitā*.

<sup>2</sup> *adarśa-jñāna* = *me-loñ-lta-buñi ye-śes*.

<sup>3</sup> *pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna* = *so-sor-rtog-pañi ye-śes*. Sa-lam Kh. 10 a. 2–3.

<sup>4</sup> *samatā-jñāna* = *mñam-nid ye-śes*.

<sup>5</sup> *kṛtya-anuṣṭhāna-jñāna* = *bya-ḥa sgrub-pañi ye-śes*.

<sup>6</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 10 a. 3.

<sup>7</sup> This connexion is demonstrated by Bu-ton in his history of Buddhism. Transl., vol. i, p. 128.

<sup>8</sup> *āgantuka-mala* = *glo-bus-gyi dri-ma*.



about it. Being the unique Absolute Essence,<sup>1</sup> it was always, from the outset, completely pure by nature;<sup>2</sup> now, with the attainment of final Illumination, it likewise becomes purified from the accidental defilement.<sup>3</sup> In this state of perfect purity it is called the Body of Absolute Existence of the Buddha (*svabhāva-kāya*), the Ultimate Essence and the background of all the Buddha's properties.<sup>3</sup> It is the chief, the fundamental aspect of the Buddha's Cosmical Body (*dharma-kāya*).

2) The Body of Absolute Wisdom (*jñāna-dharma-kāya* = *ye-tes-chos-sku*). The Buddha, after having attained Enlightenment, becomes possessed of the illimited power of knowledge, manifesting itself in different forms, such as the ten Powers,<sup>4</sup> the four kinds of Intrepidity,<sup>5</sup> the 37 characteristic features of Enlightenment,<sup>6</sup> &c. All these varieties, taken together, represent the Buddha's Body of Absolute Wisdom, the knowledge perceiving everything cognizable.<sup>7</sup> Contrary to the unique, immutable, motionless Body of Absolute Existence, this form is regarded as an active<sup>8</sup> principle, which, as it cognizes the Empirical World, has consequently a relation to the latter.

3) The Body of Bliss (*sambhoga-kāya* = *loñs-spyod-rdzogs-paḥi-sku*). This manifestation of the Buddha represents the reflection<sup>9</sup> of the Cosmical Body in the Empirical World<sup>10</sup> in a corporeal form.<sup>11</sup> The Buddha appears here as the Supreme God residing in Akanisṭha,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The unique and undifferentiated character of the *svabhāva-kāya* has been a subject of investigation in my Introduction to the transl. of the Uttaratantra, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *svabhāva-buddha* = *rañ-btān-gyis dag-pa*.

<sup>3</sup> The Body of Absolute Existence is accordingly defined as the Unique Ultimate Substance completely pure by itself and free from every kind of additional defilement. Don-bdun-cu 25 a. 2.—*rañ-btān-gyis-dag-pa dañ glo-bur-gyi dri-mas dag-pa gñis dañ-ldan-paḥi dbyiñs mthar-thug*.

<sup>4</sup> *daśa balāni* = *stobs bcu*.

<sup>5</sup> *catoāri vaiśāradyāni* = *mī-hjigs-pa bñi*.

<sup>6</sup> *bodhi-pakṣa* = *byañ-chub-kyi phyoḡs*.

<sup>7</sup> Abhis. alampkāra, VIII. 2–8.

<sup>8</sup> *samskrta* = *hdus-byas*.

<sup>9</sup> *pratibimba* = *gzugs-brñan*.

<sup>10</sup> Acc. to Haribhadra, the three latter Bodies are all of them regarded as relating to the Empirical World. Abhis. lokā. M. S. 378 a. 9–10.—*pariśiṣṭa-kāya-trayaḥ tathā-saṃvṛtyā pratibhāsamānam*.

<sup>11</sup> *nāpa-kāya* = *gzugs-sku*.

<sup>12</sup> Tib. Hog-min.

the highest of the spheres of the Ethereal World, and enjoying the most blissful form of existence. He is represented as a super-being surrounded by a multitude of Bodhisattvas abiding on the ten Stages, and is endowed with the 32 principal,<sup>1</sup> and the 80 secondary<sup>2</sup> marks of corporeal beauty, and existing eternally.<sup>3</sup> This Body of Bliss is regarded as the result of the previous virtuous deeds of the Buddha, of the Biotic Force,<sup>4</sup> which, owing to its sublime character, brings about the attainment of this highest of corporeal forms.<sup>5</sup>

4) The Apparitional Body (*nirmāṇa-kāya* = *sprul-sku*). From the Body of Bliss, as a reflection of it in this world of gross bodies, there issues the Apparitional Form of the Buddha as manifesting itself in many different aspects and working uninterruptedly for the weal of other living beings.<sup>6</sup>

The Wisdom intuiting the Absolute and identical with it<sup>7</sup> represents the Body of Absolute Existence. The Wisdom resembling a mirror (*ādarśa-jñāna*) is the second aspect of the Cosmical Body,—the Body of Absolute Wisdom (*jñāna-dharma-kāya*). The next two forms of Wisdom, viz. the discriminative (*pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna*) and that which cognizes the unity of oneself and other living beings (*satatā-jñāna*) are the characteristic features of the Body of Bliss. Finally, the active Wisdom pursuing the welfare of others (*kṛtya-anuṣṭhāna-jñāna*) manifests itself as the Apparitional Body of the Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> *mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa* = *skyes-lu chen-poḥi miṣhan*.

<sup>2</sup> *cyañjana* = *dpe-byad*.

<sup>3</sup> Abhis. Ulokā. M. S. 381 b. 15–382 a. 3.—*daśa-bhūmi-praviṣṭa-mahābodhisattvāḥ saha parama-anavadya-mahāyāna-dharma-saṃbhoga-prīti-sukha-upabhogāt sām-bhogiko 'yaṃ kāyo deātṛiṣṭal-lakṣaṇa-akṛty-anuvyañjana-virājito-gātro rūpa-kāya-sva-bhāvo ... buddhasya bhagavato grāhyaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> *karma* = *las*.

<sup>5</sup> Abhisamayālaṃkāra, VIII. 19, 20.

<sup>6</sup> Abhis. Ulokā. M. S. 21 b. 3–5.—*yathā-bhavyatayā aśeṣa-jagad-ortha-kriyā-kāri sarvathā ā-bhāvagrād anuparata-prabandhaḥ Śākyamuni-tathāgatādi-rūpo nirmāṇa-kāyaḥ*. On the different forms of the *nirmāṇa-kāya*, viz. that manifesting itself in the form of Viśvakarman (*boḥi sprul-sku* = *śilpa-nirmāṇa-kāya*), in the form of different living beings (*skyes-boḥi-sprul-sku* = *janna-nirmāṇa-kāya*), in the form of the Buddha Śākyamuni, &c. (*mahā-bodhi-nirmāṇa-kāya*), &c. cf. my translation of Bu-ton's History, vol. i, p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> *dharma-dhātu-viśuddhi* = *chos-kyi-dbyis rnam-par-dag-pa*.

### III. OTHER CLASSIFICATIONS. THE EIGHT HĪNAYĀNISTIC STAGES AND THE TEN STAGES OF THE BODHISATTVA.

We have thus investigated the Teaching of the Path, Hīnayānistic and Mahāyānistic, as it usually appears in its five principal divisions. But this is not the only way in which the process of Illumination is viewed. We have it moreover classified into different degrees and subdivisions of another kind, which bear the common name of *bhūmi*, i.e. ground, basis or stage, in the sense of being the foundation of all the virtuous properties of the Hīnayānistic or Mahāyānistic Saint.

First of all, *bhūmi* is a name for the Path as a whole, in general; in such an aspect we have to distinguish the Śrāvaka-bhūmi, Pratyekabuddha-bhūmi, and Bodhisattva-bhūmi.<sup>1</sup> Then there is another classification into the three Stages of Transic Meditation (*yoga-bhūmayah* = *rnal-hbyor-gyi sa*) viz., the Stage of Transic Meditation in which the object of intuition is the Non-Ego principle,<sup>2</sup> the Stage of Transic Meditation directed upon the unreality of the external world,<sup>3</sup> and the Stage of Transic Meditation with the intuition of the Non-substantiality of all the elements of existence.<sup>4</sup> Next there is the classification of the "nine Stages peculiar to the three Spheres of Existence,"<sup>5</sup> including the world of Gross Bodies or of Carnal Desire<sup>6</sup> viewed as a whole, the four degrees of trance in the Sphere of Ethereal Bodies,<sup>7</sup> and the four Stages of absorption in the Immaterial Sphere.<sup>8</sup> This classification is put in correspondence with the divisions of the Path of Concentrated Contemplation

<sup>1</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 3 a. 4. — *ñan-thos-rañ-rgyal-byañ-sems-kyi sa gsum*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. *gañ-zag-gi bdag-med rtogs-paḥi rnal-hbyor-gyi-sa*.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. *gñis-stoñ rtogs-paḥi rnal-hbyor-gyi-sa*.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. *bden-stoñ rtogs-paḥi rnal-hbyor-gyi-sa*.

<sup>5</sup> *kāma gsum sa dgu*.      <sup>6</sup> *kāma-dhātu* = *hdod-khams*.

<sup>7</sup> *cātvarī dhyānāni* = *bsam-gtan bñi*.

<sup>8</sup> *cātvara ārūpya-samāpattayah* = *gzugs-med-kyi sñoms-hjug bñi*.

(*bhāvanā-mārga*) and the process of removing the defiling elements by the latter, as we have seen above.

But the most important of all the different systems of this kind, and the one most closely connected with the Doctrine of the Path, is that of the Stages (*bhūmi*) of Perfection, of the Śrāvaka, the Pratyekabuddha, and the Bodhisattva. These Stages represent the same Path, the same process of Illumination,<sup>1</sup> only from another point of view, viz. as the foundation, the ground (in such a sense the word *bhūmi* is to be understood) for the numerous virtuous properties which are the result of the process of Illumination.<sup>2</sup> The Hīnayānistic Stages of Perfection (i.e. those of the Śrāvaka) are eight in number, as follows:—

1) The Stage of Perception of the Virtuous Elements (*śukla-vidarśana-bhūmi* = *dkar-po rnam-par-mthoñ-baḥi sa*), which is identical with the Śrāvaka's Path of Accumulating Merit (*saṃbhāra-mārga*). It is called *śukla-vidarśana-bhūmi*, because the "white," i.e. the virtuous elements<sup>3</sup> are for the first time made the object of contemplation.

2) The Stage of (certainty in regard of) the Spiritual Lineage (*gotra-bhūmi* = *rigs-kyi sa*). It is another name for the Śrāvaka's Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga*); the individual abiding on the latter definitely knows that he belongs to the Śrāvaka Spiritual Lineage.

3) The Stage (of the Śrāvaka who has become a candidate) for the first result of saintly activity, viz. that of Entering the Stream<sup>4</sup> (*aṣṭamaka-bhūmi* = *brgyad-paḥi sa*).

<sup>1</sup> *abhisamaya* = *mñon-rtogs*.

<sup>2</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 3 b. 1.—*rañ-gi ḥbras-bur-gyur-paḥi yon-tan du-maḥi rten-byed-paḥi lam-tugs-kyi mñon-rtogs*.

<sup>3</sup> *śukla-dharma* = *dkar-poḥi chos*.

<sup>4</sup> *śrota-āpatti-phala-pratīpannaka* = *rgyun-tugs-kyi ḥbras-bu-la tugs-pa*. Cf. Abhis. ālokā, MS. 79 a. 6—7. *aṣṭamaka-bhūmiḥ prathama-phala-pratīpannakasya* and Ibid. 33 b. 5—7. *vakṣyamāṇa-mārgajñatā-saṃgrhīta-śoḍaśa-kṣāṇa-darśana-mārgam āvṛitya pañcodaśasu darśana-mārga-citta-kṣāṇeṣu śraddhā-dharma-anusāri-bhedeṇa pra-*

4) The Stage of Illumination (*darśana-bhūmi* = *mthoñ-baḥi sa*). It represents the intuition of the Śrāvaka who abides in the position of one who has attained the result of Entering the Stream.<sup>1</sup>

5) The Stage of Refinement (*tanū-bhūmi* = *bsrab-paḥi sa*). It is the intuition of the Śrāvaka who has attained the result of him that returns to this world once more.<sup>2</sup>

6) The Stage of Liberation from Passion (*vītarāga-bhūmi* = *ḥdod-chags dan-bral-baḥi sa*), which represents the intuition of the Saint who abides in the position of one that returns no more (*anāgāmin*), having, on the Path of Concentrated Contemplation, removed the ninth and last form of defilement, peculiar to the World of Carnal Desire.<sup>3</sup>

7) The Stage of the full notion of having terminated the course of training on the Śrāvaka's Path (*kr̥tavi-bhūmi* = *byas-pa rtogs-paḥi sa*). It is another name for the intuition of the Śrāvaka who has attained the result of Arhatship.<sup>4</sup>

*dhama-phalapratiṣannako dvividhaḥ*.—On the basis of the Path of Illumination consisting of 16 moments which is included in the Omniscience in regard of the Path (Abhisam. Chapter II), during the first 15 moments of this Path of Illumination one becomes a candidate for attaining the first result.

<sup>1</sup> *srota-āpatti-phala* = *rygyun-ṣugs-kyi ḥbras-bu*. Abhis. Īlokā, MS. 79 a. 7.—*darśana-bhūmiḥ srota-āpannaḥ*. This takes place at the sixteenth moment of the Path of Illumination. Abhis. Īlokā, MS. 33 b. 8–9.—*sa soḍaśe darśana-mārga-cittakṣaṇe srota-āpannaḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> *sakṛd-āgāmin* = *lan-gcig phyir-ḥoñ-ba*. Abhis. Īlokā, MS. 79 a. 8. *tanū-bhūmiḥ sakṛd-āgāmināḥ*. This result is attained through the removal (on the Path of Conc. Contempl.) of the first six varieties of defilement peculiar to the Sphere or Carnal Desire. Abhis. Īlokā, MS. 33 b. 13–14.—*kāmāvacara-ṣaṭ-prakāra-kleśa-prahāṇāt sakṛd-āgāmī*.

<sup>3</sup> Abhis. Īlokā, MS. 79 a. 8–9. *vītarāga-bhūmiḥ anāgāmināḥ*, and Ibid., MS. 34 a. 2–3. *kāmāvacara-navama-kleśa-prakāra-prahāṇād anāgāmi'ty ucyate*. The position of a candidate for this result is attained when one has removed the seventh and the eighth form of defilement. Abhis. Īlokā, MS. 33 b. 16–34 a. 1. *kāmāvacara-septa-ṣṭa-kleśa-prakāra-prahāṇāt tṛtīya-phala-pratiṣannakaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Abhis. Īlokā, MS. 79 a. 9. *kr̥tavi-bhūmiḥ arhataḥ*.

To these seven Hinayānistic Stages we have to add—

8) The Stage of the Pratyekabuddha, including the Path of the latter as a whole.

Just as the Hinayānistic Path, taken from another point of view, is divided into the seven Stages just mentioned, in a similar manner the process of intuition of the Mahāyānist Saint, i.e. his Path to the attainment of Enlightenment, has likewise another classification, viz. that of the ten Stages (*bhūmi*) of the Bodhisattva. These ten Stages are included in the Path of the Saint proper (*ārya-mārga*), beginning with the Path of Illumination. The two preliminary degrees, viz. the Paths of Accumulating Merit and of Training,<sup>1</sup> are counted apart, representing the Stage of Preliminary Activity,<sup>2</sup> and that of Action in Faith<sup>3</sup> respectively. The system of the ten Stages is as follows:—

1) The Stage of Joy (*pramuditā* = *rab-tu-dgaḥ-ba*). It is called so because the Bodhisattva becomes possessed of a joyous felicitous feeling, as he sees that he draws near to the attainment of Supreme Enlightenment<sup>4</sup> and can further the weal of other living beings.<sup>5</sup> It coincides with the Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga*) and is characterized by the removal of 1) the 112 forms of defilement that are to be removed by the intuition of the Truth (*drṣṭi-heyā*), and of the 108 varieties of the Obscuration of Ignorance. The first of these are: Desire<sup>6</sup> (1), enmity<sup>7</sup> (2), pride<sup>8</sup> (3), infatuation<sup>9</sup> (4), doubt<sup>10</sup> (5), the conception of a real personality<sup>11</sup> (6), the extreme views<sup>12</sup> (7), the totally incorrect views<sup>13</sup> (8), the consideration that

<sup>1</sup> *saṃbhāra-mārga* = *tshegs-lam* and *prayoga-mārga* = *shyor-lam*.

<sup>2</sup> *ādikarmika-bhūmi* = *las-dan-po-paḥi sa*.

<sup>3</sup> *adhimuktī-caryā-bhūmi* = *mos-pas-epyod-paḥi sa*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Abhis. alaṅkāra, IV. 10.—*āśanna-bodhe kṛipraṇ ca parārthe*.

<sup>5</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 17 a. 6—b 1.—Cf. also Abhis. ālokā, MS. 75 a. 4—5.—*prathamā-apūrova-dharma-taitva-adhigamena pramoda-lābhyatvāt*.

<sup>6</sup> *rāga* = *ḥdod-chags*.

<sup>7</sup> *pratigha* = *khoṅ-khro*.

<sup>8</sup> *māna* = *ḥa-rgyal*.

<sup>9</sup> *avidyā* = *ma-rig-pa*.

<sup>10</sup> *vicikitsā* = *the-tshom*.

<sup>11</sup> *satkāya-dṛṣṭi* = *ḥjig-tshegs-la lta-ba*.

<sup>12</sup> *anta-grāha-dṛṣṭi* = *mthar-ḥdzin-gyi-lta-ba*.

<sup>13</sup> *mithyā-dṛṣṭi* = *log-lta*.

one's own views are the only correct ones<sup>1</sup> (9), and the adherence to incorrect observances of moral rules and vows<sup>2</sup> (10). These ten are taken with respect to each of the four Principles of the Saint separately, so that there are altogether 40 forms which are peculiar to the World of Carnal Desire.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of enmity, the said defiling elements, relating to each of the four Principles taken apart, are likewise connected with the Sphere of Pure Matter or of Ethereal Bodies, and with the Immaterial Sphere. There are thus 72 forms peculiar to the higher spheres; with the 40 relating to the World of Carnal Desire they make up the number 112.<sup>4</sup>—

As regards the 108 varieties of the Obscuration of Ignorance<sup>5</sup> which are to be removed by direct intuition<sup>6</sup> on the first Stage, these are: 1) the nine forms of imputation regarding the object of the Bodhisattva's activity,<sup>7</sup> 2) the nine forms of imputation regarding the object of the Bodhisattva's resignation,<sup>8</sup> 3) the nine forms of imputation concerning the subject as a real existing personality,<sup>9</sup> and 4) the nine forms of imputation regarding the subject as a nominal reality.<sup>10</sup> To these 36 forms we have to add twice the same number, viz. the same forms of imputation as relating to each of the two higher Spheres of Existence taken separately.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *dr̥ṣṭi-parāmar̥ṣa* = *lta-ba mchog-tu-ḥdzin-pa*.

<sup>2</sup> *śīla-vrata-parāmar̥ṣa* = *tekhul-khrims dañ brtul-tugs mchog-tu-ḥdzin-pa*.

<sup>3</sup> Abhis. *Ślokā*, MS. 74a. 7–10.—*atra ca rāga-pratigha-māna-avidyā-vicikitsāḥ saikāya-antagrāha-mithyā-dr̥ṣṭi-parāmar̥ṣa-śīla-vrata-parāmar̥ṣāś ca kōma-dhātāu catuḥ-satyā-bhedaṇa catvāriṃśad bhavanī*.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 10–14.—*evaṃ rūpya-ārūpya-dhātāu te eva satya-darśana-prahātavya-aṣṭa-prakāra-pratigha-varjītā dvāsaptaśiḥ samudāyena dvādaśottaraṃ kleśa-śataṃ darśana-prahyaṃ prahīyate satyānām eka-abhisamayāt*.

<sup>5</sup> *jāṇeya-āvaraṇa* = *śes-byāñi sgrub-pa* (*śes-sgrub*). <sup>6</sup> *dr̥ṣṭi-heyā* = *mtshon-spañ*.

<sup>7</sup> *pravṛtti-pakṣa-adhiṣṭhāna-grāhya-vikalpa* = *ḥjug-pa-gzun-rtog*. Abhisam. Kār. V. 8–9. The object is here the Mahāyānistic Path and its result, as something that is to be attained.

<sup>8</sup> *nivṛtti-pakṣa-adhiṣṭhāna-grāhya-vikalpa* = *ldog-pa-gzun-rtog*. Ibid., Kār. V. 10–12. It refers to the Hinayānistic Path and its result as something to be shunned.

<sup>9</sup> *dravyasaṁ-puruṣa-adhiṣṭhāna-grāhaka-vikalpa*. Ibid., Kār. V. 13–14.

<sup>10</sup> *prajñaptisat-puruṣa-adhiṣṭhāna-grāhaka-vikalpa*. Ibid., Kār. V. 15–16.

<sup>11</sup> *Sa-lam Jig*. 18 b. 5.



The predominant virtue on this first Stage of the Bodhisattva is the Climax of Charity.<sup>1</sup> The form of cognition peculiar to the Bodhisattva who abides on this Stage<sup>2</sup> is that of the all-pervading character of the Absolute as the negation of the reality of all separate entities and as representing the unique essential nature of oneself and other living beings.<sup>3</sup> There are ten appliances<sup>4</sup> for the attainment of the Stage of Joy, which are enumerated in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Kārikās I. 48–50.

The Stage of Joy is the only one which relates to the Path of Illumination. The other nine are all of them included in the Path of Concentrated Contemplation (*bhāvanā-mārga*), which is the antidote against the innate (*sahaja*) forms of defilement. These are 16 in number, viz. the six peculiar to the Sphere of Carnal Desire, —lust, hatred, pride, infatuation, the conception of a real personality, and the extreme views, as well as ten others, viz. those just mentioned, as peculiar to the two higher spheres taken separately with the exception of hatred.<sup>5</sup>

The forms of the Obscuration of Ignorance which are to be extirpated on the nine Stages included in the Path of Concentrated Contemplation are 108 in number, viz. the points to be shunned by the Path of Concentrated Contemplation, as we have them in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Kārikās V. 26–31.

We shall now take the remaining nine Stages separately:<sup>6</sup>—

2) The Immaculate Stage (*vimalā* = *dri-ma-med-pa*). It bears this name because the Bodhisattva who has attained it becomes completely purified from all the stains of immorality and of Hi-

<sup>1</sup> *dāna-pāramitā* = *shyin-paḥi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*.

<sup>2</sup> This cognition is that which is acquired after the termination of the trance.

<sup>3</sup> *Sa-lam Jig.* 20 a. 1.—The forms of cognition peculiar to this and the following Stages are indicated in the *Madhyānta-vibhanga*, *Aga ed.* 4 a. 3–5.

<sup>4</sup> *parikarman* = *yoṁs-shyōñ*.

<sup>5</sup> *Abhis. Bṛhā.* MS. 74 b. 2–5.—*lutra roḍaṣa kleśa yathā-sambhavaṃ krameṇa prahityante. tadyathā rūpa-dveṣau mūṇo 'vidyā satkāya-dṛṣṭir anta-grāha-dṛṣṭiś ce 'ti kāmāvacarāḥ ṣaṣ. rūpa-ārūpya-avacarās te eva daśa dveṣa-varjitā iti.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, p. 41, the Mah. Path of Conc. Contemplation.



nayanistic (i.e. egoistic) tendencies; the Transcendental Virtue of Morality<sup>1</sup> is thus predominant in it.<sup>2</sup> The Bodhisattva abiding on this Stage cognizes the Mahāyānistic Path as being superior to that of the Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha, as it brings about the intuition of the Unique Absolute. The appliances (*parikarman*) for the attainment of the second Stage, eight in number, are enumerated in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Kār. I. 51.

3) The Illuminating Stage (*prabhākari* = *hod-byed-pa*). It is called so, since the Bodhisattva who has attained it gives light to others by his transcendental knowledge.<sup>3</sup> The predominant virtue is that of Forbearance.<sup>4</sup> The cognition is that of the Doctrine as being the natural outflow<sup>5</sup> of the intuition of the Absolute. The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (Kār. I. 52–53 a, b) enumerates five appliances for its attainment.

4) The Blazing or Radiant Stage (*arciṣmatī* = *hod-kphro-ba-can*). It is called so, because the Bodhisattva who has attained it is possessed of the blazing fire of knowledge by which all the defiling elements that resemble fuel are consumed.<sup>6</sup> The predominant Transcendental Virtue here is that of Energy.<sup>7</sup> The cognition is characterized by the insight that one must not be attached to the Doctrine of Scripture as being the true Doctrine in the ultimate sense,<sup>8</sup> and must not be possessed of pride at being able to expound this Doctrine. The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (Kār. I. 53 c, d and 54) indicates ten appliances by means of which this Stage is attained.—

<sup>1</sup> *śīla-pāramitā* = *teṣū-khriṣṭa-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Abhis. āloka*, MS. 75 b. 4.—*sarva-dauḥ-śīlya-mala-apagamād vimalā*. Cf. also *Ibid.*, MS. 64 a. 9–10.—*śrāvakādi-manaskāra-parivarjanāc chīla-pāramitā-saṃnāhaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, MS. 75 b. 14–15.—*lokottara-jñāna-avaśhāsa-karaṇāt prabhākari*.

<sup>4</sup> *kṣānti-pāramitā* = *bsod-paḥi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*.

<sup>5</sup> *niṣyanda-phala* = *rgyu-miḥun-paḥi-ḥbras-bu*. Cf. *Uttaratantra*, Transl., p. 226.

<sup>6</sup> *Abhis. āloka*, MS. 76 a. 11–12.—*sakala-kleśa-indhana-jvālayā' upetatvād arciṣmatī*.

<sup>7</sup> *vīrya-pāramitā* = *brtson-ḥgrus-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*. Cf. the expression *brtson-ḥgrus ḥbar-ha*—"the blazing fiery energy."

<sup>8</sup> *Sa-lam Jig.* 20 a. 2–3. *sa bzhi-par luṅ-gi chos-la sred-paḥi ṅa-rgyal-med-pas yonṣ su-ḥdzin-pa-med-paḥi don-du rtogs*. Cf. *Uttaratantra*, Transl., p. 145.

5) The Unconquerable Stage (*sudurjayā* = *sin-tu-sbyaṅs-dkaḥ-ba*).<sup>1</sup> The predominant Transcendental Virtue is that of Concentration.<sup>2</sup> The cognition is that of the transcendental unity of the spiritual streams of oneself and of other living beings, owing to the unreality of the individual Ego as a separate independent substance.<sup>3</sup> The appliances for the attainment of this stage are ten in number. They are enumerated in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, Kār. I. 55, 56.

6) The Proximate Stage (*abhimukhī* = *mñon-du-gyur-pa*).<sup>4</sup> It is dominated by the Climax of Wisdom.<sup>5</sup> The Bodhisattva who has attained this Stage comes to the cognition that the purifying<sup>6</sup> and the defiling<sup>7</sup> elements do not really become originated, neither without a cause, nor from causes other than themselves, and that there is consequently no essential difference between them.<sup>8</sup> The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (Kār. I. 57 and 58) enumerates twelve appliances for its attainment.

7) The Far Reaching Stage (*dūramgamā* = *riñ-du-soñ-ba*). It is called so, because the Bodhisattva here becomes possessed of the power of acting without effort<sup>9</sup> and can thus exercise his activity, however far the object and the sphere of it might be.<sup>10</sup> The dominating Transcendental Virtue here is that of Skill.<sup>11</sup> The cognition is that

<sup>1</sup> Abhis. śloka, MS. 76 b. 6. *suṣṭhu duḥkheṇa jiyate iti sudurjayā.*

<sup>2</sup> *dhyāna-pāramitā* = *bsam-gtan-gyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa.*

<sup>3</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 20 a. 3. *sa lña-par rañ gñan thams-cad gañ-zag rañ-rya-thub-paḥi rdzas-yod-kyis stoñ-paḥi ego-nas rgyud tha-dad-med-par rtogs.*

<sup>4</sup> I.e. proximate to the attainment of the properties of the Buddha. Abhis. śloka, MS. 76 b. 16. *sarva-buddha-dharma-abhimukhī.* Cf. Uttaratantra, Transl., p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> *prajñā-pāramitā* = *śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa.*

<sup>6</sup> *vaiśvadevika* = *rnam-par-byaṅ-ba.*

<sup>7</sup> *samkleśika* = *kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa.*

<sup>8</sup> Sa-lam Jig. 20 a. 3-4. *sa drug-par kun-nas-ñon-moñs dañ rnam-byaṅ gñis rgyu-med dañ mi-mthun-paḥi rgyu-las mi-skye-bar rtogs-pas kun-ñon dañ rnam-byaṅ tha-dad-med-paḥi don-du rtogs.* Cf. Abhisam. Kār. IV. 10. *dharmādharma-dy-adṛṣtau.*

<sup>9</sup> *anābhogam* = *lhun-gyis-grub-par.*

<sup>10</sup> Abhis. śloka, MS. 77 b. 14-16. *samyag-anābhoga-mārga-upaśleṣāt suṣṭhu-dūramgatatoḥ dūramgamā bhīmiḥ.*

<sup>11</sup> *upāya-pāramitā* = *thaḥs-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa.*

of the Absolute as being devoid of every kind of differentiation.<sup>1</sup> This Stage requires twenty appliances (*parikarman*) for its attainment, which are indicated in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (Kār. I. 59–61—the points to be shunned, and I. 62–65—their antidotes).

8) The Motionless Stage (*acalā* = *mi-gyo-ba*). It bears this name, because the Bodhisattva who has attained this Stage remains in a motionless, unflinching position, and can no more be troubled by the differentiation of separate entities and the necessity of using effort in his acts.<sup>2</sup> The dominating Transcendental Virtue is that of Power; on this Stage the ten Controlling Powers<sup>3</sup> are secured by the Bodhisattva. The cognition is that of the Absolute as not being liable to augmentation and loss through the defiling and the purifying elements, and as being the foundation, the substratum of the wisdom free from constructive thought<sup>4</sup> and of the power of purifying the sphere of future Buddhahood.<sup>5</sup> The appliances for the attainment of this Stage are eight in number, enumerated in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, Kār. I. 66, 67.

9) The Stage of Perfect Wisdom (*sādhumatī* = *legs-paḥi blo-gros*). It bears this name, because the Bodhisattva who is said to have attained it is considered to become possessed of a perfect discriminating mind, characterized by the four kinds of intense penetration.<sup>6</sup> The dominating Transcendental Virtue is that of the Effective Vow.<sup>7</sup> The Bodhisattva, endowed with the four kinds of intense penetration, cognizes the Absolute as being the foundation of the power of Highest Divine Wisdom (*jñāna-vasitā*).<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *animitta* = *mi-shan-ma-med-pa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Abhis. āloka*, MS. 78 b. 4. *nimitta-ūbhoga-akampatvād acalā dharmāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *daśa vaśitāḥ* = *dbañ bcu*. ✓ <sup>4</sup> *nirvikalpaka* = *nam-par mi-rtog-pa*.

<sup>5</sup> *kṣetra-buddhi-prayoga* = *tiñ-dag-sbyor-pa*.

<sup>6</sup> *pratīsamvid* = *so-so-yañ-dag-par-rig-pa*. *Sa-lam Jig.* 18 a. 1–2. *Abhis. āloka*, MS. 79 a. 1–2.—*dharma-detanā-kausālatato 'navadyatoṣt sādhumatī*.

<sup>7</sup> *prajñādhāna-pāramitā* = *smoñ-lam-gyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*.

<sup>8</sup> *Sa-lam Jig.* 20 a. 5–6.—*sa dgu-par so-so-yañ-dag-rig bñi thob-pas chos-ñid de ye-tes-la-dbañ-baḥi don-gyi gnas-su rtogs*. Cf. *Uttaratantra*, Transl., p. 117.

appliances for the attainment of this Stage, twelve in number, are indicated in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Kār. I. 68, 69.

10) The Stage of the Clouds of the Truth (*dharmameghā = chos-kyi sprin*). It bears this name, because the Bodhisattva who is considered to have attained it is represented as causing the rain of the Highest Doctrine to descend upon the converts.<sup>1</sup> In the manner of exercising his activity for the sake of the living beings, the Bodhisattva becomes similar to the Buddha "so that he may be called a Buddha, though not a fully accomplished Buddha," and cognizes the Absolute (his own fundamental element)<sup>2</sup> as being the basis for his activity.<sup>3</sup> The predominant Transcendental Virtue on this tenth Stage is that of Divine Transcendental Wisdom.<sup>4</sup>—

Of these ten Stages the first seven are called the "impure"<sup>5</sup> and the last three—"the pure"<sup>6</sup> Stages. The reason for such a classification is that on the former the different defiling elements<sup>7</sup> are still existing, whereas on the latter the Bodhisattva has to remove only the most subtle forms of the Obscuration of Ignorance, consisting in the differentiation of subject and object, and of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa as two separate entities.<sup>8</sup>

Such are, in short, the ten Stages of the Bodhisattva, viewed in connexion with the Teaching of the Path. A detailed analysis of them is contained in the *Daśabhūmaka-sūtra*, the *Mādhyamika-avatāra*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and other works. Apart from these divisions of the Hīnayānistic and the Mahāyānistic Stages, the different degrees of the Path of the Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha, and Bodhisattva are likewise put in correspondence with the three Spheres of Existence and their subdivisions in the following manner:—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Uttaratantra*, Transl., p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *dhātu = khamu*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Uttaratantra*, Transl., p. 117 and *Abhis. Āloka*, MS. 79 a. 12–15. *daśamyām punar bhūmau bodhisattvo buddha eva vaktavyo na tu samyaksaṃbuddha iti Pañca-vimśatisāhasrikāyāś ca vacanād yatra buddha-bhūmau yena karma-vaśitā-āśrayatvā-dinā jñānena avatiṣṭhati*.

<sup>4</sup> *jñāna-pāramitā = ye-tes-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*.

<sup>5</sup> *ma-dag sa*.

<sup>6</sup> *dag-paḥi sa gsum*.

<sup>7</sup> *kleśa = ñon-moñs*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Uttaratantra*, Transl., p. 223.

The Śrāvaka abiding on the first three degrees of the Path of Training (Heat, Climax, and Steadfastness) is considered to obtain an existence, at first, only among the human beings of the three continents,<sup>1</sup> and subsequently among the gods whose regions still belong to the world of Carnal Desire.<sup>2</sup>

The Śrāvaka who abides on the degree of Highest Mundane Virtues (*laukika-āgāra-dharma*) and on the Path of Illumination can become born, at first, among the human beings of the three continents and among the gods whose dwellings are still belonging to the Sphere of Carnal Desire.<sup>3</sup>

The Śrāvaka who has attained the Path of Concentrated Contemplation (*bhāvanā-mārga*) becomes born at the beginning in the same spheres, and subsequently—in the World of Ethereal Bodies (*rūpa-dhātu*) and in the Immaterial Sphere (*arūpya-dhātu*).<sup>4</sup>

The Śrāvaka who has terminated the course of training on the Path, the Arhat, can obtain an existence in any of the three Spheres.<sup>5</sup> The Pratyekabuddha on his Path obtains an existence among the human beings of the three continents.<sup>6</sup>

As regards the Mahāyānistic Path,—the Bodhisattva who abides on the Path of Accumulating Merit (*sambhāra-mārga*) can become

<sup>1</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 14 b. 3—4. I. e. Jambudvīpa, Pūrva-videha and Aparā-godhanya.

<sup>2</sup> *catur-mahārāja-kāyikāḥ, trayastriṃśa, yāmāḥ, tuṣita, nirmāṇa-ratī, and parā-nirmāṇa-vasavartin.*

<sup>3</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 14 b. 4. *ñan-thos-kyi sbyor-lam-chor-mchog mthoñ-lam glāñ geum-gyi mi dañ ḥdod-paḥi lha-la dañ-por sbye-ba.*

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 14 b. 5—6. — *ñan-thos-kyi sgom-lam-ni glāñ geum-gyi mi dañ ḥdod-paḥi lha-la dañ-por skeyes dgos-la skeyes-zin mñon-du-byas-pa-ni gzug-khams gzug-med-khams-kyi lha-rnams-la yod-do.* The subdivisions of the *rūpa-dhātu* are: In the first *dhyāna* (degree of mystic absorption)—1) *brahma-kāyika* = *tsaṅs-ris*, 2) *brahma-purohita* = *tsaṅs-pa mdun-na-ḥdon*, 3) *mahā-brahma* = *tsaṅs-chen*; in the second *dhyāna*—1) *paritta-ābha* = *ḥod-chuñ*, 2) *apramāṇa-ābha* = *tsad-med-ḥod*, 3) *ābhāvara* = *ḥod-gsal*; in the third *dhyāna*—1) *paritta-tulha* = *dge-chuñ*, 2) *tulha-kṛtana* = *dge-rgyas*, 3) *apramāṇa-tulha* = *tsad-med-dge*; in the fourth *dhyāna*—1) *anābhaka* = *spriñ-med*, 2) *punya-prasava* = *bsod-nams-skeyes*, 3) *brhat-phala* = *ḥbras-bu che-ba*, 4) *abṛha* = *mi-che-ba*, 5) *atapa* = *mi-gdun-ba*, 6) *sudṛśa* = *tin-tu-mñon-ba*, 7) *sudarśana* = *gya-nom-mañ-ba*, and 8) *akaniṣṭha* = *hog-min*. (Sa-lam Kh. 14 a. 2—4 and M. Vyutp. §§ 157—161.)

<sup>5</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 14 b. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 14 b. 6—15 a. 1.

born among the human beings of the three continents, among the gods belonging to the World of Carnal Desire, the Nāgas, and the denizens of the sphere of Ethereal Bodies, but not in the Immaterial Sphere.<sup>1</sup>

The Bodhisattva abiding on the Paths of Training and Illumination is considered by some to become first born in either of the three continents or among the gods belonging to the World of Carnal Desire, and by others—in the Sphere of Ethereal Bodies.<sup>2</sup> The Bodhisattva who has attained the Path of Concentrated Contemplation is regarded as being able to assume a birth in any of the three Spheres of Existence.<sup>3</sup>

Last of all we have the Śrāvaka's, the Pratyekabuddha's, and the Bodhisattva's Path viewed from the standpoint of the time necessary for the attainment of the final result:—

The Śrāvaka, if he applies all his energy and acts without delay, can attain Arhatship during three successive births.<sup>4</sup> During the first he brings to accomplishment the Path of Accumulating Merit, during the second—the Path of Training, and during the third he realizes the Paths of Illumination, Concentrated Contemplation, and the Ultimate, thus making an end to Phenomenal Existence.<sup>5</sup>

The Pratyekabuddha, with regard to the time of attaining the kind of Enlightenment peculiar to him, is considered to be of three kinds, as follows:—

1) The solitary Pratyekabuddha (*khaḍga-viṣāṇa-kalpa*):—He brings to accomplishment the Accumulation of Merit<sup>6</sup> that is peculiar to the Path of that name during hundred æons. Then, without having recourse to the help of a teacher, he realizes the four other Paths, one after the other, during one single practice of meditation.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 15 a. 1—2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 15 a. 2—3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 15 a. 3—4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vasubandhu ad Sūtrāḥ. I. 10.—*kālena cā'pyena tad-artha-prāptir yāvat tribhūḥ api janmabhiḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 16 a. 1—2.

<sup>6</sup> *puṇya-sambhāra*.

<sup>7</sup> *stan thog geig-tu*. Sa-lam Kh. 16 a. 3—4. Cf. my Translation of Bu-ton's History, vol. i, p. 103. The verse quoted there is a Kārikā of the Abhidharmakośa (Tsugol ed. 84 b. 5—85 a. 1).

2) The Great Vargacārin<sup>1</sup> (the Pratyekabuddha who associates himself with the hosts of Śrāvaka Saints).—The Accumulation of Merit connected with the first part of the Path, up to the intermediate sub-division of the Degree of Steadfastness<sup>2</sup> (in the Path of Training), is brought to accomplishment by him during  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a period of hundred æons. He then draws near to the termination of Phenomenal Existence and, without the help of a teacher, brings about the realization of the remaining part of the Path of Training, and of the Paths of Illumination, Concentrated Contemplation, and the Ultimate, thus attaining the form of Enlightenment that is peculiar to the Pratyekabuddha.<sup>3</sup>

3) The Inferior Vargacārin.—The Accumulation of Merit required up to the attainment of the Path of Illumination is accomplished by him during  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a period of hundred æons. At the time of liberation from Phenomenal Existence he, without having recourse to the help of a teacher, realizes the Paths of Illumination and Concentrated Contemplation during one single practice of concentrated trance.<sup>4</sup>

As regards the time, which is considered to be necessary for the attainment of Buddhahood, there are two different theories which are to be met with in the different texts. According to one, the whole Path of the Bodhisattva is considered to have the duration of three immeasurable periods<sup>5</sup> of æons. The first of these is considered to last from the beginning of the Path of Accumulating Merit, the second—from the first Stage up to the seventh, and the third—from the eighth Stage till the tenth. According to the other theory one "immeasurable period" includes the Path of Accumulating Merit,<sup>6</sup> another—the Degrees of Heat and of the Climax (*ūsmagata*

<sup>1</sup> *tehog-spyod chen-po*.

<sup>2</sup> *kṣānti* = *bsod-pa*.

<sup>3</sup> Sa-lam Kh. 16 a. 4–5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 16 a. 5–b. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *asaṃkhyā* = *gras-med*. The explanation of the meaning of the word *asaṃkhyā* and the whole theory of the time of Accumulation is contained in Buton's History of Buddhism. Cf. my translation, vol. i, p. 119 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Abhis. Klokā, MS. 34, b. 10–13. *sampūṇa-puṇya-saṃbhāras tato dhīmān-ārḍhāśayaḥ | śraddhādyaiḥ kuśalair dharmaiḥ paribhāvita-saṃtatiḥ | jñāna-saṃbhāra-siddhy-arthaṃ kalpāsaṃkhyeya-nirgamāt | śhīrābhijñā-cavādēna caryābhūmau pravartate*.



and *mūrdhagata*) in the Path of Training, and a third one—those of Steadfastness (*kṣānti*) and of Highest Mundane Virtues (*laukika-agra-dharma*). Thereafter, on each of the ten Stages, the Bodhisattva is considered to abide during three such periods, so that the whole course of training and the process of accumulating virtue and wisdom<sup>1</sup> is considered to have the duration of 33 immeasurable periods of aeons.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV. THE EIGHT PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS (*aṣṭau padārthāḥ* = *dhos-po brgyad*) AND THE SEVENTY TOPICS (*artha-saptatiḥ* = *don bdun-cu*) OF THE *ABHISAMAYĀLAMPKĀRA*.

Having thus given a short summary of the teaching of the Path, and all the different classifications of the latter, we can now begin an investigation of the contents of the *Abhisamayālamkāra*. We have to remember first of all that it is a *Prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra*, i.e. a treatise, communicating, in an extremely abridged form, the contents of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras* which are interpreted from the standpoint of the doctrine of the Path. The system according to which the subject is treated in the *Ahisamayālamkāra* does not agree with the successive order of the five Degrees of the Path, as we have viewed them, but shows a strict correspondence with the contents of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* and the order in which the subject-matter is exposed by it. This explains the somewhat strange manner in which the teaching of the Path is dealt with in the *Ahisamayālamkāra*, the same subjects being discussed over and over again at different places and from different points of view. The Great Commentary of Haribhadra clearly shows us, in every case separately, how such and such passage of the Sūtra is interpreted from the standpoint of its relation to such and such subdivision of the Path. At the end of every such explanation, the corresponding verse of the *Ahisamayālamkāra* is quoted at full length: *tathā co'ktam, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> *puṇya-jñāna-saṃbhāra*.

<sup>2</sup> Bu-ton, Transl., vol. i, p. 121.



Now, in accordance with the sūtras, the contents of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is divided first of all into eight principal subjects (*aṣṭau padārthāḥ* = *dños-po brgyad*). These are:—

A. The three kinds of Omniscience (*tisraḥ sarvajñatāḥ* = *mkhyen-gsum*).<sup>1</sup>

1) The special Omniscience of the Buddha, his ultimate direct<sup>2</sup> knowledge, in one single moment, of all the aspects of existence, absolute and empirical<sup>3</sup> (*sarva-ākāra-jñatā* = *nam-pa thams-cad mkhyen-pa-ñid* or *nam-mkhyen*). It is possessed only by the Buddha.<sup>4</sup> (1)

2) The Omniscience in regard to the Paths to Salvation, the Hīnayānistic and Mahāyānistic (*mārga-jñatā* = *lam-śes-ñid* or *lam-śes*). It is possessed by the Buddha and by the Bodhisattva who has entered the Path of a Saint.<sup>5</sup> (2)

3) The Omniscience in regard of the Objects (*vastu*) of the Empirical World, which is possessed by the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, and is likewise accessible to the Hīnayānist Saint, —the Śrāvaka and the Pratyekabuddha (*sarva-jñatā* = *thams-cad-śes-pa-ñid* or *vastu-jñāna* = *gzi-śes*). It is a kind of knowledge which is conformable to the faculty of understanding of the Hīnayānist,<sup>6</sup> and represents the cognition of all the empirical objects from the standpoint of their non-relation to a real and independent individual Ego.<sup>7</sup> (3)

<sup>1</sup> This is the usual technical abbreviation by which the three kinds of Omniscience are designated in the Tibetan manuals (for *nam-pa-thams-cad-mkhyen-pa gsum*).

<sup>2</sup> *pratyakṣa* = *mñon-sum*.

<sup>3</sup> The definition acc. to the Don būn-cu of Jam-yañ-zad-pa (Tsugol ed.) 2 a. 1. —*ji-lta ji-ñid-kyi nam-pa ma-lus-pa skad-cig-ma gcig-la mñon-sum-du mkhyen-paḥi mthar-thug-gi mkhyen-pa*.

<sup>4</sup> Don. 2 a. 3. *sa-mtshams sañs-rgyas-kyi sa kho-nar yod*.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 2 b. 1. *sa-tshams theg-chen mñon-lam-nas sañs-rgyas-kyi saḥi bar-du yod*.

<sup>6</sup> *śrāvaka-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra* and *pratyekabuddha-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra*.

<sup>7</sup> Definition acc. to Don: (2 b. 2). —*gzi thams-cad gañ-zag-gi bdag-med-du rtogs-paḥi cha-nas btag-paḥi theg-dman-gyi rtogs-rigs-su gnas-paḥi lphags-rgyud-kyi mkhyen-pa*.

B. The four Methods of Realization<sup>1</sup> (*catvāraḥ prayogaḥ* = *sbyor-ba bzhi*).

1) The Method of a full and clear intuition of all the aspects peculiar to the three forms of Omniscience (*sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha* = *rnam-kun-mñon-par-rdzogs-par-rtogs-pa* or *rnam-rdzogs-sbyor-ba*).<sup>2</sup> (4)

2) The Culminating Stages of the Process of Illumination (*mūrdha-abhisamaya* = *rtse-moḥi mñon-rtogs* or *mūrdha-prayoga* = *rtse-sbyor*).<sup>3</sup> (5)

3) The Process of Illumination viewed as a progressive contemplation and intuition of the aspects of Omniscience (*anupūrva-abhisamaya* = *mthar-gyis-paḥi mñon-rtogs* or *anupūrva-prayoga* = *mthar-gyis sbyor-ba*). (6)

4) The momentary intuition at the end of the Path (*eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* = *skad-cig gcig-paḥi mñon-par-rdzogs-par-byañ-chub-pa* or *kṣaṇika-prayoga* = *skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba*). (7)

The first of these four subjects is to be regarded as identical with the Mahāyānist Path as a whole.<sup>4</sup> The other three are included in it, representing either this same Path from another point of view (as the progressive process of Illumination),<sup>5</sup> or as parts of

<sup>1</sup> Of the three kinds of Omniscience.

<sup>2</sup> This is the usual abbreviation in the Tibetan manuals. Cf. Abhis. ālokā, MS. 211 a. 6-9.—*pavijñāta-tri-sarvajñatā-vaśīkāraṁ punaḥ sarvākāra-mārga-vastujñāna-saṃgrahaṇa trisarvajñatāṃ bhāvayati iti sarvākārābhisambodho vaktavyaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the usual technical abbreviation in the Tibetan manuals. The definition of *mūrdha-abhisamaya* acc. to Don. (3 a. 1) is the *yoga* (process of meditation and intuition) of the Mahāyānist Saint, which is governed by the concentrated analysis of the principle of Non-substantiality at the time when the contemplation of the aspects of the three kinds of Omniscience has attained its full strength.

<sup>4</sup> We have accordingly the following synonyms of the Path:—1) The *yoga* of the Mahāyānist Saint (*sems-dpaḥi rnal-'byor*), 2) *prajñā-pāramitā* in the sense of the Path (*lam-ser-phyin*), 3) the Path of the Bodhisattva (*byañ-sems-kyi lam*), 4) the Mahāyānist activity (*theg-chen agrob-pa*) and 5) the Action of the Outfit *saṃnāha-pratīpti* = *go-agrob* (Don. 2 b. 5-6).

<sup>5</sup> The limits of *sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha* and of *anupūrva-abhisamaya* are the same: beginning with the Path of Acc. Merit and up to the end of the Path as a whole.

it, likewise viewed from a special standpoint (as the Culminating Stages of the Process of Illumination and the final momentary intuition).<sup>1</sup> Last of all we have—

The Cosmical Body of the Buddha and its varieties (*dharmakāya-abhisambodha* = *chos-sku mñon-par-rtogs-pa*). It is spoken of here as the result of the Path, or of the Process of intuition of the Truth by the Mahāyānist Saint. (8)

In correspondence with these eight subjects the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* is divided into eight chapters (*adhikāra* = *skabs*), viz. 1) *Sarva-ākāra-jñatā-adhikāra*, 2) *Mārga-jñatā-adhikāra*, 3) *Sarva-jñatā-adhikāra*, 4) *Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra*, 5) *Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra*, 6) *Anupūrva-abhisamaya-adhikāra*, 7) *Eka-kṣaṇa-abhisamaya-adhikāra*, and 8) *Dharma-kāya-adhikāra*.

At the beginning of the work we have a salutation to Prajñāparamitā, the Climax of Wisdom. It is spoken of as representing the three kinds of Omniscience, i.e. the first three of the eight subjects just mentioned. The knowledge of all the objects of the Empirical World (*sarva-jñatā*) is that which leads the Hinayānist Saint to temporary pacification (but not to the final Nirvāṇa).<sup>2</sup> The Omniscience in regard of the Paths to Salvation (*mārga-jñatā*) enables the Bodhisattvas to act for the weal of the living beings. The special Omniscience which is peculiar only to the Buddha (*sarva-ākāra-jñatā*) is the knowledge of all the aspects of existence as being devoid of an independent separate reality and as not being liable to origination, from the standpoint of the Absolute. Being endowed with this Omniscience, the Buddhas are able to expound the Doctrine ("to turn the Wheel of the Doctrine"), as the antidote

<sup>1</sup> The 7th and last variety of the Culminating Stages is identical with the final momentary intuition. Cf. below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 28. In the *Skabs-brgyad-ka* of *Jam-yan-ñad-pa* we have, in connexion with the explanation of this line, a short, but very clear and thorough investigation of Nirvāṇa from the standpoint of the four Buddhist Schools, each of them taken separately. It will be made the subject of a special study.

against the incorrect behaviour of the living beings.<sup>1</sup> The Climax of Wisdom, as manifesting itself in these three forms of Omniscience is glorified as the "mother" (*matr* = *yum*) of the Śrāvakas (and the Pratyekabuddhas), the Bodhisattvas and the Buddha. In the Commentaries we have moreover the three kinds of Omniscience spoken of separately as the "three mothers" (*yum gsum*),—of the Hinayānist Saints, the Bodhisattvas and the Buddha respectively. The name of "mother" is given to the three kinds of Wisdom, because each of them is like a mother that aids her child (i.e. the Hinayānist or Mahāyānist Saint) in the realization of the desired aim, and a mother that fosters the virtuous elements in the spiritual streams of these Saints.<sup>2</sup> We must here once more point to the fact that the term *prajñā-pāramitā* signifies not only the Climax of Wisdom as the result of the saintly Path, but the Path itself as well. In this very sense we have the term *mātr* = *yum* here, viz. as the wisdom, the intuition which leads to the realization of the ultimate aim. It is thus (if we exclude the special Omniscience of the Buddha which is the result), another synonym of *mārga*—the Path.<sup>3</sup> The three kinds of Omniscience, accordingly, represent the Paths of the three kinds of Saints, and their result.

We must however remark that the *Abhisamayalamkāra* is a treatise exclusively Mahāyānistie. The Paths of the Śrāvaka and the Pratyekabuddha form a part of its subject matter, but only as

<sup>1</sup> Sphuṭārthā, Aga ed. 3 b. 4, 5.—Cf. Skabs. I. 65 b. 5—6.—*agos-pa gdul-bya ñon-mons-pa-la spyod-pa brgyad-khri-bti-stoñ hduḷ-baḥi ched-du ḥīras-bu gñen-po rañ rañ-gi blo-dañ-ñiṣṭham-paḥi chos-kyi phui-po brgyad-khri-bti-stoñ-gi ḥkhor-lo brjod-bya ma-lus-pa rnam-pa thams-cad-pa hdi bekor-paḥi-phyir*.—In order to suppress the sinful conduct of the converts, of which there are 84,000 varieties, the Buddhas swing the Wheel of the Doctrine in all its parts. This Doctrine is divided into 84,000 varieties representing the antidote of the different forms of sinful conduct just mentioned. It is expounded in conformity with the intellectual faculty of each of the converts separately. Cf. Abb. kośa, I. 26—*carita-pratipakṣas tu dharma-skandho 'nuvarṇitah*.

<sup>2</sup> Skabs. I. 35 a. 4—5, as a quotation from the Śuddhimatī and the Nirvikalpa-stotra.

<sup>3</sup> Skabs. I. 36 a. 5.—*yum dañ mkhyen-pa dañ lam dañ mñon-rtogs bti don-gcig*.

far as they have to be cognized by the Mahāyānist Saint. The latter, in order to attain the special forms of knowledge peculiar to him, must first become possessed of the intuition that is common to the "intermediate individual" (i.e. the Hinayānist Saint),<sup>1</sup> viz. that of the four Truths of the Saint and their sixteen aspects, Evanescence, &c., referring to the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World. After that he becomes able to secure the Omniscience in regard of the Path, and, finally,—the special Omniscience of the Buddha.<sup>2</sup>

Now, in what manner has the contents of the Prajñā-pāramitā been summarized in the eight Chapters of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*? We shall give later on a table showing the full concordance of the subjects of the Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtras with the topics of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. This table will clearly show why the author of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* has adopted such an order of exposition and no other. A careful reader will see that in many places the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* uses even the same words and expressions as the corresponding passages of the Sūtras.<sup>3</sup> Many verses of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* are nothing but a summary of the contents of such passages, and are often quite unintelligible for one who is not acquainted with the contents of the Sūtras.<sup>4</sup> In Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-alokā* we read that first of all the Bodhisattva

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skabs. I. 33 b. 4-5. (*Mñon-rlogs-rgyan*) *theg-chen thun-mon-ma-yin-paḥi batan-bcos yin-paḥi-phyib*, and Ibid. 36 a. 6-b. 1. *skyes-bu chen-poḥi lam rgyud-la skye-ba-la gñi-śes-kyi mi-rtag-sogs bcu-drug-gis bodus-paḥi hbrin-dan-thun-mon-baḥi lam blo sbyon shon-du hgro dgos-pas dan-por gñi-śes dan de-nas lam-śes de-nas rnam-mkhyen-la batod-paḥi-phyir*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare for instance *Aṣṭaśāhasrikā* (Ed. Rājendralāl Mitra, 189. 18-20.—*sā khalu punar iyaṃ Bhagavan prajñā-pāramitā nā 'pare āre na pare āre nāpy ubhayam antareṇa viprakṛtā sthitā*, and *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* III. 1. *nā 'pare na pare āre nā 'ntarāle tayoh sthitā*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* IV. 2-5.—Enumeration of the 173 aspects (*ākāra*) of the three forms of Omniscience, V. 1.—*svapnā'ntare 'pi svapnābha-sarva-dharmekṣapādikam | mūrdhanyā prāptasya yogasya lingaṃ dvādaśāṅgā matam*.—Of the twelve *ingas* only the first is indicated.

striving for Buddhahood must become fully acquainted with all the forms of meditation, &c., which are indispensable for the attainment of the special Omniscience of the Buddha (*sarva-ākāra-jñatā*). The Chapter which is dedicated to these subjects is called by the name of the result, i.e. "the Chapter on the Special Omniscience of the Buddha." Now the latter cannot be attained without a full knowledge of all the different Paths, including that of the Śrāvakas, &c. Therefore, next comes the demonstration of (the elements characterizing) the Omniscience in regard of the Path (*mārga-jñatā*). Then, as this knowledge of the different Paths itself requires a preceding knowledge of the true essence of all the objects of the Empirical World (*sarva-jñatā*), the student of the Prajñā-pāramitā is made acquainted with the elements constituting this knowledge. Thereafter, when the three forms of Omniscience are thus presented before the student, the latter must receive the teaching about the practical process of realization of them, viz. the Path proper, or otherwise the contemplation of all the (173) aspects (*ākāra*) of the three kinds of Omniscience. Then comes the demonstration of the culminating points of the Bodhisattva's intuition on the Path (*mārdha-abhisamaya*), the instructions for a progressive contemplation of the elements constituting the Path (*anupūrva-abhisamaya*), the teaching about the final, momentary intuition (*eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha*), and, last of all, the realization, at the second moment, of the Cosmical Body of the Buddha.<sup>1</sup> The mutual relation between the eight sub-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Abhis. āloka, MS. 16 b. 8—17 a. 5.—*tatra buddhatā-arhino bodhisattvasya cittotpādādi-sarva-ākāra-parijñānāya ādau phala-nirdeśeṇa sarva-ākāra-jñatā kathamitā | sū na vinā śrāvaka-mārgādi-parijñānena iti tadanu mārga-jñatā | sū 'pi na sarva-vastu-parijñānam antareṇa iti tadanantaram sarva-jñatā | tataḥ sarvathā evaṃ-prāpta-tri-sarvajñatā vaitārthāṇi pūnāḥ sarva-ākāra-mūrga-vastu-jñāna-prakāra-saṃgrahaṇa tri-sarvajñatā-bhūvanayā adhigamaṇi sarva-ākāra-abhisambodham | viśeṣa-mārgaṇa prakāra-paryanta-adhigama-lābhān mārddhabhisamayam āśādy cyasta-samasta-bhedena vibhāvitaṁ arthān praguṇīkṛtya niscayāya sūlpatkaroti iti viditvā anupūrva-abhisamayam | pūnā api svalbhyasti-karaṇāya vilhāvita-ekakṣaṇa-abhisambodha-anantaram deśiye kṣaṇe dharma-kāya-abhisambodham aviparītam adhigacchati iti samāsato 'jñā-bhisamayaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ pīṇḍārthaḥ.*

jects of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* is demonstrated in the two summary verses at the end of the whole work (*lakṣaṇaṃ tat-prayogas tat-prakaraṣas tad-anukramaḥ*, &c.). Accordingly, first of all we have the three kinds of Omniscience and the factors for their attainment demonstrated as the essential nature (*lakṣaṇa*) of Prajñā-pāramitā. Then we have the four methods relating to the practical process of attainment, the Path, i.e. the course of transic meditation by means of which the three forms of Omniscience are realized by the Bodhisattva within his own stream of elements. We here have:—

1) The full intuition of all the aspects (of the three kinds of Omniscience—*sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha*).—In the first three chapters we had the said three forms of Omniscience demonstrated separately as the objects of study, analysis, and meditation. The aim of the first three chapters is to show the essence and the characteristic features of the three kinds of Omniscience and the factors for their attainment.

The fourth chapter (expounding the fourth subject) has for its subject-matter likewise these same three forms of Omniscience, but the order of exposition and the aim are different. Here the Path of the Bodhisattva, his process of Illumination, is made the principal subject-matter. Now, as the Bodhisattva on his Path brings about the realization of all the three kinds of Omniscience, he must contemplate all the aspects of them taken together, in order that he might be able to dominate them completely.<sup>1</sup> It is not sufficient to know the characteristic features of the three kinds of Omniscience; one must come oneself to master them completely and realize them within one's own stream of elements. The aim of the fourth chapter is to show how the said aspects (*ākāra*) are all of them to be practically contemplated and realized through the joint agency of perfect mind-concentration (*śamatha*) and transcendental analysis (*vipaśyanā*). In this practical process two main points are taken

<sup>1</sup> Abhis. āloka, MS. 19 b. 4—6.—*parijñāta-trisarojñatā-vasitārthaṃ punaḥ sarva-ākāra-mārga-vastu-jñāna-prakāra-saṅgrahaṇa tri-sarvajñatām bhāvayati.*



into consideration, viz. the points to be shunned (as the views maintaining the reality of separate entities, &c.), and the antidotes against them. These antidotes appear in the form of the 173 aspects relating to the three kinds of Omniscience. Such a character of the aspects is especially mentioned by Haribhadra in his Commentary.<sup>1</sup>—

This active character of the process of intuition is not pointed to in the first three chapters. There the three kinds of Omniscience with their different aspects “appear in a quiescent state,” as the mere object presented before the student, over which the latter has to exercise his activity.<sup>2</sup>

As a rule, *sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha* appears as the process of intuition in its fundamental and general form, representing the whole of the Path, beginning with the lowest subdivision of the Path of Accumulating Merit. The following three methods, being of a more special character, are to be regarded as parts of it. Let us now consider these three methods separately:—

2) The process of Illumination in its culminating Stages (*mūrdha-abhisamaya*). It is considered to relate to the former method as an effect to its cause.<sup>3</sup> The process of intuition of all the aspects, as we have seen, has for its aim the attainment of a dominating position in regard of the three forms of Omniscience and their aspects. The chapter demonstrating the culminating Stages of the process of Illumination (*Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra*) presents

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., MS. 211 a. 9—12.—*nityādi-grāhaka-vipakṣasya pratipakṣa-dharmatā-svabhāvanām anityādy-ālambana-prakāraṇām ākāratvena vyavasthāna-sāmānyena lakṣaṇam jñeyam.*

<sup>2</sup> The whole passage of the Abhis. Ālokā concerning the difference between the subject of the first three chapters and that of the fourth is as follows (MS. 332 a. 15—332 b. 3):—*kaḥ punas tri-sarvajñatāyāḥ sarvākārābhisambodhasya ca viśeṣaḥ? pratiniyata-ākāra-viśayās tīraḥ sarvajñatā yathoktena ākāra-pratiniyamena. samastā-ākāra-viśayas tu sarvākārābhisambodha iti kecil. lākṣaṇikam tri-sarvajñatā-vyavasthānam prāyogikas tu sarvākārābhisambodha ity anye. vipakṣa-pratipakṣa-vyavasthāna-prabhāvitaḥ sarvākārābhisambodhaḥ. tīraḥ sarvajñatāḥ tu na ca'vaṃ prakṛti-tānta-ākāratvād ity apare.*

<sup>3</sup> Rtoḡa-dkaḥi-snañ-ba, of Mkhas-grub. 220 b. 2—4.



before us the moments of the Path when the dominating position in its different forms is attained. Thus, on the Path of Accumulating Merit, the general idea of the monistic Absolute is contemplated by the Bodhisattva. As the first result of this contemplation, on the Degree of Heat of the Path of Training, we have "the light of intuition which reveals to the Bodhisattva, though but slightly, the principle of the monistic Absolute."<sup>1</sup> The Degree of Heat (*ūṣmagata*) accordingly appears as the first resulting or culminating moment. At the same time the further contemplation is going on in its turn, and comes to its culminating point on the Degree of the Climax (*mūrdhagata*). So we have, in a similar manner, the subsequent forms of contemplation bringing forth their result, their culminating moments on the remaining two Degrees of the Path of Training, on the Path of Illumination and of Concentrated Contemplation. At the end of the Path we have the highest and ultimate culminating point,—the moment directly preceding the attainment of Buddhahood,—"the unimpeded stage of transic meditation, conducive to the special Omniscience of the Buddha in regard of all the aspects of existence."<sup>2</sup>

3) The Progressive Process of Intuition (*anupūrva-abhisamaya*). As we have seen, the intuition of all the aspects of the three kinds of Omniscience (*sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha*) is to be understood as the Path in general, the contemplation and cognition of all the 173 aspects of the three kinds of Omniscience taken together (*sarva-ākāra-mārga-vastu-jñāna-prakāra-saṃgrahaṇa trisarvajñatā-bhāvanayā adhigamaḥ*). Now, in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of the said aspects, to fix them firmly in the mind, it is necessary to contemplate them separately in a gradual order (*ānupūrvi*). When one fixes in the mind one single aspect, it is impossible to do the same in an equal manner with regard to all the other aspects simultaneously. Therefore it is necessary to take

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> V. 38.—*buddhatvōpīter anantaraḥ | ānantarya-samādhiḥ sa sarvākārajñatā ca tat.*

the aspects one by one in a gradual succession, and meditate on them. In such a manner all the aspects will definitely and distinctly appear as objects of the mind.<sup>1</sup>

Each of the first four divisions of the Path (i.e. the Paths of Accumulating Merit, Training, Illumination, and Concentrated Contemplation) contains the elements of the Progressive Process of Illumination. The subjects cognized in a general and summary form on the lowest degrees of the Path of Accumulating Merit, are again contemplated and thoroughly mastered on the higher degrees of that Path. The same takes place on the Path of Training, and so on. In a definite and essential form the Progressive Process of Illumination begins with the degree of Heat of the Path of Training, where, as we know, the first positive result of the Bodhisattva's *yoga* is attained.<sup>2</sup>

For the greater part, the Progressive Process of Illumination is to be regarded as peculiar to those parts of the Path which represent the cognition after the termination of the concentrated trance (*prṣṭha-labdha-jñāna*).<sup>3</sup>

4) The final momentary intuition (*eka-kṣāṇa-abhisambodha*) After the aspects of Omniscience are thus contemplated in a gradual order and thoroughly cognized, the result of this cognition<sup>4</sup> makes itself known at the very end of the Path, when all the aspects become directly intuited in one single moment. This is to be regarded as the termination (*niṣṭhā*) of the whole process, which is identical with "the highest culminating point of the Path," directly preceding the attainment of Buddhahood.—

These are in short the four practical methods which appear as the component parts of the Path. The first division of the latter, the Path of Accumulating Merit, contains the elements of the first and the third methods, the subsequent Paths include the second

<sup>1</sup> Rnam-bśad, 41 a. 6—b. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Geer, I. 86 a. 2—3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 81 b. 4.

<sup>4</sup> In the Commentaries, *anupūrva-abhisamaya* is characterized as the process for the attainment of a firm position in regard of all the aspects, and *eka-kṣāṇa-abhisambodha* is its result.

(*mūrdha-abhisamaya*) as well, and the fourth is restricted to the final moment of the Path. As the ultimate result we have the realization of the Cosmical Body of the Buddha.—

The second verse of the conclusion gives us a more simple and brief summary of the whole work:—

*viśayas tritayo hetuḥ prayogaś caturātmakaḥ  
dharma-kāya-phalaṃ karme' ty anyas tredhārtha-saṃgrahaḥ.*

The aim or the object of action (*pravṛtti-viśaya*) is of three kinds, viz. the three forms of Omniscience. Four are the methods, the factors or the means for the attainment of that object.<sup>1</sup> The result of the action is the full realization of the Cosmical Body.—

Moreover, besides these eight principal subjects, the contents of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is systematized into 70 topics (*artha-saptatīḥ* = *don-bdun-cu*). These are the points which are discussed separately in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, and with which the topics of the *Prajñā-paramitā* are put in correspondence. The whole system of the work, including both divisions, that of the eight principal subjects and of the 70 topics, appears as follows:—

### Chapter I. The Special Omniscience of the Buddha (*sarva-ākāra-jnatā* = *rnam-pa-thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-ñid* or *rnam-mkhyen*).

The ten elements characterizing the process of attainment of this Omniscience:<sup>2</sup>—

1) The Mahāyānistic Creative Mental Effort for Enlightenment (*bodhi-citta-utpāda* = *byañ-chub-tu sems-bskyed* or *theg-chen sems-bskyed*). Kār. I. 18–20. (1)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rnam-béad*, 342 a. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *rnam-mkhyen mshon-byed-kyi chos bcu*. Summary Kār. I. 5, 6.—*cittotpādo 'evādaś ca*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> The figures in parentheses at the end of each paragraph indicate the topics (i.e. each of the 70 topics) in their successive order, independently from the division into the eight principal subjects.

2) The precepts and instructions which the Bodhisattva has to receive before entering the Path and during the course of training on the latter (*avavāda* = *gdams-nag*). Kār. I. 20, 21. (2)

3) The four degrees of the Mahāyānistic Path of Training, conducive to Illumination (*nirvedha-anga* = *nes-ḥbyed-yan-lag* or *nirvedha-bhāgiya* = *nes-ḥbyed-cha-mthun*).<sup>1</sup> The points of superiority of them to the corresponding degrees of the Hinayanistic Path of Training.<sup>2</sup> Kār. I. 25–36. (3)

4) The foundation of the Mahāyānistic Activity, the fundamental element of Buddhahood or of the saintly lineage (*pratipatter adhāraḥ prakṛtiṣṭhaṃ gotram* = *sgrub-paḥi rten ran-bzin-gnas-rigs*) Kār. I. 37, 38. (4)

5) The sphere of the Mahāyānistic Activity or otherwise, the objects of meditation on the Path (*ālambana* = *dmigs-pa*). Kār. I. 40, 41. (5)

6) The final goal of the Mahāyānistic Activity (*uddēsa* = *ched-du-bya-ba*). Kār. I. 42. (6)

7) The action of the Mahāyānistic Outfit (*saṃnāha-pratipatti* = *go-chaḥi sgrub-pa* or *go-sgrub*).<sup>3</sup> Kār. I. 43. (7)

8) The action of the Access (to the Great Vehicle—*prasthāna-pratipatti* = *hjug-paḥi sgrub-pa* or *hjug-sgrub*). Kār. I. 44, 45. (8)

9) The action of Accumulation (of the factors conducive to Enlightenment—*saṃbhāra-pratipatti* = *tshogs-kyi sgrub-pa* or *tshogs-sgrub*). Kār. I. 46, 47 sqq. (9)

10) The action of the Issue or the termination of the Path (*niryāṇa-pratipatti* = *nes-ḥbyun-sgrub-pa*). Kār. I. 72, 73. (10)

<sup>1</sup> *nirvedha* is a synonym of *darśana-mārga*—the Path of Illumination.

<sup>2</sup> Two of these points of superiority are: a) the object meditated upon (*ālambana* = *dmigs-pa*), and the aspect in which this object is to be contemplated and intuited (*ākāra* = *nam-pa*). The Kārikās I. 27–33 contain an enumeration of the objects and aspects corresponding to the four degrees of the Path of Training and their subdivisions (inferior, intermediate, and highest) respectively.

<sup>3</sup> This is 1) another synonym for the Path as a whole (cf. above) and 2) the first part of it as representing the Path of Accumulating Merit.

The four "actions" mentioned last represent different aspects of the Mahāyānistic activity (*pratipatti*). This "activity" is another synonym of the Path as a whole.

## Chapter II. The Omniscience in regard of the Path

(*mārga-jñatā* = *lam-śes-ñid* or *lam-śes*).

The eleven elements characterizing the Omniscience in regard of the Path:<sup>1</sup>—

1) The auxiliary attributes<sup>2</sup> of the Omniscience in regard of the Path (*mārga-jñatā-angāni* = *lam-śes-kyi yan-lag*). Kār. II. 1. (11)

2) The Omniscience in regard of the Path as the cognition of the Path of the Śrāvakas (*śrāvaka-mārga-jñāna-mayī mārga-jñatā* = *ñan-thos-kyi lam śes-paḥi lam-śes*). Kār. II. 2. (12)

3) Ditto as the knowledge of the Path of the Pratyekabuddha (*pratyekabuddha-mārga-jñāna-mayī mārga-jñatā* = *rañ-rgyal-gyi lam śes-paḥi lam-śes*). Kār. II. 6, 7, 8. (13)

4) The Mahāyānistic Path of Illumination endowed with exclusive merits (*mahānuṣaṃso darśana-mārgaḥ* = *theg-chen mthoñ-lam phan-yon-dañ-bcas-pa*). Kār. II. 11–16.<sup>3</sup> (14)

5) The functions of the Mahāyānistic Path of Concentrated Contemplation (*bhavanā-mārga-kāritra* = *theg-chen sgom-lam-gyi byed-pa*). Kār. II. 17. (15)

6) The Path of Concentrated Contemplation characterized by Faith (*adhimukti-lakṣaṇa-bhavanā-mārga* = *mos-pa sgom-lam*). Kār. II. 18, 19. (16)

<sup>1</sup> *lam-śes mthoñ-byed-kyi chos deu-goig*. Summary Kār. I. 7–9.

<sup>2</sup> These are: 1) The rejection of self-conceit, 2) the Mahāyānistic Creative Effort, 3) the awakening to life of the element of the saintly lineage (*gotra*; cf. above, p. 33), 4) the essential character of the Bodhisattva, his non-rejection of the Phenomenal World in order to act for the weal of the living beings, and 5) the action of converting others.

<sup>3</sup> Kār. II. 12–16 contain an extremely abridged indication of the 16 moments. In our edition they are marked by commas.

7) The virtues of the Path of Concentrated Contemplation, extolled, praised, and glorified (*stuti-stobha-praṣaṃsāḥ* = *bstod-bkur-bsṅags gsum*). Kār. II. 20. (17)

8) The Path of Concentrated Contemplation characterized by the convergence of the roots of virtue into component parts of Supreme Enlightenment (*pariṇāma* = *yoṅs-su-bsṅo-ba*). Kār. II. 21-23. (18)

9) The Path of Concentrated Contemplation characterized by the feeling of delight (*anumoda* = *rjes-su-yi-raṅ-ba*). Kār. II. 24.<sup>1</sup> (19)

10) The Path of Concentrated Contemplation as the ultimate achievement of the Mahāyānist Saint (*nirhāra-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga* = *sgrub-paḥi sgom-lam*). Kār. II. 25. (20)

11) The Path of Concentrated Contemplation as the attainment of the full and ultimate purification (*viśuddhi-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga* = *rnam-dag sgom-lam*). Kār. II. 28-31. (21)

### Chapter III. The Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World (*sarva-jñatā* = *thams-cad-śes-pa-ñid* or *vastu-jñāna* = *gzi-śes*).

The nine elements characterizing the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World:<sup>2</sup>—

1) The Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World, which does not relate to Phenomenal Life (*bhava-apratīṣṭhita-vastu-jñāna*<sup>3</sup> = *srid-pa-la mi-gnas-paḥi gzi-śes*). Kār. III. 1. (22)

2) The Omniscience in regard of the Path,<sup>4</sup> which is not attached to the Hīnayānistic Nirvāṇa, owing to the Bodhisattva's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *gzi-śes mthos-byed-kyi chos dgu*. Summary Kār. I. 10, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Kār. I. 10.—*prajñāyā na bhavē sthānam*.

<sup>4</sup> The Omniscience in regard of the Emp. World is considered to refer to the faculty of understanding of a Hīnayānist. The Omniscience governed by Commiseration is therefore to be viewed as the Omniscience in regard of the Path (Don. 11b. 3).

Great Commiseration (*śama-apraṭīṣṭhita-marga-jñāta* = *śi-ba-la mi-gnas-paḥi lam-śes*).<sup>1</sup> Kār. III. 1. (23)

3) The Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World, which is far from the ultimate result, the Climax of Wisdom (*phala-bhūta-mātur dūri-bhūta-vastu-jñāna* = *ḥbras-yum-la riñ-baḥi gēi-śes*).<sup>2</sup> Kār. III. 2 a, b. (24)

4) The Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World, which is near to the ultimate result, i.e. the Climax of Wisdom (*phala-bhūta-mātur asaṇṇi-bhūta-vastu-jñāna* = *ḥbras-yum-la ñe-baḥi gēi-śes*).<sup>3</sup> Kār. III. 2 e, d. (25)

5) The Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World peculiar to the Hīnayānist, which, being devoid of Commiseration and of Analytic Wisdom cognizing the Non-substantiality of all the elements of existence, is regarded as a point that is to be shunned by the Mahāyānist Saint (*vipakṣa-bhūta-vastu-jñāna* = *mi-mthun-phyogs-kyi gēi-śes*).<sup>4</sup> Kār. III. 3. (26)

<sup>1</sup> Kār. I. 10. *kṛpayā na tame sthitiḥ*. Cf. Abhis. śloka, MS. 197 b. 12—198 a. 3. *trāyadhvika-dharma-anupāda-ākāreṇa tulyatā-avabodhād yā śrāvakādy-agocarato vena vipakṣa-rūpā buddha-bodhisattvānāṃ prajñā-pāramitā sā khalu punar nā 'pare saṃsāre prajñayā ādīnava-dāraṇāt. na pare itre nirvāṇe kṛpayā sattva-artha-karaṇāt. nā'pi saṃsāra-nirvāṇam ubhayam antareṇa vastuno 'attoṇ madhye'pi vṛgavasthitiā. atyantā-viśuddhitvād iti prajñā-karūṇayoh samyak-pratibodhena saṃsāra-nirvāṇa-ubhaya-upalambha-vigamāt.*

<sup>2</sup> This is the knowledge peculiar to the Hīnayānist Saint. It is devoid of Commiseration and of the wisdom cognizing Non-substantiality. Its limits are: beginning with the Hīnayānist Path of Illumination and lasting till the attainment of Arhathip (Don. 11 a. 6). Cf. Abhis. śloka, MS. 198 a. 5—9. *sarvajñatā-adhikārvād vyatireka-nirdeśena śrāvakādīnāṃ adhva-samatā-jñāna-abhāvāt samyak-prajñā-pāramitā dārīkhatā iti sva-adhigama-mātrā prajñā-pāramitā kṛpā-prajñā-vaikalpyān nirvāṇe saṃsāre vā 'vasthitiā vastu-avastu-upalambhataya iti jñeyam.*

<sup>3</sup> This is the knowledge peculiar to the Mahāyānist Saint. Abhis. śloka, MS. 198 b. 11—13. *bodhisattvānāṃ te'cchvāsita-bhāva-abhiniveśa-bhṛānti-nimittānāṃ rūpādi-sarva-dharma-parijñānam eva tat-samatā-parijñānam. atas te'pāṃ samyag-āsaṇṇi-bhāvo 'rya mātur iti.* Notice the expression *samatā-parijñānam*—the cognition of the equality, i.e. the ultimate unity of matter and all the other elements of existence.

<sup>4</sup> Abhis. śloka, MS. 199 a. 4—7. *śrāvakādīnāṃ eva mātur dūri-bhāvena anupādhāṇāṃ pratipakṣo 'pi san vastu-upalambha-viparyāsa-pravṛttatvena bodhisattvānāṃ tyājyato'ad vipakṣa iti.*



6) The Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World possessed by the Mahāyānist Saint, which, being dominated by Great Commiseration and the Wisdom cognizing Non-substantiality, represents the antidote against the egoistic and incomplete Hinayānistic knowledge (*pratipakṣa-bhūta-vastu-jñāna* = *gñen-po-phyogs-kyi gzi-śes*).<sup>1</sup> Kār. III. 4-6. (27)

7) The training (i.e. the process of meditation = *yoga*) for the attainment of the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World (*vastu-jñāna-prayoga* = *gzi-śes-sbyor-ba*). Kār. III. 8, 9, 10 a, b. (28)

8) The object of this meditative training,—the unity (equality) of all the elements of existence from the standpoint of the Absolute (*samata* = *mñam-ñid*). Kār. III. 10 b, c, d. (29)

9) The Path of Illumination peculiar to all the three Vehicles, viewed in the aspect of the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World (*darśana-mārga* = *mtshon-lam*). Kār. III. 11-15. (30)

Chapter IV. The Process of Intuition of all the (173) aspects of the three forms of Omniscience (*sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha* = *rnam-kun-mñon-par-rdzogs-par-rtogs-pa* or *rnam-rdzogs-sbyor-ba*).<sup>2</sup>

The 11 elements characterizing this process:<sup>3</sup>—

1) The 173 aspects of the three forms of Omniscience (*ākāra* = *rnam-pa*).<sup>4</sup> Kār. IV. 1-5. (31)

<sup>1</sup> This is simply a synonym of the knowledge of the Mahāyānist Saint which is near to the attainment of the result (Don. 12 a. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Its synonyms are:—a) the Path of the Bodhisattva (*byañ-sams-kyi lam*), b) *prajñā-pāramitā* in the sense of the Path (*lam-śer-phyin*), c) the *yoga* of the Mahāyānist Saint (*sams-dpañi rnal-hbyor*), d) the training for the attainment of the Special Omniscience of the Buddha (*rnam-mkhyen-sbyor-ba*), e) the training for the attainment of the Omniscience in regard of the Path (*lam-śes-sbyor-ba*) and f) the Action of the Mahāyānistic Outāt (*go-sgrub*).

<sup>3</sup> *rnam-rdzogs sbyor-ba mñon-pañi chos deu-geig*. Summary Kār. I. 12, 13.

<sup>4</sup> We have:—a) 27 aspects relating to the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World (*gzi-śes-kyi rnam-pa ñen-baun*) of which 12 refer to the first 3 Truths of the Saint (4 with each of the Truths, separately) and 15—to the Path exclusively (Kār. IV. 2); b) 36 aspects relating to the Omniscience in regard of



2) The 20 methods of meditative training (*prayoga* = *sbyor-ba*). Kār. IV. 8–11. (32)

3) The 14 merits acquired during the meditative training (*guṇa* = *yon-tan*).<sup>1</sup> Kār. IV. 12 a, b. (33)

4) The 46 moral defects which represent the impediments to the achievement of the training (*doṣa* = *skyon*).<sup>2</sup> Kār. IV. 12 c, d. (34)

5) The characteristic marks of the meditative training (*lakṣaṇa* = *mtshan-ñid*).<sup>3</sup> Kār. IV. 13–31. (35)

6) The "steps conducive to Salvation" = the Path of Accumulating Merit (*mokṣa-bhāgiya* = *thar-paḥi cha-mthun*). Kār. IV. 32. (36)

7) The four degrees of the Path of Training conducive to Illumination (*nirvedha-bhāgiya* = *nes-ḥbyed-cha-mthun*). Kār. IV. 33–37. (37)

the Path (*lam-śes-kyi rnam-pa so-drug*) of which 8 refer to the Truth of the Origin (of Phenomenal Existence—*samudaya-satya*), 7—to the Path, 5—to the Truth of Phenomenal Existence, and 16—to the Truth of Extinction, the latter being the 16 forms of Non-substantiality (*śūnyatā*) (Kār. IV. 3); c) the 110 aspects relating to the Omniscience of the Buddha (*rnam-mkhyen-gyi rnam-pa brgya-rtsa-bcu*) of which 37 are the so-called 37 Characteristics of Enlightenment (*bodhipakṣikā dharmāḥ*) as possessed by the Buddha, the Bodhisattvas and the Śrāvakas; the 34 aspects relating to the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, including the 3 Gates of Liberation (*trīṇi vimokṣa-mukhāni*), the 8 degrees of Liberation from Materiality (*aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ*), the 9 degrees corresponding to the 4 degrees of mystic absorption (*dhyāna*), the 4 planes of the Immaterial Sphere (*ārūpya-samāpattī*) and the Cessation Trance (*nirodha-samāpattī*), the 4 forms of Perseverance (*kṣānti*) of the Path of Illumination and the 10 Transcendental Virtues (*pāramitā*), and the 39 special aspects of the Buddha and his Omniscience (including the 10 Powers, the 4 kinds of Intrepidity, &c.).

<sup>1</sup> Enumerated in the Abhis. āloka.

<sup>2</sup> Ditto.

<sup>3</sup> There are altogether 91 such characteristic marks, viz. the 48 varieties of knowledge which characterize the Path and refer to the 3 forms of Omniscience (*aṣṭa-caturvīṃśa-jñāna-lakṣaṇāni* = *śes-mtshan te-brgyad*. Kār. IV. 14–22), the 16 points of superiority of the Mahāyānistic Path, put in correspondence with the 16 moments of the Path of Illumination (*ṣoḍaśa viśeṣa-lakṣaṇāni* = *khyad-mtshan bcu-drug*, Kār. IV. 23–26), the 11 characteristics of the Bodhisattva's activity on the Path (*ekādaśa kāritra-lakṣaṇāni* = *byed-paḥi mtshan-ñid bcu-gcig*, Kār. IV. 27, 28), and the 16 varieties of the essence of the Bodhisattva's training, as the part characterized (*ṣoḍaśa svalbhāva-lakṣaṇāni* = *ño-bo-ñid-mtshan bcu-drug*, Kār. IV. 29–31).

8) The Congregation of the Bodhisattvas who have attained the Irretrievable State (*śaikṣa-avaivartika-bodhisattva-saṅgha* = *slob-pa phyir-mi-ldog-paḥi byañ-sems-kyi dge-ḥdun*). Kār. IV. 38.<sup>1</sup> (38)

9) The process of intuiting the ultimate identity of the Phenomenal World and Nirvāṇa (*bhava-śānti-samata-prayoga* = *srid ḥi mñam-ñid-kyi sbyor-ba*).<sup>2</sup> Kār. IV. 60. (39)

10) The purification of the Bodhisattva's sphere of future activity (as a Buddha; *kṣetra-śuddhi-prayoga* = *śiḥ dag sbyor-ba*).<sup>3</sup> Kār. IV. 61. (40)

11) The action of the Bodhisattva on the three last Stages, skilful and free from effort (*upāya-kauśala-prayoga* = *thabs-mkhas sbyor-ba*). Kār. IV. 62, 63. (41)

### Chapter V. The Process of Illumination in its Culminating Stages (*mūrdha-abhisamaya* = *rtse-moḥi mñon-rtogs* or *rtse-sbyor*).

The eight elements characterizing the Culminating Process:<sup>4</sup>—

1) The 12 Characteristic Marks of the meditative trance on the Degree of Heat (*linga* = *rtags*) or the Culminating Process on the Degree of Heat (*uṣmagata-mūrdha-prayoga* = *drod rtse-sbyor*).<sup>5</sup> Kār. V. 1. (42)

2) The 16 forms of progress (*vivṛddhi* = *rnam-ḥphel*) of the moral merit of the Bodhisattva abiding on the Degree of the Climax or the Culminating Process on the Degree of the Climax (*mūrdhagata-mūrdha-prayoga* = *rtse-moḥi rtse-sbyor*).<sup>6</sup> Kār. V. 2. (43)

<sup>1</sup> The following Kārikās (IV. 39–54) contain an enumeration of the characteristic marks (*linga* = *rtags*) of the Bodhisattva who has attained the Irretrievable State: a) on the 4 degrees of the Path of Training (20 marks; Kār. IV. 39–45), b) on the Path of Illumination (16 marks as corresponding to the 16 moments, Kār. IV. 46–51), and c) on the Path of Concentrated Contemplation (Kār. IV. 52–54).

<sup>2</sup> Is peculiar to the three last Stages (Don. 20 b. 3. — *dbye-na-dag-sa-gsum ye-śes gsum*). <sup>3</sup> Cf. the preceding note.

<sup>4</sup> *rtse-sbyor mñon-paḥi chos brgyad*. Summary Kār. I. 14–16 a.

<sup>5</sup> The 12 *lingas* are enumerated in the Abhis. ślokaḥ, MS. 332 b. 7–337 b. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Enumerated in the Abhis. ślokaḥ, MS. 338 a. 3–343 b. 7.

3) The attainment of a firm position (*nirāḍhi* = *brtan-pa*) in regard of the Bodhisattva's concentrated analysis, or the Culminating Process on the Degree of Steadfastness (*kṣānti-gata-mūrdha-prayoga* = *bzod-paḥi rtse-sbyor*).<sup>1</sup> Kār. V. 3. (44)

4) The complete stabilization of the mind (*citta-saṁsthiti* = *sems kun-tu-gnas-pa*), or the Culminating Process on the Degree of Highest Mundane Virtues (*laukika-agra-dharma-mūrdha-prayoga* = *chos-mchog-rtse-sbyor*). Kār. V. 4. (45)

5) The Culminating Process on the Path of Illumination as the antidote against the incorrect views which are to be extirpated by means of the direct intuition of the Truth<sup>2</sup> (*darśana-mārga-mūrdha-prayoga* = *mthoṅ-lam-rtse-sbyor*). Kār. V. 5-22. (46)

6) The Culminating Process on the Path of Concentrated Contemplation as the antidote against the views which are to be removed by means of intense concentration<sup>3</sup> (*bhāvanā-mārga-mūrdha-prayoga* = *sgom-lam-rtse-sbyor*). Kār. V. 24-34. (47)

7) The Culminating Process at the final moment of the Path. The Stage of Concentrated Trance which is directly followed by the attainment of Buddhahood (*anantarya-samādhi* = *bar-chad-med-paḥi tiṅ-ñe-ḥdzin* or *anantarya-mūrdha-prayoga* = *bar-chad-med-paḥi rtse-sbyor*).<sup>4</sup> Kār. V. 37-39 a, b, c. (48)

8) The 16 incorrect views (*vipratipatti* = *log-sgrub*). Kār. V. 39 d<sup>5</sup>-42. (49)

<sup>1</sup> Abhis. Klokā, MS. 344 b. 6-10. — *samyag-upāya-kauśala-baleṇa evaṃ nirvikalpa-adhigama-avasāhāyāṃ mahākaruṇādi-saṃmukhi-karāṇa-bhāveṇa aparivṛtyakṣānti-gata-mūrdha-lakṣaṇā yathokta-sarvākāraṇjñatādi-tri-sarva-jñatā-dharmāṇāṃ anuttarā paripūrā nirāḍhiḥ iti.*

<sup>2</sup> *dr̥ṣṭi-heya* = *mthoṅ-spañ.*

<sup>3</sup> *bhāvanā-heya* = *sgom-spañ.*

<sup>4</sup> Is synonymous with *eka-kṣāna-abhisambodha*. (Don. 23 b. 2. — *ekad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba dan rgyun-mthaḥi ye-tes dan bar-chad-med-paḥi rtse-sbyor geum don-gcig*.) Abhis. Klokā, MS. 373 a. — *buddhatva-prāpter yaḥ pūrvam anantaraḥ samādhiḥ so'tra anantarya-samādhiḥ.*

<sup>5</sup> Beginning with: *jalpajalpi-pravādinām.*

**Chapter VI. The Intuition of the Bodhisattva viewed as a progressive process (anupūrva-abhisamaya = mthar-gyis-paḥi-mñon-rtogs or mthar-gyis-sbyor-ba).**

The 13 elements characterizing this process:<sup>1</sup>—

1-6) The six Transcendental Virtues (*ṣaṭ pāramitāḥ* = *phar-phyin drug*). (50-55)

7-12) The six forms of mindfulness (*anusmṛti*) concentrated upon:—

a) The Buddha (*buddha-anusmṛti* = *sañs-rgyas-rjes-su-dran-pa*). (56)

b) The Doctrine (*dharma-anusmṛti* = *chos-rjes-su-dran-pa*). (57)

c) The Congregation (*sangha-anusmṛti* = *dge-ḥdun-rjes-su-dran-pa*). (58)

d) Morality (*śīla-anusmṛti* = *tskul-khrims-rjes-su-dran-pa*). (59)

e) Resignation (*tyāga-anusmṛti* = *gtoñ-ba-rjes-su-dran-pa*). (60)

f) The Tutelary Deity (*devatā-anusmṛti* = *lha-bla-ma-rjes-su-dran-pa*). (61)

13) The cognition of the essence of Matter and all other elements of existence as being the negation of every separate entity (*rūpādi-sarva-dharma-abhāva-svabhāva-avabodha* = *gzugs-la sogs-paḥi chos thams-cad dños-po-med-paḥi ño-bo-ñid-du khoñ-du-chud-pa*). (62)

**Chapter VII. The Final Momentary Intuition (*eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* = *skad-cig-ma gcig-paḥi mñon-par-rdzogs-par byañ-chub-pa* or *skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba*).**

The four varieties of this intuition:<sup>2</sup>—

1) The momentary intuition of the undefiled elements (*anāsrava-dharma*) which have not yet attained complete maturity (*avipāka-avasthāyām eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* = *ñam-par-smin-pa-ma-yin-paḥi skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba*).<sup>3</sup> Kār. VII. 1, 2. (63)

<sup>1</sup> Summary Kār. I. 16.

<sup>2</sup> The difference is here only in name, since the essence of all these forms is one. (Don. 23 b. 3.—*dbye-na ño-bo gcig-la ldog-pa tha-dad-pa bñi yod.*) Summary, Kār. I. 16 c. d.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Abhis. Īlokā, MS. 375 b. 2-10.—*samudāyārtham ucyate lakṣaṇena eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodhaḥ caturvidha itī prathamam tāvat—*

*eko bhāvaḥ sarva-bhāva-svabhāvaḥ sarve bhāvā eka-svabhāvā eva  
eko bhāvas tattvato yena dr̥ṣṭaḥ sarve bhāvāḥ tattvatas tena dr̥ṣṭāḥ*

2) The momentary intuition of the undefiled elements which have attained complete maturity (*vipāka-avasthāyām eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* = *ruam-par-smiṇ-paḥi skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba*).<sup>1</sup> Kār. VII. 3. (64)

3) The momentary intuition of the unreality of the separate entities and their essences (*alākṣaṇatva-eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* = *mtshan-nid-med-paḥi skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba*).<sup>2</sup> Kār. VII. 4. (65)

*iti nyāyān na kevalaṃ bahubhīr ekasya saṃgraho 'pi to eka-kṣaṇa-dānādi-jñānena ālambyamānena apagata-pratīnīyata-vastu-grahaya-viparyāsa-rūpeṇa anāsrava-dānādy-aitī-anuryaṣṭijana-lakṣaṇānām dharmāṇām saṃgrahēṇa bodhisattvasya avabodhād avipāka-anāsrava-sarva-dharma-eka-kṣaṇa-lakṣaṇo bhavaty eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodhaḥ prathamah.*—It is said: One entity includes the essence of all the other entities, and, on the other hand, all entities have but one essence. He who perceives one entity from the standpoint of the Absolute, by this same act perceives the Ultimate Reality of all the entities. (Indicated in Skabs. I. 52 a. 1, as a quotation from Āryadeva.)—Here is meant not only the comprehension of many entities in one, but especially the Bodhisattva's intuition of the unity of all the undefiled elements, beginning with pure charity and ending with the 80 secondary corporeal marks of the Buddha. The knowledge cognizing all these elements will be free from the error which consists in the perception of the separate reality of all these elements, inasmuch as they are merged (in the Unique Absolute).

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. MS. 376 a. 4–11. *tad-anu yadā bodhisattvasya pratīpakṣa-bhāvanayā sarva-vipākṣa-apagameṇa sakala-vyavadāna-pakṣa-vipāka-dharmatā-avasthā sarva-kalanka-apagamena karad-indu-jyotmā iva śukla-svabhāva jātā tadā ekamīna eva kṣaṇe vipāka-avasthā prāptā anāsrava-sarva-dharmāṇām bodhāj jñānaṃ prajñā-pāramitā ity evaṃ vipāka-dharmatā-avasthā anāsrava-sarva-dharma-eka-kṣaṇa-avabodha-lakṣaṇo bhavaty eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodho dvitīyah.*—The state of complete maturity is attained when the Bodhisattva has removed all the elements that are to be shunned through the constant concentration upon their antidotes, and has brought to full development all the purifying elements. As every kind of defilement is here completely removed, this state represents the complement of all the purest qualities (which in their immaculate lustre may be) compared to the shining of the moon in autumn. At that time (the Bodhisattva) cognizes in one single moment all the undefiled elements and attains the Climax of Wisdom. This his cognition will be the momentary intuition of the undefiled elements in the state of complete maturity.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. MS. 376 a. 13–b. 4.—*tad-anu pūroṇi svapnopama-sarva-dharma-abhyāseṇa saṃbhāra-dvayam anubhūya adhigama-avasthāyām svapna-svabhāveṇa sarva-dharmeṇu upādāna-skandhādīṇi sthītvā dānādi-śaṭ-pāramitā-pratīpatītyā dānādi-rūpa-nirūpaṇa-ākāreṇa alākṣaṇāḥ sarva-dharmā itī saṃkleśa-vyavadāna-rūpāṇām dharmāṇām kṣenaita kṣaṇena alākṣaṇatvaṃ jñānti ity etam alākṣaṇa-sarva-dharma-eka-kṣaṇa-*

4) The momentary intuition of the pure monistic principle or of Non-duality (*advaya-eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* = *gnis-su-med-paḥi skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba*).<sup>1</sup> Kār. VII. 5. (66)

### Chapter VIII. The Cosmical Body of the Buddha as the Ultimate Result of the Path (*dharma-kāya* = *chos-sku*).

The five characteristic elements of Buddhahood:<sup>2</sup>—

1) The Body of Absolute Existence or the Ultimate Essence of all the elements (*svabhāva-kāya* = *no-bo-nid-sku*).<sup>3</sup> Kār. VIII. 1. (67)

2) The Body of Absolute Wisdom or the Spiritual Cosmical Body (*jñāna-dharma-kāya* = *ye-śes-chos-sku*).<sup>4</sup> Kār. VIII. 2–6. (68)

*lakṣaṇo bhavaty eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodhas tṛtīyaḥ*.—This form of momentary intuition represents the state when, in the process of contemplation of all the elements as illusionary (lit. as resembling visions in a dream), the Bodhisattva feels that he has brought to full accomplishment the two forms of Accumulation of Merit and, in practising the six Transcendental Virtues, has a firm conviction that all the elements, as the five groups influenced by defiling agencies, &c., are but like mere visions in a dream. In investigating the character of Transcendental Charity, &c., he comes in one single moment to the cognition that all the elements, the defiling as well as the purifying, are devoid of a separate essence of their own.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. MS. 976 b. 6–12. — *tad-anu dīrgha-kāla-dvaya-pratibhāsa-prahāṇa-abhyāsa-svāmī-bhāvād unmūlita-dvaya-pratibhāsa-vāsano yadā bodhisattvo grāhya-grāhaka-yogena svapna-grāhyam svapna-darśanaṃ grāhakaṃ nekyato tadā sarve 'pyevaṃ dharmā dharmatā iti dharmāṇāṃ advayaṃ tattvaṃ ekenaiva kṣaṇena paśyati ity evaṃ advaya-lakṣaṇa-sarva-dharma-eka-kṣaṇa-lakṣaṇo bhavaty eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodhas caturthaḥ*.—This form of momentary intuition represents the state when the Bodhisattva, having during a long period of time made it his habit to negate the double aspect of the elements (as subjective and objective), has this double representation completely removed. Even when dreaming, he does not perceive that which appears to him in the dream as an object and his own vision of it as subjective, but has in one single moment the direct intuition of the unique essence of all the elements.

<sup>2</sup> Summary Kār. I. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Is defined as the Ultimate Absolute Essence which is completely pure by itself and free from every kind of occasional defilement (Don. 25 a. 2. *ran-bzang-gis dag-pa dan glo-las-gyi dri-mas dag-pa gñis dan-lan-paḥi dbyñs mthar-thug*). Cf. my Translation of Uttaratantra, p. 123, notes 2 and 3.

<sup>4</sup> Is a synonym of *sarva-ākāra-jñatā*.

3) The Body of Bliss (*saṃbhoga-kāya* = *loṅs-sku*).<sup>1</sup> Kār. VIII. 12. (59)

4) The Apparitional Body (*nirmāṇa-kāya* = *sprul-sku*). Kār. VIII. 33. (70)

5) The 27 forms of Activity of the Cosmical Body (*kāritra* = *phrin-las*). Kār. VIII. 34—40. (70a)

In close connexion with these 70 topics we have in the *Abhisamayālamkāra* some verses which contain excourses on special subjects. In Chapter I, *Kārikās* 23 and 24 indicate the 20 varieties of the Congregation of Saints,<sup>2</sup> in connexion with the instructions (*avavāda*) about the three Jewels, i.e. the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Congregation. Then, in the same Chapter, *Kārikās* 48—70 contain an enumeration of the appliances (*parikarman* = *yoṅs-su-sbyoṅ-ba*) for the attainment of the ten Stages of the Bodhisattva in gradual order. This refers to the Action of Accumulation (*saṃbhāra-pratipatti* = *tshogs-sgrub*), viz. the Accumulation of the virtuous elements on the ten Stages (*daśa-bhūmi-saṃbhāra*). *Kārikā* I. 71 refers to the Accumulation of the antidotes (*pratipakṣa-saṃbhāra*) against the imputations of the separate reality of subject and object (*grāhya-grāhaka-vikalpa*).

In Chapter II, *Kārikās* 3 and 4 contain an indication of the characteristic features of the four Degrees of the Path of Training (*nirvedha-bhāgya*) as preceding the Bodhisattva's knowledge of the Śrāvaka's Path. *Kārikās* II. 9, 10 refer to the same four Degrees as preceding the full knowledge of the Path of the Pratyekabuddha. Finally, *Kārikās* II. 26, 27 contain an indication of the favourable and unfavourable conditions for the Path of Concentrated Contemplation.

In Chapter IV, *Kārikās* 6 and 7 represent an excourse referring to the conditions for being a worthy hearer of the Prajñā-

<sup>1</sup> The following *Kārikās* (VIII. 13—32) contain an enumeration of the 32 principal and the 80 secondary marks of the Buddha's Body. Cf. above, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *dge-dun ſi-tu*. These 20 varieties are briefly indicated by Haribhadra in his *Abhis. Ālokā*, MS. 33b. sqq. 4. — Special manuals devoted to the subject are contained in the earlier and later Tibetan literature and studied in the monastic schools.



paramitā Doctrine and for apprehending and retaining it in memory.<sup>1</sup> Kārikās IV. 55–59 contain an exceedingly difficult discussion concerning the attainment of Enlightenment by means of the Path of Concentrated Contemplation, the matter being viewed from the standpoint of the Absolute and the Empirical Reality.

In Chapter V, Kārikā 23 refers to the "Meditation of the Gaping Lion,"<sup>2</sup> during which the twelve-membered formula of evolution<sup>3</sup> is contemplated in the direct and the reverse order (*anuloma-viloma*). Kārikās V. 35 and 36 represent a conclusion to the subject of "the removal of the imputations on the Path of Concentrated Contemplation."

And finally, in Chapter VIII, we have the following excourses:—

Kār. VIII. 7 is a comparison of the undefiled vision (*araṇya-dṛṣṭi* = *ñon-moñs-med-paḥi lta-ba*) of the Śrāvaka with that of the Buddha. Kār. VIII. 8 refers to the Wisdom of the Buddha which is a result of his previous vows (*praṇidhi-jñāna* = *smoṇ-nas-mkhyen-pa*). The following Kārikās (VIII. 9, 10, 11) have for their subject-matter the omnipresent and eternal character of the Buddha.<sup>4</sup>

## V. THE CONCORDANCE OF THE DEGREES OF THE PATH WITH THE SUBJECTS OF THE *ABHISAMAYĀLAṆKĀRA*.

After this summary of the contents of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, of its eight principal subjects and 70 topics, we shall now see how these agree with the Teaching of the Path, and how they are to be arranged in accordance with the latter. We must once more

<sup>1</sup> *Abhis. śloka*, MS. 220 b. 3–4.—*viśiṣṭa-prayogaḥ ākāra bhāvayitavyāḥ te ca prayoktāraṃ vinā kathayitum atakyā iti śravaṇādi-bhāṣana-prayoktāraṃ nirdiṣṭam āha*.—The (173) aspects of the three kinds of Omniscience are to be meditated upon by means of special methods (i.e. the 20 *prayogas* indicated in the following Kārikās). It is not however possible to speak of these methods without having given a characteristic of the meditator as a worthy hearer, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *siṃha-vijṛmbhita-samādhi* = *señ-ge rnam-par-begyiñs-paḥi tñ-ñe-lāsin*.

<sup>3</sup> *dvādaśāṅga-pratītya-samutpāda* = *rten-lārel yan-lag bcu-gñis*.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Uttaratantra*, Translation, 255 sqq. and 267 sqq.



point to the fact that the order in which the subject-matter is treated in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* corresponds to that of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, and that, owing to this, the constituent parts of the Path are discussed repeatedly from different points of view. Now, if we take the topics of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in strict accordance with the Mahāyānistic Path, they will appear in the following order:—

1) The Bodhisattva makes first of all his Creative Effort for Enlightenment, i. e. the first three forms of it.<sup>1</sup> (Kār. I. 18, 19.)

2) By receiving and fulfilling the Mahāyānistic instructions (*ava-vāda*), he becomes trained in the ordinary Path of Accumulating Merit.<sup>2</sup>

3) He brings about the realization of the steps conducive to Salvation = the Path of Accumulating Merit as mentioned in Chapter IV. 32.<sup>3</sup>

4) He receives purification on the Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga* = *nirvedha-bhagīya* = *adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi*), as discussed in Chapter I. 25–36 (the objects<sup>4</sup> and aspects<sup>5</sup> of the four Degrees of the Path of Training, &c.), and 43 (the action of the Mahāyānistic Outfit), in Chapter IV, Kār. 35–37 (the concentration upon altruistic Activity on the Path of Training), and in Chapter V. Kār. 1–4 (the Culminating Process peculiar to each of the four Degrees of the Path of Training).<sup>6</sup>

5) Having become possessed of the characteristic marks of one who has attained the Irretrievable State (Kār. IV. 39 sqq.),<sup>7</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> Gser. I. 35 a. 1.—*sems-bkgyed dan-po gaum thog-mar byas*. There are altogether 22 forms of the Creative Effort, the last of which is made on the Stage of the Buddha. They are enumerated in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Kār. I. 19, 20, in the *Abhis. Mōkṣ.* MS. 25 b. 4–27 a. 1, and in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* IV. 15–20 and Commentary thereon.

<sup>2</sup> Gser. I. 35 a. 1. *gdams-nag-gis tshegs-lam-phal-pa sbyaṅs-nas* . . .

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 35 a. 2. *skabs lti-paḥi thar-pa-cha-mthun bkgyed-le* . . .

<sup>4</sup> *ālambana* = *dmigs-pa*. <sup>5</sup> *ākāra* = *rnam-pa*.

<sup>6</sup> Gser. I. 35 a. 2.—*de-nas skabs-dan-poḥi sbyor-lam go-sgrub skabs lti-pa dan lha-pa las bstan-paḥi sbyor-lam rnam sbyaṅs-le*.

<sup>7</sup> *avastartika-līṅgāni* = *phyir-mi-llog-paḥi rtags*.

enters the Path of Illumination, as we have it in Chapter II. Kār. 11–16, in Chapter III. Kār. 11–15, and in Chapter V. 8–22, and removes the imputations that are to be extirpated by means of the perception of the Truth.<sup>1</sup>

6) Thereafter follows the Path of Concentrated Contemplation according to Chapter II. Kār. 17–30, Chapter IV. 52 sqq., and Chapter V. 26–34, as especially peculiar to the Mahāyānist Saint (in the sense of being an antidote against realistic imputations).<sup>2</sup>

7) And, finally, he brings to accomplishment the actions of Accumulation and of the Issue<sup>3</sup> (Chapter I. 46–73), and comes to the final moment of Enlightenment, as we have it in Chapter V. 37–38, and in Chapter VII. With it ends the Path of Concentrated Contemplation; the Bodhisattva attains Buddhahood, and becomes possessed of the characteristic features enumerated in Chapter VIII.—

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. *de-dag-gis rtags thob-par-byas-nas gñis-pa-dañ-lha-par bstan-paḥi mthoñ-lam-gyis mthoñ-spañ-gi-rnam-rtog-rnams spañs-tñh...* Cf. also Luñ. I. 38 b. 1–2. *lam-śes-kyi mthoñ-lam. gñi-śes-kyi mthoñ-lam dños-bstan. rtse-sbyor-gyi mthoñ-lam-rnams mthoñ-lam.*

<sup>2</sup> Luñ. I. 38 b.—*lam-śes-kyi sgom-lam. rtse-sbyor-sgom-lam. tshogs dañ śes-hbyum dañ bar-chad-med-paḥi rtse-sbyor-rnams sgom-lam.*

<sup>3</sup> *saṃbhāra-pratipatti* and *niryāṇa-pratipatti*. The connexion of the 4 actions (*pratipatti*) with the 5 Paths is as follows:—The Action of the Outfit begins with the Path of Accumulating Merit and lasts till the end of the process. The Action of Access refers to the Path of Training (and the subsequent Paths). The Action of Accumulation, beginning with that of charity and up to that of memory, refers to the Degree of Highest Mundane Virtues (and the following Paths). The Action of Accumulation relating to the first Stage of the Bodhisattva represents the Path of Illumination. The same, as relating to the second and the following Stages, is identical with the Path of Concentrated Contemplation. The Action of Accumulating of the antidotes is included in both the Paths (of Illumination and Concentrated Contemplation). Finally, the Action of the Issue is founded upon the Path of Concentrated Contemplation (Abhis. Ālokā, MS. 63 b.—*tatra saṃnāha-prasthāna-pratipatti yathā-saṃkhyam pāram-paryeṇa sāṅgāt-prayoga-svabhāve saṃbhāra-adhīmuktī-caryā-bhūmi-saṃgrhāte. saṃbhāra-pratipattir dayāṃ āraḥya dhāraṇī-paryantena sāṅgāt-prayoga-svabhāva-adhīmātra-agra-dharma-saṃgrhātā. prathama-pramuditī-bhūmi-svabhāvā saṃbhāra-pratipattir darśana-mārgātmikā. dvitīyādī-bhūmi-svabhāvā bhāvanā-mārga-svarūpā. pratipakṣātmikā saṃbhāra-pratipattir ubhaya-mārga-gocarā. niryāṇa-pratipattir bhāvanā-mārga-adhiṣṭhānā ity Āryasangaḥ.*

The aspects (*ākāra*),<sup>1</sup> the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*),<sup>2</sup> the marks (*linga*) of the Irretrievable State, the points to be shunned (*heya*) and the antidotes against them, relating to the Paths of Illumination and Concentrated Contemplation, are to be put in connexion with these Paths. The points which are common to all the Paths are: the Creative Mental Effort for Enlightenment (*bodhi-citta-utpāda*) in its different forms, the Fundamental Element of the saintly lineage (*gotra*) which undergoes the process of development, the sphere of the Mahāyānist Activity (*ālambana*), the ultimate aim of the latter (*uddeśa*), the merits (*guṇa*) and the defects (*doṣa*) in the process of training,<sup>3</sup> and the whole process of Illumination in its progressive aspect (*anupūrva-abhisamaya*). As regards the Śrāvaka's Path, or rather the knowledge of it by the Mahāyānist Saint, we have in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra the following parts referring to it:—

1) The first 16 aspects relating to the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World (Chapter IV. 2).<sup>4</sup>

2) The 37 Characteristics of Enlightenment<sup>5</sup> as included in the 110 aspects relating to the special Omniscience of the Buddha (Chapter IV. 5).<sup>6</sup>

3) The 27 Characteristics referring to the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World (Chapter IV. 14–17).

4) The Path of Training as mentioned indirectly in Chapter III. 8.<sup>7</sup>

5) The Śrāvaka's Path of Training and of Illumination as cognized by the Bodhisattva<sup>8</sup> (Chapter II. Kār. 2–5).

6) The Śrāvaka's Path of Illumination indirectly mentioned in Chapter III.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kār. IV. 1–5.

<sup>2</sup> Kār. IV. 18–31.

<sup>3</sup> Kār. IV. 12, 13. Gser. I. 35 a. 4–5.—*sems-baktyed rigs gñams-nag dmigs-pa ched-du-bya-ba yon-tan skyon-rname thun-moñ-du ci-rigs-par sbyar-ro.*

<sup>4</sup> Kār. IV. 2.—*catoḍraḥ pratisatyam.* Cf. above, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *bodhipakṣikā dharmāḥ* = *byañ-phyogs-kyi chos.* M. Vyutp. §§ 38–44.

<sup>6</sup> *sapta-triṃśat.*

<sup>7</sup> Luñ. I. 38 a. 4–5. *spyod-pa bkag-paḥi tugs-bstan-gyi sbyor-lam.*

<sup>8</sup> Luñ. I. 38 a. 5.—*lam-tes-kyi ñan-thos-kyi sbyor-lam mthoñ-lam.*

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.—*gti-tes-kyi tugs-bstan-gyi mthoñ-lam-rname ñan-thos-kyi gñi-tes-ro.*—The

With reference to the Pratyekabuddha's Path we have:—

1) The remaining eleven aspects relating to the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World.<sup>1</sup>

2) The Paths of Training and Illumination of the Pratyekabuddha as cognized by the Mahāyānist Saint (Chapter II. Kar. 6–10).

The topics referring to Buddhahood and the special Omniscience of the Buddha are:—The Cosmical Body (*dharma-kāya*; Chapter VIII. as a whole), the three Ultimate Aims<sup>2</sup> (*uddeśa*; Chapter I. Kar. 42), and the last three or two forms of the Creative Mental Effort for Enlightenment.

Thus we have the whole Teaching of the Path and its result comprised in the eight Chapters of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. It is a system exceedingly complicated and elaborate, with numerous divisions and cross-divisions. Not a single one of the principal points is left undiscussed, but without the knowledge of the concordance between the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, and without the study of the principal Commentaries, the contents of the work and the order adopted in it are sure to remain quite incomprehensible. In the present work we have given only the main outlines of the subject. A detailed analysis of all the 70 topics of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, their definitions, varieties, &c., will be the next task in the process of investigation of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*. Only after that, when each separate subject will have undergone a

Path of Illumination indicated indirectly, which refers to the Śrāvaka's knowledge of the Empirical World.

<sup>1</sup> These are: a) the 5 aspects of the Pratyekabuddha's Path of Concentrated Contemplation influenced by defiling agencies (i.e. constructive thought) as removing the Obscuration of Ignorance of the Pratyekabuddha (*zag-bcas sgom-lam lha*), and b) the 6 aspects of the uninfluenced Path of Illumination, which are likewise viewed as antidotes against the Obscuration of Ignorance of the Pratyekabuddha (*zag-med mthoñ-lam drug*).

<sup>2</sup> These are: a) the Greatness of Intellectual Power through which one is superior to all living beings (*sarva-sattva-agrahā-citta-mahattva* = *sems-can kun-gyi mchog-ñid-kyi sems-chen-po-ñid*), b) the Greatness in the Removal of the Obscurations (*prahāṇa-mahattva* = *spoñ-ba-chen-po-ñid*), and c) the Greatness in the Cognition of the Truth (*adhiḡama-mahattva* = *rtogs-pa-chen-po-ñid*).

thorough analysis, it will be possible to undertake a translation of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* with the help of the principal Indian and Tibetan Commentaries.

## VI. THE AUTHOR OF THE *ABHISAMAYĀLAṂKĀRA* AND HIS SYSTEM.

In the introduction to our translation of the *Uttaratantra* we have devoted a whole chapter to the subject of the authorship of the five treatises of Maitreya and have pointed to the fact of their having been written from different points of view. We have mentioned the Tibetan tradition according to which the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, *Madhyāntavibhanga* and *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhanga* are regarded as belonging to the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school, the *Uttaratantra* is characterized as a Mādhyamika-Prāsangika work, and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is held to be a treatise, the main standpoint of which agrees with the views of the Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-Svātantrika<sup>1</sup> school. Although this cannot be regarded as quite correct from the chronological point of view,<sup>2</sup> it is in any case clear that the *Uttaratantra* and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* do not contain the Yogācāra teachings which characterize the three other works. We have little reason to doubt of their having been composed by one author, so similar are the topics and so great is the resemblance as regards the form and style of the works. The difference in the points of view which we have noted, can be explained as being either due to an evolution

<sup>1</sup> Rnal-bhyor-spyod-pa dbu-ma rap-rgyud-pa.

<sup>2</sup> The founder of the Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-Svātantrika as a regular school is Śāntirakṣita, the author of the Mādhyamika-alaṃkāra (Dbu-ma-rgyan), who lived much later than Asaṅga and Ārya-Vimuktasena. The chronological error of which we speak is pointed to in the Tipṭapī of Jam-yan-ñad-pa on the second part of the Lam-rim-chen-mo (Tshe-mchog-glin Edition 86 a. 3-4), where it is directly said that there were Mādhyamikas before Śāntirakṣita, who maintained the Yogācāra-Mādhyamika views, viz. the unreality of the external world from the Empirical standpoint on one side (as the Vijñānavādins), and denied the Ultimate Reality of consciousness on the other (as the Śūnyavādins). (Lam-rim III. 85 b. 7 and Ston-thun, 37 a. 5-6.)

in the conceptions of Asanga, whom we consider to be the actual author of the works, or to the habit of writing different treatises from different points of view which was familiar to so many teachers of India.—

If we compare the contents of the three treatises of Maitreya expressing the Yogācāra theories, as well as the great Yogācāra works of Asanga on one side, and of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and *Uttaratantra* on the other, we shall find two separate systems and two different methods of commenting the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*:—

I. The standpoint of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda. As we know, the whole of the northern Buddhist Canon is considered to consist of texts belonging to three different periods, or, as they are called, “the three Swingings of the Wheel of the Doctrine” (*dharma-cakra-pravartana*). These are:—The first Swinging,<sup>1</sup> the teaching about the four Truths of the Saint;<sup>2</sup> the second or intermediate Swinging,<sup>3</sup> or the teaching about the absence of a real essence of all the separate elements of existence,<sup>4</sup> or their Non-substantiality, and the third or last Swinging,<sup>5</sup> or the teaching which makes a discrimination between the different aspects of existence, those which do and those which do not represent Ultimate Realities.<sup>6</sup>

The first consists of the Hīnayānistic texts, the second—of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, and the third—of such discourses as the *Samdhinirmocana*,<sup>7</sup> the *Lankāvatāra*, the *Ghāṇa-vyūha*,<sup>8</sup> &c. The Mahāyānistic sūtras contained in the *Sūtra* (Mdo) and in the *Ratna-kūṭa* (Dkon-brtsegs) sections of the Kangyur, for the greater part belong to the last Swinging or the latest period.

The pluralistic principles of early Buddhism are solely and exclusively dominating in the Scripture of the first period or the

<sup>1</sup> *prathama-cakra* = *hkhor-lo dan-po*.

<sup>2</sup> *catuḥ-satyā-dharma-cakra* = *bden-bzhihi chos-hkhor*.

<sup>3</sup> *madhya-cakra* = *hkhor-lo lar-ba*.

<sup>4</sup> *alakṣaṇatva-dharma-cakra* = *mtshan-ñid-med-paḥi chos-hkhor*.

<sup>5</sup> *antya-cakra* = *hkhor-lo tha-ma*.

<sup>6</sup> *paramārtha-vinīcaya-dharma-cakra* = *don-dam rnam-par-ñes-paḥi chos-hkhor*.

<sup>7</sup> *Dgoḥs-pa ñes-par-bgre-l-pa*.

<sup>8</sup> *Rgyan stug-po bkod-pa*.

first Swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine. The main standpoint is the negation of a unique, active, and enduring individual Ego or Soul,<sup>1</sup> or of every kind of a unique, ultimate essence or substance in general. Real are only the separate elements of existence (*dharmā*), those of matter (*rūpa*), &c., as classified into the five groups (*skandha*), the 12 bases of cognition (*āyatana*), and the 18 component elements (*dhātu*) of a stream of individual existence (*saṃtāna*). They have each their particular essence (*svalakṣaṇa*), they become originated as independent realities, and are to be fully cognized and extirpated by the Saint on his Path to final Salvation.<sup>2</sup>

Quite opposite is the main standpoint of the Scripture of the intermediate period, i.e. of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*. Here we have the elements spoken of as devoid of every kind of a separate reality of their own,<sup>3</sup> as neither really becoming originated,<sup>4</sup> nor disappearing,<sup>5</sup> as quiescent from the outset,<sup>6</sup> and as being by their very nature merged in Nirvāṇa.<sup>7</sup> This Nirvāṇa, this unique quiescent motionless principle, is represented as the Absolute where there is no differentiation,<sup>8</sup> the Ultimate Essence of the elements, the Highest Truth, &c. Thus, as says Prof. Stecherbatsky,<sup>9</sup> the radical pluralism of early Buddhism became changed into as radical a monism. It is this Doctrine which has been so brilliantly summarized by Nāgārjuna in his *Mādhyamika-Kārikās*.

So we have in the first two Swingings of the Wheel of the Doctrine two conflicting principles,—the teaching of a plurality of real elements of existence on one side, and that of the separate unreality of the same elements as representing one motionless Whole on the other.

<sup>1</sup> *nitya-eka-svatantra-ātman* = *rtag gcig rañ-dbañ-can-gyi bdag*.

<sup>2</sup> Legs-bśad-shññ-po, Tsah ed. XIV 3 a. 2 sqq. (Quotation from Saṃdhinirmocana).

<sup>3</sup> *niravabhāva* = *ño-bo-ññl-med-pa*.

<sup>4</sup> *anutpanna* = *ma-skyes-pa*.

<sup>5</sup> *aniruddha* = *ma-hgags-pa*.

<sup>6</sup> *ādi-bānta* = *gzod-ma-nas ti-ba*.

<sup>7</sup> *prakṛti-parinirvṛtta* = *rañ-bññ-gyis yonñ-su-mya-ñan-las-ñdas-pa*.

<sup>8</sup> This is the so-called *prakṛti-nirvāṇa* = *rañ-bññ-gyi myañ-ñdas* — the Ultimate Essence of the elements, devoid of all plurality (Gser. I. 40 b. 2).

<sup>9</sup> Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 41.



Now, among the sects of the Buddhist church there were some who did not agree with either of the two contradictory teachings. Both were regarded by them as extremities, which it was necessary to reconcile. At the same time other views, which had not found an expression in the first two parts of the Canon, gradually developed. The consequence of these changes of views was the production of a new Canonical literature, viz. that which is called the Third Swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine, or the Scripture of the latest period.

One of the most important texts belonging to this new Canon is the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*.<sup>1</sup> In the original Sanskrit it has not up to this time been discovered, and this is the reason why it has not attracted the due attention of European scholars. The Tibetan tradition shows us that this Sūtra is the principal Canonical text on which Asanga has founded his Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda system. In the Sūtra itself the conflict between the principles and teachings of the old and the intermediate Canon is one of the principal subjects of discussion. The Bodhisattva Paramārtha-samudgata<sup>2</sup> is represented as asking the Buddha why the latter formerly, in his Benares sermon, has demonstrated the elements of existence as being essentially real and as having each its own particular essence,—and why he subsequently, in delivering the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, has maintained the opposite view, viz. that of the Unreality of the same elements? The answer which the Buddha is made to give is, that in speaking (in the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*) of the Non-substantiality or unreality<sup>3</sup> of the elements he had in view three different forms or degrees of unreality. There is first of all the Essential Unreality.<sup>4</sup> This refers to the imputed aspect<sup>5</sup> in which the elements appear as endowed with all the distinctions of essence, quality,

<sup>1</sup> Dgoṅs-pa ṅes-par-ḥgrel-pa, usually known in the Tibetan tradition by the abridged title: Mdo-sde Dgoṅs-ḥgrel or simply Dgoṅs-ḥgrel. Kangyur, MDO. V.

<sup>2</sup> Doṅ-dam-yaṅ-dag-bhags.

<sup>3</sup> *nirvabhāvatā* = *no-bo-ñid-med-pa*.

<sup>4</sup> *lakṣaṇa-nirvabhāvatā* = *mtshan-ñid no-bo-ñid-med-pa*.

<sup>5</sup> *parikalpita-lakṣaṇa* = *kun-tu-btags-paḥi mtshan-ñid* (= *kun-btags*).



name, &c. These are attributed to them by our constructive thought,<sup>1</sup> and are not inherent in the essential nature of an element as a thing in itself.<sup>2</sup> So we have to understand the term *lakṣaṇa-niḥ-svabhāvatā*,—"the unreality of that essence which is nominally and conventionally<sup>3</sup> ascribed to a thing by our constructive thought."<sup>4</sup>

Then we have the Causal Unreality, or the unreality from the point of view of origination.<sup>5</sup> This is connected with the causally dependent aspect<sup>6</sup> of the elements. The latter appear here in their crude form as entities unutterable and inexpressible<sup>7</sup> in their essence, but as being at the same time, each of them, the real substratum, on the foundation of which the imputed construction of essence, quality, &c., is made. The origination of these entities is dependent on causes and conditions.<sup>8</sup> For this reason they are called *utpatti-niḥsvabhāva*,—unreal in the sense of not becoming originated by themselves.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, the third aspect of unreality is "the unreality of the elements in the aspect of the Absolute."<sup>10</sup> It is otherwise their ultimate aspect.<sup>11</sup> Here we have to understand the unreality of all the separate elements of existence (*dharma-nairātmya*) in the sense that from the standpoint of the Absolute Reality these elements are devoid of any differentiation whatever and represent one motionless Whole. To speak otherwise, the elements in their causally dependent aspect, being viewed as devoid of all that is ascribed to them by constructive thought, appear as unique and undifferentiated, and as

<sup>1</sup> *vikalpa* = *rnam-par-rtog-pa*.

<sup>2</sup> *svalakṣaṇa* = *rañ-gi-mtshan-ñid*.

<sup>3</sup> *nāma-sanketādhyaṁ* = *miñ dañ brdas*.

<sup>4</sup> S.-nirm., Kg. MDO. V. 17 a. 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> *utpatti-niḥsvabhāvatā* = *akye-ba ño-bo-ñid-med-pa*.

<sup>6</sup> *paratantra-lakṣaṇa* = *gñan-dbañ-gi mtshan-ñid* (= *gñan-dbañ*).

<sup>7</sup> *anabhilāpya* = *brjod-du-med-pa*.

<sup>8</sup> *hetu-pratyaya-apekṣa* = *rgyu-rkyen-la-ltoṣ-pa*.

<sup>9</sup> Legs-b'i. 5 a. 6.—S.-nirm., Kg. MDO. V. 17 a. 3-4.

<sup>10</sup> *paramārtha-niḥsvabhāvatā* = *don-dam-pa ño-bo-ñid-med-pa*.

<sup>11</sup> *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* = *yoñs-su grub-paḥi mtshan-ñid* (= *yoñs-grub*).

representing thus the Absolute Reality.<sup>1</sup> In such a form the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra* interpretes the teaching of Non-substantiality of the Prajñā-pāramitā, and tries to reconcile the conflicting teachings of the old and intermediate Canon. In the Sūtra itself both these parts of Scripture are declared to be of an indirect meaning,<sup>2</sup> which must be interpreted in another sense, whereas the Third Swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine, i.e. first of all the *Samdhinirmocana* itself, is put forth as the true teaching, which contains the direct meaning<sup>3</sup> and needs no other interpretation. The explanation of the contradiction between the old and the intermediate Canon is in short as follows:—

In the Scripture of the early period the Buddha has said that the elements as real entities do exist. This, as says the *Samdhinirmocana*, refers to the causally dependent and the absolute aspect, which are both considered to be ultimately real. In the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, on the contrary, the Buddha has said that there exists no separate essence of the elements. This is indicated as referring to the imputed aspect, the essence which is not inherent in the object, but is ascribed to it by our constructive thought, and so on.<sup>4</sup>

It is thus this *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*, with its teaching of the three aspects of existence and, above that, of the store-consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*) containing the seeds of all the elements of existence, which is regarded as the principal foundation of the Yogācāra system. Tradition tells us that the Saint Asanga, having been inspired by Bhāṭṭāraka Maitreya,<sup>5</sup> has laid the foundation to the Yogācāra Vijñānavāda system in accordance with the teaching exposed in the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*. He has accordingly composed his *Yogacaryā-bhūmi*, his *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* and *Abhidharma-samuccaya*, and

<sup>1</sup> S.-nirm., Kg. MDO. V. 17 a. 4—17 b. 1. All these passages are quoted and explained in Tson-kha-pa's *Legs-b'ad-sñān-po*, which is a most valuable work, indispensable for the study of the Yogācāra and Mādhyamika Doctrines.

<sup>2</sup> *neyārtha* = *drañ-don*.

<sup>3</sup> *nītārtha* = *ñes-don*.

<sup>4</sup> S.-nirm., Kg. MDO. V. 21 a. 1—6.

<sup>5</sup> Rje-btsun Byams-pa.

was followed by Vasubandhu in the *Vyākhyāyukti*, *Vimśikā*, *Triṃśikā*, and their commentaries. In all these works the teaching of the *Samdhinirmocana* according to which the old and the intermediate Canon are both considered to be of conventional meaning (*neyārtha*) is adopted as a foundation. In particular, that section of the *Yogacāryā-bhūmi* which is called *Nirṇaya-saṃgraha*<sup>1</sup> quotes passages from all the chapters of the *Samdhinirmocana* at full length, and explains them in detail. The teaching of Non-substantiality, in accordance with the *Samdhinirmocana*, is demonstrated in the chapter on the Absolute Truth (*tattva-adhikāra*) of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*. The teaching about the store-consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*), the negation of the reality of the external world and the teaching about the three aspects of existence (of which the causally dependent and the ultimate are treated as being real by themselves)<sup>2</sup> is discussed in detail in the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*. The chief points thus demonstrated are, moreover, summarized in the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*,<sup>3</sup> and the treatises of Vasubandhu<sup>4</sup> exposed the subject on the same lines. The main texts (*mūla*) which give a summary of the contents of the *Samdhinirmocana* and of which the treatises of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu just mentioned are considered to be the interpretation,—are the *Sūtralaṃkāra*, the *Madhyānta-vibhanga* and the *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhanga*.<sup>5</sup>—As concerns the texts which are

<sup>1</sup> Rnam-par gtan-la dbab-paḥi bsdu-ba, Tg. MDO. LII and LIII.

<sup>2</sup> *avalakṣaṇa-siddha* = *rañ-gi mshan-tsid-kyis grub-pa*.

<sup>3</sup> Mnoñ-pa kun-btus. Tg. MDO. LVI. Cf. Bu-ton, Transl., vol. i, p. 56 and 57.

<sup>4</sup> Khai-ḥub (Mkhas-grub), Stoñ-thun, 11 a. 4—b. 3.—*hkhor-lo dañ-po dañ bar-ba giñs drañ-don dañ | tha-ma ñes-don-du geñis-la | Thogs-med sku-mched-kyis* (Asaṅga and Vasubandhu) *kyañ Sa-ñde* (the five divisions of the *Yogacāryā-bhūmi*) *Theg-beslus* (*Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*) *Kun-las-btus* (*Abhidharma-samuccaya*) | *Rnam-bśad-rigs-pa* (*Vyākhyāyukti*) | *Ñi-lu-pa* (*Vimśikā*) | *Sum-cu-pa* (*Triṃśikā*) | *de-dag-gi h̄grel-pa dañ-bcas-pa-rnams-su Dgoñs-pa ñes-h̄grel ji-lta-ba-bśin-du h̄khor-lo bar-ba dañ dañ-po drañ-don dañ | tha-ma ñes-don-du h̄grel-paḥi lugs gsal-bar-mśad-la | khyad-par-du Gtan-la-dbab-pa-bśu-ba* (*Nirṇaya-saṃgraha*) *las | Dgoñs-pa ñes-h̄grel-gyi gleñ-gñiñi leḥu tsam ma-gtogs-pa* (with the exception of the introductory chapter of the *Samdhinirmocana*) | *gtan leḥu thams-cad-kyi mdo-tshig phal-che-ba rdzogs-par drañs-nas rgyas-par-bśad ciñ | de-dañ-mthun-par bdag-med gtan-la-h̄bebs-paḥi tshul-ni*

especially devoted to the Doctrine of the Path (viewed from the Yogācāra standpoint), these are the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, the *Śrāvaka-bhūmi*,<sup>1</sup> and the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*. According to the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*, the main object of contemplation and intuition on the Path is the Absolute as the negation of the separate reality of the elements, their ultimate aspect (*pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*). This, being fully intuited, brings about the removal of all the Obscurations.—

In connexion with the teaching about the three aspects of existence as one of the main tenets of the Yogācāra Vijñānavāda school, it will be of interest to mention a peculiar feature of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*. We here have a chapter containing the questions of Maitreya,<sup>2</sup> in which a differentiation is made between the imputed elements (*kalpita*), the elements as the representations of constructive consciousness (*vikalpita*), and of the elements in the aspect of the Absolute (*dharmatā*).<sup>3</sup> As this differentiation appears to be identical with the teaching of the three aspects of existence, as we have it in the *Samdhinirmocana*, the Yogācāras consider the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā* to be a text, the

*Byaṅ-saḥi* (Bodhisattva-bhūmi) *de-kho-na-ñid-kyi leḥu-las rgyas-par ston-la* | *Kun-gñi-ri-nam-gñag* (ālaya-vijñāna-vyavasthāpanā) *dañ* | *phyi-don bkag-nas gñan-dbañ* *dañ* *yoñs-grub bden-par-grub-paḥi ño-bo-ñid gñam-gyi rnam-btag-lu-sogs-pa bye-brag-tu rgyas-par Theg-bśus-las ḥchad ciñ* | *de-ltar rgya-cher-bśad-pa thams-cad-kyi don-gyi gñso-bo-rname ma-taḥa-ba tsam tig mdor-bśus-nas Mñon-pa kun-las-bśus-las bton-la* | *slob-dpon Dbyig-gñen* (Vasubandhu)-*gyi gñuñ goñ-du-smos-pa de-dag-kyañ de-dag-gi rjes-su-ḥbrañs-pa yin ñiñ* | *sku-mched gñi-gaḥi gñuñ de dag-gis mdo Dgoñs-ḥgrel-gyi don de-ltar gñan-la-ḥbebs-paḥi srol-ḥbyed-paḥi rtsa-ba-ñi* | *Rje-bñen-gyi-gñuñ* | *Mdo-sde-rgyan* (*Sūtrālaṃkāra*) *dañ* | *Ḥhyed-gñis* (the two Vibhangaṣ)-*la bñen-paḥo* ||

<sup>1</sup> In the *Śrāvaka-bhūmi* we have the teaching concerning the Path of the Pratyekabuddha and of the preliminary activity of the Mahāyānist Saint on the Path of Accumulating Merit, &c. (Rnam-bśad, 4 a. 2-3).

<sup>2</sup> Byama-pas žus-paḥi leḥu.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Abhis. Ālokā, MS. 41 b. 13-42 a. 1. *tat pūnas trividhaṃ rūpam. kalpitam rūpam grāhya-grāhaka-ākareṇa kalpitatvāt. vikalpitam rūpam abhūta-parikalpanena jñānam eva tathā-pratibhāsa iti vikalpitatvāt. dharmatā-rūpam tattvaṇa rūpam eva śūnyatā-rūpeṇa pariniṣpannatvāt. evaṃ vedanādayo'pi vācyaḥ.*

main standpoint of which is quite the same as that of the said Sūtra, i.e. a Yogācāra work.<sup>1</sup>

II. The theory of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and *Uttaratantra*—pure Monism. If we compare with the Yogācāra teachings the standpoint of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, we find a striking difference. In the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* not a single word is said about the store-consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*), about the three aspects of existence, &c. The main teaching is that of the Non-substantiality and Relativity<sup>2</sup> of all elements of existence, without any limitations whatever. This is the strict Mādhyamika point of view. The principles of Non-substantiality and Monism are very pregnantly expressed in numerous Karikas of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. There is, for instance, the passage in I. 29, 30 sqq., where the insistence upon the reality of the separate essences and characteristic marks of the elements (*nimitta*) is condemned. Then we have in I. 62, among the appliances for the attainment of the eighth Stage of the Bodhisattva—"the knowledge of Monism, of the equality, i.e. the unity of all the elements (*dharma-samata-eka-naya-jñātā*)."<sup>3</sup> In II. 12 we hear about the identity of the Buddha and the Absolute; in II. 13 about "the Saint who has a firm stand in the Doctrine of the Climax of Wisdom, reduces all the elements, matter, and the rest, to the principle of Buddhahood."<sup>4</sup> Many striking passages are contained in Chapter IV. 14 sqq.,—on the characteristic marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of the Bodhisattva's training,—and further on, IV. 56—59, where it is pointed out that there is no essential difference between the Path and its result, from the standpoint of the Absolute. Chapter V contains the famous verse:—

*nā'paneyam ataḥ kiñcit prakṣeptavyam na kiñ ca na,  
draṣṭavyam bhūtato bhūtaṁ bhūta-darśi vimucyate.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Legs-bś. 40 b. 6—41 a. 1.—In Bu-ton's History of Buddhism (Lhasa ed. 78b. 4) it is said that Nāgārjuna did not bring the chapter containing the questions of Maitreya from the realm of the Nāgas. This seems to be an allusion to the fact that the chapter mentioned is a later interpolation. <sup>2</sup> *sūnyatā* = *ston-pa-ñid*.

<sup>3</sup> *rūpāder avadhāraṇam | tasyām (prajñā-pāramitāyām) sthitasya buddhatve.*

<sup>4</sup> The same as in *Uttaratantra* I. 152 (Transl. p. 235).

"Here there is absolutely nothing that is to be removed (from the unique Essence of Existence), and nothing that could be added (to it). The Truth must be only directly perceived, and he who sees the Truth becomes delivered."—

And finally, in Chapter VII, Kārikā 5, it is said that the Saint who has terminated the course of training on the Path, perceives in one single moment the unique essence of all the elements.<sup>1</sup>

But the most important and the most pregnant is the teaching about the element of the saintly lineage (*gotra*), otherwise the fundamental element of the living beings (*sattva-dhatu*), or the Essence of the Buddha (*tathāgata-garbha*). It is the Absolute (*dharma-dhātu*) itself, and as the latter is unique and undifferentiated, there can be no essential difference in the element of the lineage of the Buddha with the various living beings.<sup>2</sup>—

Now, the *Uttaratantra*, the principal work devoted to this subject, contains, as we know, quotations from Sūtras, such as the *Śrī-mālā-devi-siṃhanāda*,<sup>3</sup> the *Jñāna-āloka-alaṃkāra*,<sup>4</sup> the *Tathāgata-garbha*,<sup>5</sup> &c. These all belong to the third Swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine, i. e. to the Canon of the latest period. However, a careful examination of these Sūtras shows us that they represent a category of texts standing quite apart from the *Samdhinirmocana* and similar Sūtras. The teaching about the three aspects of existence, about the store-consciousness, &c., is nowhere to be found in them, and their main standpoint is that of strictest Monism,—the Doctrine which is so brilliantly exposed in the *Uttaratantra*.

We have thus two categories of texts to consider:—On one side there are the *Samdhinirmocana*, the *Lankāvatāra*, &c., containing the Yogācāra teachings<sup>6</sup> and a compromising interpretation

<sup>1</sup> *dharmaṃām advayaṃ tattvaṃ kṣaṇena'kena paśyati.*

<sup>2</sup> I. 39. *dharma-dhātuḥ asaṃbhedād gotra-bhedo na yujyate.*

<sup>3</sup> Lha-mo Dpal-phreṅ seṅ-gehi sgraḥi mdo (Dpal-phreṅ-gi mdo).

<sup>4</sup> Ye-śes-snañ-ba-rgyan-gyi mdo.

<sup>5</sup> De-bśin-gśeṅs-paḥi snān-poḥi mdo.

<sup>6</sup> Acc. to the Grub-mthaḥ of Jam-yañ-śad-pa the fundamental Sūtras of the Yogācāras are three in number, viz. the *Samdhinirmocana*, the *Lankāvatāra*, and the *Ghana-vyūha* (Comm. of Blo-bzañ-dkon-mchog, Labrañ ed. 43 a. 5).

of the Prajñā-pāramitā; the three Yogācāra treatises of Maitreya, and the whole literature founded upon them. On the other we have the pure uncompromising Monism of the Prajñā-pāramitā, summarized in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, brought to a further development in the *Jñāna-loka-alaṅkāra*,<sup>1</sup> the *Śrī-mālā-devi-siṃhanāda* and similar Sūtras, and fully expounded in the *Uttaratantra*. As the central figure here we have the Saint Asanga, as the expounder and the interpreter of two different systems. How is this strange position of one of the most celebrated Buddhist *ācāryas* to be explained? What was Asanga's real standpoint? In our introduction to the *Uttaratantra* we have indicated two possibilities, viz. that there may have been an evolution in the conceptions of Asanga, from Idealism to pure Monism, or that he could have simply written his works from different points of view. Before we are put in possession of new materials that will help us in the solution of the question, we shall have to state merely that Asanga "has evidently fluctuated between the two divisions into which the Mahāyāna was split."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the very pregnant passage of this Sūtra concerning the Supreme Buddha (quoted in my Introduction to the *Uttaratantra*, p. 109).

<sup>2</sup> Conception of Buddh. Nirvāṇa, p. 34. The Tibetan tradition maintains that Asanga was, as regards his main standpoint, a Mādhyamika-Prāsaṅgika (*Dbu-ma thal-bgyur-ba*), and that he has composed his Yogācāra works only for the sake of helping (*anugrahārtham* — *rjes-su-gzuñ-baḥi don-du*) those who are incapable of mastering the profound Doctrine of pure Monism and require a compromising interpretation.



## INDEX.

### Technical Terms and Expressions.

#### Sanskrit-Tibetan.

*akaniṣṭha* = *hog-min*, the eighth sub-div. of the region of the fourth *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, the highest of the Ethereal Spheres and the abode of the Body of Bliss (*samāhoga-kāya*) of the Buddha, 46, 58.

*akṛtrima-anubhava* = *bcos-min-gyi myoñ-ba*, true unartificial feeling (of the desire of becoming delivered from Sarp-sāra), 19.

*akliṣṭa-ajñāna* = *mi-śes ñon-moñs-min*, Ignorance which is not influenced by defiling forces,—exists with the Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha Arhat, 29, 30.

*akliṣṭa-tamas* = *ñon-moñs-pa-can ma-yin-paḥi mun-pa*, syn. of *akliṣṭa-ajñāna*, q.v., 29.

*acalā* = *mi-gyo-ba*, "the Motionless,"—the eighth Stage of the Bodhisattva, 43 (conn. with *bhāvanā-mārga*), 56 (*nimitta-ābhoga-akampatvād acalā*).

*atapa* = *mi-gduñ-ba*, the fifth sub-div. of the region of the fourth *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*atyanta-viśuddha-bhāvanā-mārga* = *ñin-tu-rnam-dag-gi sgom-lam*, the Path of Conc. Contempl. as the attainment of perfect purity (cf. *viśuddhi-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga*), 43.

*advaya-eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* (or *kṣaṇika-prayoga*) = *gnāñ-su-med-paḥi skad-*

*cig-maḥi shyor-ba*, the momentary intuition of the pure monistic principle or of non-duality,—the fourth topic of Eka - kṣaṇa - abhisambodha - adhikāra (Kār. VII 5), 83.

*adhama-puruṣa* = *skyes-bu chuñ-ñu* "the individual of the lowest order," i.e. the ordinary worldly being, 14.

*adhiḡama-mahatva* = *rtogs-pa chen-po-ñid*, the greatness in the cognition of the Truth,—the third of the 3 *uddeśas*, 89.

*adhimātra* = *chen-po*, great, highest, 19 (sub-div. of the Śrāvaka's *samāhāra-mārga*), 20 (sub-div. of the Śrāvaka's *prayoga-mārga*), 24 (sub-div. of the Śrāvaka's *bhāvanā-mārga*), 34, 37 (sub-div. of the Mahāyānistic *prayoga-mārga*).

*adhimātra-agra-dharma* = *chos-mchog-chen-po*, the highest sub-div. of the Degree of Highest Mundane Virtues (*laukika-agra-dharma*, q.v.), 87.

*adhimātra-adhimātra* = *chen-poḥi chen-po*, the grossest of the gross or the highest of the high, secondary sub-div. of *bhāvanā-heyā-kleśa* and *bhāvanā-mārga* (ref. to the Śrāvaka's *bhāvanā-mārga*), 25, 26.

*adhimātra-madhya* = *chen-poḥi hbrin-pa*, the intermediate of the gross or of the highest,—secondary sub-div. of

*bhāvanā-keya-kleśa* and *bhāvanā-mārga* (ref. to the Śrāvaka's *bhāvanā-mārga*), 25.  
*adhimātra-mṛdu* = *chen-poḥi chuñ-nid*, the most inferior of the gross or of the highest,—secondary sub-div. of *bhāvanā-keya-kleśa* and *bhāvanā-mārga* (ref. to the Śrāvaka's *bhāvanā-mārga*), 25.  
*adhimukti* = *mos-pa*, Faith,—refers to the *sāraṇa-bhāvanā-mārga*, 43, 74 (ditto, see *adhimukti-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga*).  
*adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi* = *mos-pas-spyod-paḥi sa*, the Stage of Action in Faith,—synonym of *prayoga-mārga*, q. v., 37, 51, 86, 87.  
*adhimukti-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga* = *mos-pa (ḥi mīshan-nid-kyi) sgom-lam*, the Māh. Path of Conc. Contempl. char. by Faith,—the sixth topic of *Mārga-jñātā-adhikāra* (Kār. II. 16), 74.  
*adhyātaya* = *thag-paḥi bsam-pa*, the highest altruistic tendency of the Bodhisattva, 34.  
*adṛśa-samatā-jñāna-abhāvāt* = *duḥ gnum-mīam-pa-nid-du-śes-pa med-paḥi phyir*, owing to the absence of the knowledge of the equality (relativity) of present, past, and future,—refers to the Hin. *sarva-jñātā*, 76.  
*anabhilāpya* = *brjod-du-med-pa*, inexpressible or unutterable, the elements in their crude form, without the imputations of essence, quality, &c. (ref. to *paratantra-lakṣaṇa*), 94.  
*anabhakā* = *sprin-med*, first sub-div. of the region of the fourth *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.  
*anātmaka* = *bdag-med*, impersonality, or impersonal,—the fourth aspect of *duḥkha-satya*, q. v., 18.  
*anābhogam* = *lhun-gyis-grub-par*, miraculously, without effort,—the activity of the Bodhisattva beginning with the seventh Stage, 55.

*anāsrava* (= *zag-pa med-pa*), uninfluenced by defiling agencies, 39, 40, 43 (*nir-hāra* and *atyanta-viśuddhi* in the Māh. *bhāvanā-mārga*).  
*anāsrava-dharma* = *zag-med-kyi-chos*, the elements uninfluenced by defiling agencies, intuited by *eka-kṣaṇa-abhi-samḍodha*, 81.  
*anāsrava-dhātu* = *zag-pa-med-paḥi dbyins*, the Unaffected or Undeified Sphere, 29, 32.  
*anīya* = *mī-rtag-pa*, Evanescence,—the first aspect of *duḥkha-satya*, q. v., 18.  
*animitta* = *mīshan-ma-med-pa*, absence of differentiation or of the characteristic marks of the separate elements in the aspect of the Absolute,—cogn. on the seventh Stage, 56.  
*anīyata-gotraka* = *rīgs ma-rtes-pa*, the individual who is possessed of the Element of the Lineage of an indefinite character,—the Śrāvaka or Pratyeka-buddha Arihaṭ who subsequently enters the Mahāyānist Path, 33.  
*aniruddha* = *ma-hgag-pa*, not disappearing. Characteristic of the elements of existence acc. to the Prajñā-pāramitā, 6, 92.  
*anugrahārtham* = *rjes-su-gzuñ-baḥi don-du*, "for the sake of helping or assisting." Acc. to the Tib. tradition, the Yogācāra works of Asaṅga were composed for the sake of assisting those for whom the teaching of pure Monism is too difficult, 100.  
*anuppanna* = *ma-skyes-pa*, not liable to origination. Characteristic of the elements of existence acc. to the Prajñā-pāramitā, 6, 92.  
*anuparva-abhīsamaya* = *mīthar-gyis-paḥi mīon-rtogs*, the Process of Illumination as a progressive contemplation,—the third of the 4 Methods of Realization

(*catvāraḥ prayogāḥ*), 63, 67, 70, 71 (its result is *eka-kṣaya-abhisambodha*), 81 (*Anupūrva-abhisamaya-adhikāra*), 88.  
*anupūrva-prayoga* = *mīhar-gyis-shyov-ba*, synonym of *anupūrva-abhisamaya*, 63.  
*anumāna* = *rjes-su-dpag-pa* (= *rjes-dpag*), inference, 19.  
*anumoda* = *rjes-su-yi-rah-ba*, the feeling of delight,—relates to the *sāraṇa-bhāvanā-mārga*, 43, 75 (ditto; the ninth topic of *Mārga-jñāta-adhikāra*,—Kār. II. 24).  
*anuloma-vilomam* = *lugs-mthun dan lugs-mi-mthun-la*, in the direct and the reverse order—the 12-membered formula of functional dependence (*dvādaśāṅga pratitya-samutpāda*) is contemplated in such a manner during the *simha-vijrmbhita-samādhi*, q. v., 85.  
*anuvyañjana* = *vyāñjana*, 47, 82 (intuited by *eka-kṣaya-abhisambodha*).  
*anta-grāha-dṛṣṭi* = *mīhar-ḥdzin-gyi lla-ba*, extreme views, 51 (removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva), 52, 53 (the innate form removed on the remaining 9 Stages).  
*antya-cakra* = *khor-lo lha-ma*, the last (Swinging of) the Wheel of the Doctrine, i.e. *paramārtha-viniścaya-dharma-cakra*, q. v., 91.  
*anvaya eṣa ārya-dharmāṇām* = *ḥdī-ni ḥphags-paḥi chos-rname-kyi rjes-su-ḥgro-ba*, "it accompanies all the saintly attributes,"—char. of *duḥkhe dharma-jñāna-kṣānti* and *duḥkhe dharma-jñāna*, 40.  
*anvaya-jñāna* = *rjes-śes*, resulting introspective cognition (of the 4 *dharma-jñāna*, q. v.),—the last group of 4 moments (in the sixteen). Are included in the *vimukti-mārga*, 23, 40 (refers to the subject—*grāhaka-avabodha*, q. v.).

*anvaya-jñāna-kṣānti* = *rjes-su-śes-paḥi bzod-pa*, perseverance in the introspective cognition. There are 4 forms of it, corresponding to each of the 4 Principles of the Saint taken separately (*duḥkhe anv-jñ.-kṣ.*, &c.), included in the 16 moments of *darśana-mārga*, 22, 40 (refer to the object—*grāhya-avabodha*, q. v.).

*apagata-pratiniyata-vastu-grāhaya-vipariyāsa-rūpeṇa* = *dños-po so-sor-rjes-par-ḥdzin-paḥi phyin-ci-log dan-bral-baḥi ŋo-bos*, through the removal of the error consisting in the perception of separate entities (ref. to *eka-kṣaya-abhisambodha*), 81.

*apāya-abhāvena adhiṣṭatra-dharma-kṣamayāt* = *ñan-ḥgro-med-pas chos-chen-po-la bzod-paḥi-phyir*, "since one is able to master the profound Doctrine, without falling into Evil Births." (The last could be possible if, by hearing about the Non-substantiality of existence, one would adopt nihilistic views). Expl. of *kṣānti*, 36.

*apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha* = *so-sor-brtags-min-gyi ḥgog-pa*,—the annihilation of the defiling elements which consists in the impossibility of their originating anew (sic acc. to Abh. *samuccaya*). Refers to *ānantarya-mārga*, 41.

*apramāya-ābhā* = *tsad-med-ḥod*, the second sub-div. of the region of the second *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*apramāya-śubha* = *tsad-med-dge*, third sub-div. of the region of the third *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*abrha* = *mī-che-ba*, the fourth sub-div. of the region of the fourth *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*abhijñā* = *mñon-par-śes-pa*, supernatural faculty (M. Vyutp. § 14). The first five faculties are acquired on the Path of

Accumulating Merit (*saṃbhāra-mārga*), 19.

*abhinirhāra*, see *nirhāra*, 43.

*abhimukhī* = *mñon-du-gyur-pa*, "the Proximate,"—the sixth Stage of the Bodhisattva, 42 (conn. with *bhāvanā-mārga*), 55 (*sarva-buddha-dharma-abhimukhī*).

*abhisamaya* = *mñon-rtoḡs*, the process of intuition of the Truth; a synonym of *mārga*, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 49, 52.

*araya-dīṣṭi* = *ñon-mons-med-paḥi lta-ba*, the pure undefiled vision of the Śrāvaka Arhats and that of the Buddha (compared with each other in Kār. VIII. 7), 85.

*arciṣmatī* = *ñod-ñphro-ba(-can)*, "the Radiant,"—the fourth Stage of the Bodhisattva, 42 (conn. with *bhāvanā-mārga*), 54 (*sakala-kleśa-inḍhana-jvālayā upeta-tvād arciṣmatī*).

*artha* = *don*, meaning,—in the sense of *pratacana-artha*, 20.

*artha-abhisamaya* = *don mñon-rtoḡs*, the full cognition of the meaning (of the Doctrine).—general definition of *pratyoga-mārga*, q.v., 20.

*artha-grāhaka-viksepa-anālāḥa* (= *don-la ḥdsin-par-byed-paḥi rnam-par-gyeh-bar man-ba-med-pa*, without the representation produced by distraction which consists in the realistic views regarding the perceiving subject, 37.

*artha-saptatī* = *don ldun-cu*, the 70 secondary topics of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, 61, 72.

*alakṣaṇatva* = *mtshan-ñid-med-pa-ñid*, the absence or the unreality of separate characteristic marks and essences, 82.

*alakṣaṇatva-eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* (or *kṣaṇika-prayoga*) = *mtshan-ñid-med-paḥi skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba*, the momentary intuition of the unreality of the separate entities and their essences,

—the fourth topic of Eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha-adhikāra (Kār. VII. 4), 82.

*alakṣaṇatva-dharma-cakra* = *mtshan-ñid-med-paḥi chos-ñkhor*, the Wheel of the Doctrine i.e. the teaching about the absence of a real essence with the separate elements of existence (= *madhyacakra*), 91.

*avadhāraya* = *ñes-ḥdsin*, reduction (of all the elements to the principle of Buddhahood), 98.

*avavāda* = *gdams-ñag*, the precepts and instructions received by the Bodhisattva before entering the Path and during the course of the latter,—the second topic of Sarva-ākāra-jñātā-adhikāra,—Kār. I. 20, 21 (ten varieties), 73, 84 (about the 20 varieties of the Congregation of Saints), 86.

*avidyā* = *ma-rig-pa*, Ignorance, 51 (removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva), 52, 53 (the innate form removed on the remaining 9 Stages).

*avidyā-vāsanā* = *ma-rig-paḥi bag-chags*, the Force of Transcendental Illusion, 30.

*avipāka-avasthāyām eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* (or *kṣaṇika-prayoga*) = *rnam-par-smñin-pa ma-yin-paḥi skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba*, the momentary intuition of the undefiled elements which have not yet attained complete maturity,—the first topic of Eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha-adhikāra (Kār. VII. 1, 2), 81.

*avaivartika-līṅgāni* = *phyir-mi-ldog-paḥi rtoḡs*, the characteristic marks of the Bodhisattva who has attained the Irretrievable State, 86 (cf. *saikṣa-avaivartika-bodhisattva-saṅgha*).

*atadā* = *egra-med*, without being communicated by words,—the Truth as cognized by the Pratyekabuddha, 27.

*aśaikṣa* = *mi-slob-pa*, he who is no more under Discipline, an epithet of the Arhat, 26.

*śaśiṅka-mārga* = *mi-slob-lam*, the Path of him who is no more subjected to Discipline or the Ultimate Path, 15, 25, 26 (the *śā.*m. of the Śrāvaka), 28 (ditto, of the Pratyekabuddha), 43 (the Mahāyānaistic = the attainment of Buddhahood), 44.

*asāṃ* (amaka-bhāṃ = *brgyad-paḥ*) i.e., the (first) Stage relating to the eight degrees of Saintliness, i.e. the 4 states of a candidate (*pratipannaka*) and of the 4 definite results (*phala-stha*). It is the third Stage of the Śrāvaka, representing his intuition at the time when he has become a candidate for Entering the Stream (*srota-apatti-phala-pratipannaka*), 49.

*aṣṭau padārthāḥ* = *dños-po bgyad*, the eight principal subjects of the Abhisamayālamkāra, 61, 62.

*asṭau vimokṣāḥ* = *ṣaṣṭhaḥ* = 8 degrees of liberation from materiality, incl. in the 110 aspects rel. to the Omnisc. of the Buddha, 78.

*asamskrta* = *śūnya-mā-bhāva*, unconditioned, immutable,—a char. of the *gotra*, 31.

*asamkhyā* = *grāsa-med*, "Immeasurable period" of aeons; acc. to the Abh. kośa., &c. the term *asamkhyā* indicates the number 1,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 (sic!), 60. (Three or thirty-two such periods are necessary for the attainment of Buddhahood.)

*asambheda* = *dbyer-med*, absence of differentiation, ref. to *dharma-dhātu* (Kār. I. 39), 31, 99.

*ā-bhavāgrād anuparata-prabandha =*  
*grid-rtchi bar-du rgyun-mi-chad-pa.*

with an uninterrupted stream of existence up to the highest point of the Phen. World,—char. of *nirmāṇa-kāya*, 47.

*ākāra* = *nam-pa*, aspect, 97 (of the Mah. *prayoga-mārga* and its degrees), 66 (the 173 aspects of the 3 forms of Omniscience), 67 (ditto), 68 (ditto), 73 (the aspects of *nirveda-bhāgiya* or *prayoga-mārga*), 77 (the 173 aspects of the 3 kinds of Omniscience,—the first topic of *Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra*, Kār. IV. 1–5), 85, 86 (the aspects of *prayoga-mārga*), 88.

*ākāśa-ānantya-āyatana* = *nam-mkhaḥ*  
*mkhaḥ-yas-kyi skye-mched*, the Sphere  
of Infinite Space,—first division of  
*ārūpya-dhātu*, 25.

*ākimcanya-āyatana* = *ci-yañ-med-paḥi*  
*skye-mched*, the Sphere of Absolute  
 Voidity or Nothingness,—third division  
 of *arūpa-dhātu*, 25.

*āgantuka-mala* = *glo-bw-gyi dri-ma*, the accidental or casual obscurations, 45.

*ādarsa-jñāna* = me-loñ lta-luñi ye-śce,  
the Div. Wisdom of the Buddha  
resembling a mirror, 45, 47 (relates  
to *jñāna-dharma-kāya*).

*ādikarmika-bhūmi* = *las-dañ-po-paḥi sa*,  
the Stage of Preliminary Activity, a  
synonym of *saṃbhāra-mārga*, q. v., 19,  
34, 51.

*ādi-sānta* = *grod-ma-nas ti-ba*, quiescent from the outset,—the elements as demonstrated in the *madhya-cakra*, 92.

*ādihāra* = *sten*, basis, foundation, substratum, 31.

*anāgamin* = *phīr-mi-hoṇ-la*, he who returns no more,—the Saint who has attained the third result, through the removal (on the *bhāvanā-mārga*) of the ninth form of defilement, peculiar to the World of Carnal Desire (*kāmā-*

*vacāra-navama-kleśa-prakāra-prahā-  
yāt*), 50.

*ānantarya-mārga* = *bar-chad-med-lam*,  
"the Unimpeded Path," the first degree  
of *samāhita-jñāna*. It is the knowledge  
which directly removes the defiling  
forces (Abh.-vyākḥ.), 22, 24 (contained  
in the Śrāvaka's *bhāvanā-mārga*), 25,  
26, 28 (on the Path of the Pratyeka-  
buddha), 38 (the Mahāyānistic), 40  
(acc. to the Abh. āloka it does not in-  
clude the *anvaya-jñāna-kṣāntayāh*),  
41.

*ānantarya-mūrdha-prayoga* = *bar-chad-  
med-paḥi rtsé-shyor*, the "unimpeded"  
Culminating Process of Intuition at  
the end of the Path (cf. *ānantarya-  
samādhi*), identical with *eka-kṣaya-  
abhisambodha* (Kār. V. 37-39 a, b, c),  
80.

*ānantarya-samādhi* = *bar-chad-med-paḥi  
tñ-ne-ḥdzin*, the "unimpeded state  
of transic meditation," directly preced-  
ing the Path of Illumination (*darśana-  
mārga*), 21, 36, 37 (on the Path of the  
Bodhisattva, directly preceding *darśa-  
na-mārga*), 70 (the state of Transic  
Meditation directly preceding the  
attainment of Buddhahood; syn. of  
*ānantarya-mūrdha-prayoga*), 80 (ditto;  
the seventh topic of Mūrdha-abhisā-  
maya-adhikāra).

*abhāsavara* = *ḥod-gsal*, the third sub-div.  
of the region of the second *dhyāna* in  
the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*āyatana* (= *skye-mched*), the 12 bases of  
cognition, 92.

*ārūpya-dhātu* = *gzugs-med-khams*, the  
Immaterial Sphere, 23, 25, 38.

*ārūpya-samāpatti* = *gzugs-med-kyi sñoms-  
hjog* = *calaara ārūpya-samāpattayaḥ*,  
q. v., 78 (incl. in the 110 aspects rel.  
to the Omnisc. of the Buddha).

*ārya* = *ḥphags-pa*, the Saint, he who  
possesses a direct knowledge of the  
Truth, 19.

*ārya-mārga* = *ḥphags-paḥi-lam*, the Path  
of a Saint,—the last 3 sub-div. of the  
Path, i. e. *darśana-mārga*, *bhāvanā-  
mārga* and *asāikṣa-mārga*, 15, 21, 51.  
*ālambana* = *dmigs-pa*, object, 37 (of the  
Mah. *prayoga-mārga* and its degrees),  
73 (the object or sphere of the Ma-  
hāyānistic Activity,—all the elements  
of existence classified into 11 varieties.  
The fifth topic of Sarva-ākāra-jñātā-  
adhikāra, Kār. I. 40, 41), 86 (the  
objects of *nirvedha-bhāgiya*), 88 (the  
sphere of the Mah. Activity as common  
to all the sub-div. of the Path).

*ālaya-vijñāna* = *kun-gzi rnam-par-tes-pa*,  
the "Store-Consciousness," 96, 97, 98.

*āloka-labdha* = *mañ-ba thob-pa*, attain-  
ment of the light of Transcendental  
Knowledge on the Degree of Heat  
(*ūmagata* q. v.), 20, 37 (on the Ma-  
hāyānistic Path).

*āloka-labdho nāma samādhi* = *mañ-ba  
thob-pa tes-kyi-baḥi tñ-ne-ḥdzin*, the  
same as *āloka-labdha*, 37.

*īśat-spaṣṭa-jñāna-āloka* = *ye-tes-kyi  
mañ-ba cuñ-zad gsal-ba*, "the slightly  
clear light of knowledge, obtained on  
the Degree of Heat" (*ūmagata* q. v.),  
35, 37.

*uccheḍḍita - bhāva - abhiniveśa - nimitta*  
= *dños-por mnon-par-ten-paḥi khkrul-  
baḥi mñen-ma bsal-ba*, those who  
have done away with the differentiation  
of separate entities which is an error  
produced by preconceived realistic  
views,—an epithet of the Bodhi-  
sattvas, 76.

*ultrasta-mānasāḥ* = *skrag-paḥi yid-can*  
with minds full of fear,—char. of the  
Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha Arhats, 29.

*utpatti-niḥsvabhāvatā* = *skye-ba 'no-bo-nid-med-pa*, the unreality from the point of view of origination. Acc. to the Yogācāras it refers to *paratantra-lakṣaṇa*, i.e. the elements in their causally dependent aspect, 94.

*uddeśa* = *ched-du-bya-ba*, the final goal of the Mahāyānist Activity. Is of 3 kinds viz. 1) the greatness of intellectual power owing to which one is superior to all other living beings (*sarva-sattva-agra-tā-citta-mahattva*), 2) the greatness in the removal of the Obscurations (*prahāṇa-mahattva*), and 3) the greatness in the cognition of the Truth (*adhiḡama-mahattva*). The sixth topic of *Sarva-ākāra-jñātā-adhikāra* (Kār. I. 42), 73, 88, 89.

*ummūlita - draya - pratibhāsa - vāsana* = *gñis - su sman - baḥi bag - chags druṣ-phyun-ba*, the Bodhisattva who has eradicated the force of illusion which produces a representation of subject and object,—ref. to *advaya-eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha*, 83.

*upādāna-skandha* = *ñe-bar-len-baḥi phun-po*, the (5) groups of elements constituting an ordinary individual, 82.

*upāya-kauśala-prayoga* = *thabs-mkhas shyor-ba*, the action of the Bodhisattva on the last three Stages, skilful and free from effort,—the eleventh topic of *Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra* (Kār. IV. 62, 63), 79.

*upāya-pāramitā* = *thabs-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*, the Transc. Virtue or the Climax of Skill, 55 (predom. on the seventh Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*ura-karūṇā-prajñā-vaikalpya* = *ñiñ-rje chen-po dan 'es-rab dan-bral-bas*, being deprived of Great Commiseration and Highest Wisdom, 29.

*urdhva-abhisamaya* = *rjes-la mñon-rdags*, the subsequent intuition of the Truth, definition of *bhāvanā-mārga*, 24.

*āmagata* = *dro-bar-gyur-pa* (= *drod*), the Degree of Heat, the first sub-div. of the Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga* q.v.), 20 (the D. of H. on the Path of the Śrāvaka), 27, 35 (*nirvikalpa-jñāna-agni-pārvatopatoṭ*, &c. q.v.), 37 (on the Path of the Bodhisattva), 60, 70 (the first degree of *mūrdha-abhisamaya*).

*āmagata-mūrdha-prayoga* = *drod rtses-shyor*, the Culminating Process of intuition on the Degree of Heat (cf. *linga*), 79.

*eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* = *skad-cig geig-paḥi mñon-par-rdzogs-par byas-chub-pa*, the momentary intuition at the end of the Path, 44, 63 (the fourth of the 4 Methods of Realization), 67, 71 (the result of *anupūrva-abhisamaya*), 80 (identical with *ānantarya-mūrdha-prayoga*), 81 (= *Eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha-adhikāra*), 82, 83.

*eka-jāti-pratibaddha* = *skye-ba geig-gis thogs-pa*, "separated (from Enlightenment) by one birth,"—the Bodhisattva before the attainment of Buddhahood, 43.

*eka - mahāyāna - samavasaraṇa - deśanā* = *theg-pa-chen-por gñol-bar bñad-pa*, the teaching that all the Vehicles (i.e. the Paths to Salvation) have their final issue in the Mahāyānist Nirvāṇa (cf. *eka-yāna*), 29.

*eka-yāna* = *theg-pa geig*, the Unique Vehicle, the teaching that the final Nirvāṇa is only that of the Buddha, 29.

*anupacārikā prajñā-pāramitā* = *ser-phyin bñags-pa-pa*,—*prajñā-pāramitā* in the metaphorical sense, i.e. as the Path and as the text of the Sūtras, 7.



*kapāṭa-pūḥāna* = *ego bead-pa*, "shutting the door" (behind the thieves),—refers to *vimukti-mārga*, 41.

*karma* = *las*, acts, deeds,—the Biotic Force which conditions the *samṣkoga-kāya*, 47.

*karma-vaśitā* = *las-la dbaṅ-ba*, the Controlling Power over one's deeds or over the Biotic Force, 57.

*kalpanā* = *rtog-pa*, constructive thought, 23.

*kalpita* = *ltag-pa*, imputed, the elements as differentiated into the subjective and the objective, 97.

*kāma-dhātū* = *ḥdod-khams*, the World of Carnal Desire or of Gross Bodies, 23 (the first 4 kinds of *kṣānti*, i.e. *dharma-jñāna-kṣānti* and the first 4 kinds of *jñāna*, i.e. *dharma-jñāna* refer to it acc. to the Abh. kośa), 24, 48, 52.

*kāmāvacara* = *ḥdod-pa-na spyod-pa*, relating to the World of Gross Bodies or of Carnal Desire, 50, 53.

*kāya-citta-prasrabdhi* = *lus dan sems kñ-tu sbyoṅs-pa*, the feeling of bodily and mental ease accompanying the state of perfect mental quiescence (*śamatha* q.v.), 17.

*karikā* = *teḥig-leḥur-hyas-pa*, metrical aphorism, 8.

1) *kāritra* = *byeḥ-pa*, the functions (of *bhāvanā-mārga*, cf. *bhāvanā-mārga-kāritra*), 43.

2) *kāritra* = *phrin-las*, the (27 varieties of the) Activity of the Cosmical Body, the fifth topic of *Dharma-kāya-adhikāra* (Kār. VIII. 34-40), 84.

*kāritra-lakṣaṇa* (*ekādāśa kāritra-lakṣaṇāni*) = *byeḥ-paḥi miṭhan* (*bcu-geig*), the 11 char. of the Bodhisattva's Activity on the Path (Kār. IV. 27, 28), 78.

*ktāvi-bhūmi* = *hyas-pa rtogs-paḥi sa*, the Stage where one has the full notion

that one has terminated the course of training on the Path,—the seventh Stage of the Śrāvaka, that of the Śrāvaka Arhat, 50.

*krtya-anuṣṭhāna-jñāna* = *bya-ba sgrub-paḥi ye-les*, the active Wisdom of the Buddha working for the weal of the living beings, 45, 47 (rel. to *nūmāya-kāya*).

*kṛpayā na śame sthītā* = *sññ-rjes ti-la mi-gnas-pa* (Kār. I. 10), non-abiding in the (egoistic, Hin.) Nirvāṇa, owing to Great Commiseration; ref. to *śama-apratishṭhita-mārga-jñāta*, q.v., 76.

*kṛpā-prajñā-vaikalyāt* = *sññ-brtsē-ba dan śes - rab dan ḥbrāl - baḥi - phyir*, owing to the absence of Commiseration and Highest Wisdom,—ref. to *phala-bhūta-mātur dūri-bhūta-vaśu-jñāna*, 76.

*kleśa* = *ñon-moṅs*, defilement, defiling forces, 22, 25, 39.

*kleśa-āvaraya* = *ñon-moṅs-kyi sgrib-pa* (= *ñon-sgrib*), the Obscuration of Moral Defilement, 32.

*kleśa-prahāṇa-prāpter avadhārakah*, that which gives complete certainty as regards the removal of the defiling forces,—a characteristic of *vimukti-mārga*, 22.

*kṣaṇika-prayoga* = *skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba*, syn. of *eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha*, 63.

*kṣānti* = *bzod-pa*, 1) the Degree of Steadfastness, the third sub-div. of the Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga*, q.v.), 20 (the D. of St. on the Path of the Śrāvaka), 35, 36 (*apāya-abhāvena adhimūtra-dharma-kṣamānti kṣāntiga-tam*, q.v.), 37 (on the Path of the Bodhisattva), 60, 61.—2) In *dharma-jñāna-kṣānti* and *anvaya-jñāna-kṣānti*, q.v.

*kṣānti-pāramitā* = *bzod-paḥi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*, the Transe. Virtue or the

Climax of Patience, Forbearance, or Steadfastness, 54 (predominant on the third Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*kyāntigata-mārāḥa-prayoga* = *bsod-paḥi rtsa-sbyor*, the Culminating Process of Illumination on the Degree of Steadfastness (cf. *nirāḍhi*), 80.

*kyetra-buddhi-prayoga* = *tin-dag-sbyor-ba*, the purification of the Sphere or the World of future activity as a Buddha, 56, 79 (the tenth topic of Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra, Kār. IV. 61).

*khaḍga-viśūṣa-kalpa* = *bsc-rn lta-lu*, the solitary Pratyekabuddha, 28, 59 (brings to accompl. the Accumul. of Merit during 100 aeons).

*guṇa* = *yon-tan*, the (14) merits acquired during the process of meditation,—the third topic of Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra (Kār. IV. 12 a, b), 78, 88.

*gotra* = *rīgs*, the element of the Lineage (of the Buddha). Synonyms: *dhātu* and *tathāgata-garbha*, q.v., 31, 32, 45, 74 (cf. *mārga-jñātā-angāni*), 88 (as a point common to all the Paths), 99.— Cf. *pratipatṭer ādhāraḥ prakṛtiṣṭhaṃ gotram*.

*gotra-bhūmi* = *rīgs-kyi sa*, the Stage (of certainty in regard) of the Spiritual Lineage,—the second Stage of the Śrāvaka, ident. with the Śr.'s *prayoga-mārga*, 49.

*gotra-bheda* = *rīgs tha-dad*, a difference in the element of the Lineage. Is inadmissible acc. to the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (Kār. I. 39), 31, 99.

*gotreṇa vyūptāḥ* = *rīgs-kyis khyab-pa*, pervaded by the element of the Lineage of Buddhahood, 31.

*grāhaka-avabodha* = *ḥdzin-pa rlogs-pa*, the cognition of the subjective part,

—char. of *anvaya-jñāna-kyānti* and *anvaya-jñāna*, 40.

*grāhya-avabodha* = *gzun-ba-rlogs*, the perception of the objective part,—char. of *dharma-jñāna-kyānti* and *dharma-jñāna*, q.v., 40.

*grāhya-grāhaka* = *gzun-ḥdzin*, subject and object. Not differentiated in *prajñā-pāramitā*, 7, 83.

*grāhya-grāhaka-ākāreṇa kalpitatvāt* = *gzun-ba dan ḥdzin-paḥi rnam-pas blags-paḥi phyir*, being imagined as having the character of subjective and objective (cf. *vikalpita*), 97.

*grāhya-grāhaka-vikalpa* = *gzun-ba dan ḥdzin-paḥi rnam-par-rlog-pa*, the imputation of the reality of subject and object, 84.

*grāhya-dharma-nairātmya* = *gzun-ba chos-kyi ḥdag-med*, the unreality of the external world,—the principal object of cognition of the Pratyekabuddha, 27.

*cataśra ārūpya-samāptiāyaḥ* = *gzugs-med-kyi stoms-hjug bāi*, the 4 degrees of mystic absorption in the Immaterial Sphere (*ākāśa-ānantya-āyatana*, *viśūṣa-ānantya-āyatana*, *ākīncanya-āyatana* and *naiva-saṃjñā-na-asamjñā-āyatana* or *bhavāgra*, q.v.), 48.

*catur-satya-dharma-cakra* = *bden-bāiḥi chos-kyikhor*, the Wheel of the Doctrine, i.e. the teaching about the 4 Truths or Principles of the Saint (= *prathamacakra*), 91.

*catur-mahārāja-kāyikāḥ* = *rgyal-chen bāiḥi ris*, the denizens of the Sphere of the 4 Great Guardian Kings,—the lowest of the regions of the gods in the *kāma-dhātu*, 58.

*caturāḥa prayogāḥ* = *sbyor-ba bāi*, the 4 Methods of Realization of the 3 kinds of Omniscience,—*sarva-ākāra-abhi-*

*sambodha* (1), *mūrdha-abhisamaya* (2), *anuparva-abhisamaya* (3), and *ekakṣaya-abhisambodha* (4) q. v., 68.

*catvāri ārya-satyāni* = *hphags-paḥi bden-pa bēi*, the 4 Truths or Principles of the Saint, 14, 18 (their sixteen aspects), 37 (on the Mah. Path).

*catvāri dhyānāni* = *bsam-gtan bēi*, the 4 Degrees of Trance in the Sphere of Pure Matter (*rupa-dhātu*), 25, 48.

*catvāri vaiśāradyāni* = *mī-hjigs-pa bēi*, the 4 kinds of Intrepidity of the Buddha (M. Vyutp. § 8 and Uttar. Transl. p. 260), 46 (relate to *jñāna-dharma-kāya*).

*caryā-bhūmi* = *adhimuktī-caryā-bhūmi*, q. v., 60.

*cala-kūśala-mūla-mūrdhatvāt* = *dge-baḥi rtsa-ba gyo-baḥi rtsa-mo yin-paḥi phyir*, "being the Climax, the culminating point of the growth of the roots of virtue that were unsteady before,"—expl. of the term *mūrdhagata*, 35.

*citta-mūtra-avasthānena* = *sems-tsam-du gnas-pas*, "by assuming the idealistic standpoint" (lit. that of mere consciousness), 37 (ref. to the Degree of Steadfastness-*kṣānti* of the Mah. Path).

*citta-samsthiti* = *sems-kun-tu-gnas-pa*, the complete stabilization of the mind,—the fourth topic of *Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra* = *laukika - āgā - dharmamūrdha-prayoga* (Kār. V. 4), 80.

*cintāmayī prajñā* = *bsam-pa-las-byun-baḥi śes-rab*, analytic wisdom which is the result of investigation, 20.

*caura-nipkāsana* = *rikun-ma phyun-ba*, "the expulsion of the thieves,"—refers to *ānantarya-mūrga*, 41.

*cryūti-citta-anantaram* = *hehi-hpho-baḥi sems de-ma-thag-tu*, directly after the

termination of life (in the 3 Spheres of Worldly Existence), 29.

*janma-nirmāya-kāya* = *skye-baḥi sprul-sku*, the App. Body as assuming different states of existence in the form of various living beings, 47.

*jīva*, the individual soul acc. to Vedānta, 32.—The awakening of it to life is spoken of in the Vedānta literature in a similar form as the awakening of the *gotra* or *dhātu* with the Buddhists. Cf. Gaṇḍapāda, Kārikās on the Māṇḍūkya-upaniṣad, *anādi-māyayā sūpto yadā jīvaḥ prabudhyate*.

*jñāna* = *ye-śes*, Transcendental Wisdom and intuition, a synonym of the Path, 15.

*jñāna-āloka* = *ye-śes-kyi snan-pa*, the light of Transcendental Knowledge, 20 (first obtained on the Degree of Heat, *uṣmagata* q. v.), 37 (on the Mah. *prayoga-mārga*).

*jñāna-dharma-kāya* = *ye-śes-chor-sku*, the Body of Absolute Wisdom of the Buddha; manifests itself in the form of the 10 Powers (*daśa balānti*), &c., 46, 47, 83 (the second topic of *Dharma-kāya-adhikāra* and synonym of *sarva-ākāra-jñatā*; Kār. VIII. 2–6).

*jñāna-pāramitā* = *ye-śes-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*, the Transc. Virtue or the Climax of Divine Transcendental Wisdom, 57 (predom. on the tenth Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*jñāna-lakṣaṇa* (*aṣṭa-catvāriṃśaj-jñāna-lakṣaṇa*) = *śes-mtshan* (*śe-brgyad*), the 48 varieties of knowledge which characterize the Path (Kār. IV. 14–22), 78.

*jñāna-vaśitā* = *ye-śes-la dbaṅ-ba*, the Controlling Power of Transcendental Wisdom, 56.

*jñeya - āvarāṇa* = *śes-byaḥi agrib-pa* (= *śes-agrib*), the Obscuration of Ignorance. Acc. to the Mādhyamikas it

consists in the differentiation of subject and object and of Samsāra and Nirvāṇa as two separate entities, 32, 52 (the 108 forms removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*latwa-artha-ekadeśa-praviṣṭo nūma samādhi* = *de-kho-na-ñid-kyi don-gyi phyogs-gcig-la űugs-paűi tñ-ñe-ñdsin*, the state of transic meditation during which one penetrates into one side of the Absolute Truth, i.e. the unreality of the external world (= *kṣānti* on the Mah. *prayoga-mārga*), 37.

*tathāgata-garbha* = *de-lñn-gñegs-paűi ññin-po*, the Essence of Buddhahood,—synonym of *gotra* and *dhātu*, q. v., 31, 32, 45, 99.

*tathāgata-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra* = *de-lñn-gñegs-paűi theg-pa mñon-par-rtogs-paűi rigs*, the lineage (or family of the Saints) who are possessed of the intuition peculiar to the Vehicle of the Buddhas, i.e. Mahāyāna, 16.

*tanū-bhūmi* = *berab-paűi sa*, the Stage of Refinement, the intuition of the *sakṛd-āgāmin*, the fifth Stage of the Śrāvaka, 50.

*tisraḥ sarvajñatāḥ* = *thams-cad-mkhyen-pa gsum* (*mkhyen-gsum*), the 3 kinds of Omniscience, i.e. *sarva-ākāra-jñatā*, *mārga-jñatā*, and *sarva-jñatā*, q. v., 62.

*trikṣa-indriya* = *dbañ-rnon*, possessed of acute faculties, characteristic of the Arhat who has removed all the Ob-scurations simultaneously, 26.

*tupita* = *dgañ-ldan*, the fourth region of the gods in the *kāma-dhātu*, 58.

*tyāga-anusmṛti* = *gtoñ-ba rjes-su-dran-pa*, the act of mindfulness concentrated upon the resignation (to worldly properties),—the eleventh topic of Anu-pūrva-abhisamaya-adhikāra, 81.

*trayastrīṇā* = *sum-cu risa-gsum*, the region of the 33 gods,—the second in the *kāma-dhātu*, 58.

*tri-sarvajñatā-dharmāyām anuttarā pari-pūrāḥ* = *thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-ñid gsum-gyi chos-rnams yñis-su-rdzogs-pa bla-na-med-pa*, the highest and full accomplishment of all the elements characterizing the 3 forms of Omniscience,—refers to *nirādhi*, q. v., 80.

*tri-sarvajñatā-vañitārtham* = *thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-ñid gsum-la dbañ-du-bya-baűi-phyir*, in order to attain a dominating position in regard of the 3 kinds of Omniscience,—the aim of *sarva-ākāra-abhisamābodha*, q. v., 63, 67, 68.

*trīṇi vimokṣa-mukhāni* = *nam-thar űo gsum*, the 3 Media or Gates of Liberation (*ānyatā*, *animitta*, and *aprañi-hita*, M. Vyutp. § 73), incl. in the 110 aspects relating to the Omniscience of the Buddha, 78.

*trīṇi lakṣaṇāni* = *mñon-ñid gsum*, the three aspects of Reality acc. to the Yogācāras, i.e. *parikalpita-lakṣaṇa*, *paratantra-lakṣaṇa* and *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*, q. v., 6.

*traiyadhetika-dharma-anutpāda-ākāreṣa tulyatā-avabodhāi* = *dus-gsum-paűi chos-rnams skye-ba-med-paűi rnam-pa mñam-pa-ñid-du rtogs-pas*, owing to the cognition of all the elements of existence relating to the present, past, and future as being unique and undifferentiated (lit. equal), in the sense of not being liable to origination, 76.

*dayām űrabhya dhāraṇi-paryantena* = *brtse-ba-las brtsams-nas gzuñs-kyi bar-du*, "beginning with Commiseration and ending with memory" (= *karuṇā-saṃbhāra*, *dāna-saṃbhāra*, *ñla-saṃbhāra*, *kṣānti-saṃbhāra*, *ñrya-saṃbhāra*, *dhyāna-saṃbhāra*, *prajñā-saṃbhāra*,

*śamatha-saṃbhāra*, *vipaśyanā-saṃbhāra*, *yuganaddha-mārga-saṃbhāra*, *upāya-kauśala-saṃbhāra*, *jñāna-saṃbhāra*, *pyūṣa-saṃbhāra*, *mārga-saṃbhāra*, and *dharma-saṃbhāra* of *saṃbhāra-pratīpatti*, 87.

*darśana-bhūmi* = *mthoñ-baḥi sa*, the Stage of Illumination, the intuition of the Śrāvaka who has attained the result of Entering the Stream (*darśana-bhūmiḥ srota-āpannasya*), the fourth Stage of the Śrāvaka, 50.

*darśana-mārga* = *mthoñ-lam*, the Path of Illumination, the third main sub-div. of the Path and the first sub-div. of the Path of a Saint (*ārya-mārga*), 15, 21 (the P. of Ill. of the Śrāvaka), 27 (with the Pr. buddha), 32 (def. acc. to Skabs), (37 the Mah.), 38, 49, 50, 77 (the ninth topic of Śarva-jñatā-adhikāra, Kār. III. 11–15), 87.

*darśana-mārga-mūrdha-prayoga* = *mthoñ-lam rtes-sbyor*, the Culminating Process of Intuition on the Path of Illumination,—the fifth topic of *Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra* (Kār. V. 5–22), 80.

*daśa balāni* = *stobs bcu*, the 10 Powers of the Buddha (cf. M. Vyutp. § 7 and Uttaratantra, Transl. p. 259, 260), 46 (relate to the *jñāna-dharma-kāya*).

*daśa-bhūmi-praviṣṭa-mahā-bodhisattva* = *sa bou-la zugs-paḥi byañ-chub-sems-dpaḥ chen-po*, the Great Bodhisattvas who abide on the 10 Stages and form the retinue of the *saṃbhogo-kāya*, 47.

*daśa-bhūmi-saṃbhāra* = *sa bcuḥi tshogs*, the Accumulation of the virtuous elements on the ten Stages of the Bodhisattva,—one of the forms of *saṃbhāra-pratīpatti* (= *parikarman*, q. v.), 84.

*daśa vāsitāḥ* = *dbañ bcu*, the 10 Controlling Powers (M. Vyut. § 27), secured

on the eighth Stage of the Bodhisattva, 50.

*dāna-pāramitā* = *shyin-paḥi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*, the Transcend. Virtue of Charity or the Climax of Charity, 53 (predominant on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*duḥkha* = *sdug-bśnal*, Uneasiness or Suffering,—the second aspect of *duḥkha-satya*, q. v., 18.

*duḥkha-darśana-prahātavya* = *sdug-bśnal mthoñ-bas spañ-bar bya-ba*, to be removed through the intuition of the principle of Phen. ex. (see *kleśa*), 39.

*duḥkha-satya* = *sdug-bśnal bden-pa*, the principle of (the suffering or uneasiness of) Phenomenal existence, the first of the 4 Truths or Principles of the Saint, 18 (its four aspects).—We have to distinguish 1) *saṃskāra-duḥkhatā*,—the uneasiness caused by the active forces of life, 2) *duḥkha-duḥkhatā* = *duḥkha-vedanā*, corporeal and mental suffering, and 3) *vipariṣṭa-duḥkhatā*, the uneasiness or turmoil caused by constant change.

*duḥkha-satya-anubhavi-jñāna* = *sdug-bśnal-gyi bden-pa mñon-sum-du ḥiamsu mgon-baḥi tses-pa*, the knowledge directly perceiving the principle of Phen. Ex., 39.

*duḥkha-satya-ādhipateya-dharma* = *sdug-bśnal-gyi bden-paḥi dbaṅ-du-byas-paḥi chos*, the teaching or the elements relating to the principle of Phen. Ex., 39.

*duḥkha-anvaya-jñāna-kānti* = *sdug-bśnal-la rjes-su-tes-paḥi bzod-pa*, the perseverance in the introspective cognition concerning Phen. Ex.,—the first of the second group of 4 moments (in the sixteen), 39, 40.

*duḥkhe dharma-jñāna* = *sdug-bśnal-la chos-tes-pa*, resulting cognition of the

Doctrine concerning Phen. Ex.,—the first of the third group of 4 moments (in the sixteen), 39, 40.

*duḥkhe dharma-jñāna-kṣānti* = *sdug-bñal-la chos-ñes-paḥi bzod-pa*, perseverance in the cognition of the Doctrine concerning Phen. Existence,—the first of the 16 moments (*soḍaśa kṣayāḥ*) of the Path of Ill., 39 (on the Mah. Path), 40.

*dūramgamā* = *riñ-du-soñ-ba*, "the Far-reaching," the 7th Stage of the Bodhisattva, 42 (conn. with *bhāvanā-mārga*), 55 (*samyag-anābhoga-mārga-upaśleyāt suṣṭhu-dūramgataśvād dūramgamā*; see *anābhogam*).

*draṣṭi-parāmārga* = *lla-ba mehog-tu-ḥdzin-pa*, preconception in regard of one's own philosophical views, 52 (removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*dyṣṭi-heya* = *miñon-bar-spañ-ba* (= *miñon-spañ*), the defiling forces which are to be extirpated through the direct perception of the Truth, 21, 38; 41, 51, 52 (the 108 varieties of *jñeya-āvaraṇa* removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva), 80 (removed by *darśana-mārga-mūrdha-prayoga*).

*devatā-anusmṛti* = *lha-bla-ma-rjes-su-dran-pa*, the act of mindfulness concentrated upon the tutelary deity,—the twelfth topic of Anupūrva-abhisamaya-adhikāra, 81.

*doṣa* = *skyon*, the (46) moral defects which are the impediments to the achievement of the training,—the fourth topic of Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra (Kār. IV. 12 c, d), 78, 88.

*dravyasaṭ - puruṣa - adhiṣṭhāna - grāhaka-vikalpa* = *skyes-bu rdzas-god-kyi rten-can-gyi ḥdzin-rtog*, the imputation in regard of the subject as a real

personality, 52 (incl. in the 108 forms of *jñeya-āvaraṇa* removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*draṣṭavyam bhūta bhūtam* = *yañ-dag-ñid-la yañ-dag-lla*, "the Absolute Truth must be directly perceived in the correct manner (Kār. V. 21)," 98.

*dvādaśāṅga-pratitya-samutpāda* = *rten-ḥlrel yañ-lag bew-gñis*, the 12 membered formula of evolution or of functional interdependence, contemplated during the *śiṃha-vijrmbhita-samādhi*, 85.

*deśa* = *te-sdañ*, hatred; removed on the 9 Stages of the Bodhis. corr. to *bhāvanā-mārga*; does not exist in the *rūpa-dhātu* and *arūpya-dhātu*, 53.

*dharma* = *chos*, element of existence, object, the Teaching, the Path, Nirvāṇa, &c.—passim.

*dharma-anusmṛti* = *chos-rjes-su-dran-pa*, the act of mindfulness concentrated upon the Doctrine,—the eighth topic of Anupūrva-abhisamaya-adhikāra, 81.

*dharma-abhisamaya* = *chos-mñon-rtogs*, the full cognition of the Word of the Doctrine,—definition of *saṃbhāra-mārga*, q.v., 19.

*dharma-āloka* = *chos-kyi snañ-ba*, "the light of the Truth" = *jñāna-āloka*, q.v., 37.

*dharma-kāya* = *chos-sku*, the Cosmical Body of the Buddha, identical with the Absolute, 7, 44 (its realization by the Mah. Saint), 45 (*dharma-kāya tathāgata eva prajñā-pāramitā*), 46, 83 (= *Dharma-kāya-adhikāra*), 89.

*dharma-kāya-abhisambodha* = *chos-sku-mñon-par-rtogs-pa*, the full intuition of the Cosmical Body of the Buddha, 67.

*dharma-cakra-pravartana* = *chos-kyi ḥkhor-lo bskor-ba*, "the Swinging of the Wheel of the Doctrine," i.e. the

exposition of the Teaching. Refers to the 3 periods of the Buddhist Canon, 91.

*dharmajñāna* = *chos-śes*, resulting cognition of the Doctrine (concerning each of the 4 Principles of the Saint). There are accordingly 4 forms of it, corr. to each of the Principles taken separately. They form the third group of 4 moments (of the sixteen) and are included in the Path of Deliverance (*vimukti-mārga*) of the Path of Illumination (*darkana-mārga*), 23, 40 (refer to the object—*grāhya-avalambha*, q.v.).

*dharmajñāna-kṣānti* = *chos-śes-paḥi bzod-pa*, perseverance in the cognition of the Doctrine, the direct intuitive knowledge of the 4 Truths of the Saint. Has four varieties, regarding each principle separately (*duḥkhe dharmajñāna-kṣānti*, &c.). These are the first four of the 16 moments (*soḍaśa kṣaṇāḥ*), 22.

*dharmadhātu* = *chos-kyi dbyāns*, the Absolute, the Ultimate Essence of the elements, 31, 38 (*viyukto grāhya-grāhaka-lakṣaṇa* — devoid of the characteristics of subject and object), 99.

*dharmadhātu-viśuddhi* = *chos-kyi dbyāns rnam-par-dag-pa*, the perfectly pure intuition of the Absolute without differentiation into subject and object, 45, 47 (rel. to *śaśbhāva-kāya*).

*dharmānatrātmya* = *chos-kyi bzag-med*, the unreality (lit. "the impersonality") of the elements of existence as separate entities. Is the principal object of cognition on the Path of the Bodhisattva, 16, 94 (= *paramārtha-niḥśva-bhāvātā* and *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* acc. to the Yogācāras).

*dharmā-pravicaya* = *chos rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa*, the analysis of the elements of existence, 37.

*dharmameghā* = *chos-kyi-sprin*, "endowed with the Clouds of the Truth,"—the tenth Stage of the Bodh., 43 (conn. with *bhāvanā-mārga*), 57.

*dharmā-samātā-eka-naya-jñatā* = *chos mñam-ñid dan tshul-goig śes* the knowledge of Monism and the unity of all the elements, 98 (Kār. I. 62).

*dharmatā* = *chos-ñid*, the Absolute (*dharmatā-rūpa*—the element of Matter in the aspect of the Absolute), 97.

*dharmāṇām advayaṃ tatvām* = *chos-rname-kyi de-kho-na-ñid gnīs-su-med-pa*, the unique undifferentiated true essence of all the elements of existence, —ref. to *advaya-eka-kṣaṇa-abhītaṃ-bodha*, 83, 99.

1) *dhātu* = *khams*, the Fundamental Element of Buddhahood,—synonym of *gotra* and *tathāgata-garbha*, q.v., 31, 32, 45, 57.

2) *dhātu* = *khams*, the 18 component elements of an individual, 92.

*dhyanā* = *bsam-gtan* = *catvāri dhyānāni*, q.v., 78 (incl. in the 110 aspects rel. to the Omnisc. of the Buddha).

*dhyanā-pāramitā* = *bsam-gtan-gyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*, the Transc. Virtue, or the Climax of Concentration, 55 (predominant on the fifth Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*nāpaneyam atah kiṃcit* = *ñdi-la bsal-hya ci-yan-med*, "there is nothing to be removed from it (i.e. from the Absolute Essence, Kār. V. 21)." Refers to the mundane elements which, owing to their ultimate unreality, are not something which must be really annihilated, 98.



*nāma-saṃketābhyaṃ* = *mñi dan brdas*, nominally and conventionally (ascribed),—ref. to the *parikalpita-lakṣaṇa*, q. v., 94.

*nitya-eka-svatantra-ātman* = *rtag gcig rañ-dbañ-can-gyi bdag*, the Ego as an enduring, unique (indivisible) and independent substance, 92.

*nitya-eka-svatantra-ātma-śūnya-puḍgala* = *gañ-zag rtag-gcig rañ-dbañ-can-gyi bdag-gis ston-pa*, the individual as devoid of a unique, enduring and independent Ego or Soul (cf. *puḍgala-nab-ātmya*), 21.

*nimitta* = *miñhan-ma*, the essences or char. features of the separate elements, 98.

*niyata-gotra* = *rigs-ñes*, an individual with whom the Element of the Lineage is of definite character,—the Bodhisattva who is a Mahāyānist from the beginning, 33, 38.

*nirupadhi* = *phun-po med-pa*, without residue,—Nirvāṇa after death, 29.

*nirūḍhi* = *brtan-pa*, the attainment of a firm position as regards the Bodhisattva's concentrated analysis,—the third topic of Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra = *kṣāntigata-mūrdha-prayoga* (Kār. V. 3), 80.

*nirodha* = *hgog-pa*, Cessation or Extinction,—the first aspect of *nirodha-satya*, q. v., 18.

*nirodha-satya* = *hgog-paḥi bden-pa* (*hgog-bden*), the Cessation, or Extinction of Phenomenal Existence, the third of the 4 Principles of the Saint, 18.

*nirmāṇa-kāya* = *sprul-sku*, the Apparitional or Emanational Body of the Buddha, acting in this world, 47, 84 (the fourth topic of Dharma-kāya-adhikāra, Kār. VIII. 33).

*nirmāṇa-rati* = *hpkrul-dgaḥ*, the fifth region of the gods in the *kāma-dhātu*, 58.

*nirvāṇa-pratipatti* = *ñes-ñbyuñ-sgrub-pa*, the Action of the Issue or the termination of the Path (8 varieties),—the tenth topic of Sarva-ākāra-jñatā-adhikāra (Kār. I. 72, 73), 73, 87.

*nirvikalpa-adhigama-avasthāyām* = *nam-par-mi-rtog-pa rtogs-paḥi gnas-skabs-na*, at the time (in the state) of direct intuition, free from constructive thought, 80.

*nirvikalpa-jñāna-agni-pūrvavarṇatvād āmagalam iva* = *nam-par-mi-rtog-paḥi ye-ñes-kyi meḥi ña-ñas yin-paḥi phyir*, "being like the heat which precedes the fire of immediate direct knowledge,"—expl. of the term *āmagala*, 35.

*nirvikalpaka* = *nam-par-mi-rtog-pa*, free from constructive thought, 56.

*nirvedha* = *ñes-par-ñbyed-pa* or *ñes-ñbyed*, full penetration (into the essence of the 4 Truths of the Saint or of the Absolute),—a synonym of *darśana-mārga*, q. v., 73.

*nirvedha-āṅga* = *ñes-ñbyed-yan-lag*, a synonym of *nirvedha-bhāgīya*, q. v., 73.

*nirvedha-bhāgīya* = *ñes-ñbyed-cha-mihun* (*ñes-par-ñbyed-paḥi cha dan-mihun-pa*), the Degrees conducive to Illumination,—a synonym of *prayoga-mārga* q. v., 20 (on the Path of the Śrāvaka), 36, 37 (on the Mahāyānist Path), 73 (the third topic of Sarva-ākāra-jñatā-adhikāra, Kār. I. 25–36), 78 (the seventh topic of Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra, Kār. IV. 33–37), 84, 86.

*nīrhāra* = *sgrub-pa*, the highest achievements of the Bodhisattva,—refers to *anāsrava-bhāvanā-mārga* (cf. *nīrhāra-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga*), 43.

*nīrhāra-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga* = *sgrub-paḥi* (*miñhan-ñid-kyi*) *egom-lam*, the Mah. Path of Conc. Contempl. as the ultimate achievement of the Bodhi-

- sattva,—the tenth topic of Mārga-jñātā-adhikāra (Kār. II. 25), 75.
- nīrvṛtti-pakṣa-adhiṣṭhāna-grāhya-rikalpa* = *hlog-pa* (*hi phyogs-kyi rten-can-gyi*) *gzus-rlog*, the imputation in regard of the object as something to be shunned (the Hinayanistic Path and its result), 52 (incl. in the 108 varieties of *jñeya-āvaraya* removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva).
- nishā* = *mihaḥ*, the termination of the Path, = *eka-kṣaya-abhisambodha*, 71.
- nīṣpanda-phala* = *nygyu-mthun-paḥi ḥbras-ba*, natural outflow. On the third Stage the Bodhisattva cognizes the Doctrine as being the natural outflow of the intuition of the Absolute, 54.
- niṣcaraya* = *nes-par-ḥbyun-ba* (*nes-ḥbyun*), Deliverance (from Phenomenal Existence),—the fourth aspect of *nīrodha-satya*, q.v., 18.
- niṣevabhāra* = *no-bo-ñid-med-pa*, devoid of a real essence,—the elements of existence as exposed in the *madhya-cakra*, 92.
- niṣevabhāvatā* = *no-bo-ñid-med-pa*, non-substantiality or unreality. There are three degrees of it acc. to the Yogācāras, viz. *lakṣaṇa-niṣevabhāvatā*, *utpatti-niṣevabhāvatā*, and *paramārtha-niṣevabhāvatā*, q.v., 93.
- nītārtha* = *nes-paḥi don* (*nes-don*), of direct meaning, 29 (the teaching of the *eka-gāna*), 95 (the teaching of the *Saṃdhinīrmocana* acc. to the Yogācāras).
- neyārtha* = *draṇ-don*, indirect or conventional meaning, opp. to *nītārtha*. Acc. to the *Saṃdhinīrmocana* and the Yogācāras, the Canon of the early and the intermediate period (*prathamacakra* and *madhyacakra*) are of conventional meaning, 95, 96.
- niṣyāyika* = *nes-par-ḥbyin-pa* (= *nes-ḥbyin*), Factor of Deliverance,—the fourth aspect of *mārga-satya*, q.v., 18.
- nyāya* = *rigs-pa*, the Method,—the second aspect of *mārga-satya*, q.v., 18.
- padma-puṣṭa* = *padmaḥi shubs-en*, within the petals of lotus flowers,—the birth-place of the Arhats in the *anāsrava-dhātu*, 29.
- para-mata-pratiṣedha* = *gzan-lugs dgag-pa*, refutation of the opinions of others,—first part of the analysis of a special subject (*mihaḥ-dpyod*) in a *yig-cha* manual, 3.
- paratantra-lakṣaṇa* = *gzan-gyi dbaṇ-gi miṣhan-ñid* (= *gzan-dbaṇ*), the causally dependent aspect of existence, i.e. the things in their crude form, obeying causal laws and representing the foundation for the imputation of essence, quality, &c., 6, 94.
- paranir-mita-vaśa-carāṇ* = *gzan-ḥphrul-dbaṇ-byed*, the sixth region of the gods in the *kāma-dhātu*, 58.
- paramārtha-niṣevabhāvatā* = *don-dam-pa no-bo-ñid-med-pa*, the unreality of the elements in the aspect of the Absolute. Acc. to the Yogācāras it refers to *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*, q.v., 94.
- paramārtha-tiṇiścaya-dharma-cakra* = *don-dam rnam-par-nes-paḥi chos-ḥkhor*, the Wheel of the Doctrine, i.e. the teaching which establishes the conception of the Ultimate Reality (= *antya-cakra*), 91.
- parikarman* = *yoṇs-su-sbyon-ba*, or *yoṇs-sbyon*, appliances, conn. with the 10 Stages of the Bodhisattva, 53 sqq., 84.
- parikalpita* = *kun-ltags* (cf. *parikalpita-kleśa-āvaraya*), 38, 42.
- parikalpita-kleśa-āvaraya* = *ñen-sgrib kun-ltags*, the defiling forces which

are due to incorrect views. Are removed on the Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga*), 22.

*parikalpita-lakṣaṇa* = *kun-tu-btags-paḥi mshan-ñid* (= *kun-btags*), the Imputed Aspect, i.e. the distinctions of essence, quality, &c., which are attributed to a thing by our constructive thought, 6, 93.

*pariṇāma* = *yoṅs-su-bśho-ba*, the convergence of the roots of virtue into component parts of Supreme Enlightenment, — refers to *sāsrava-bhāvanā-mārga*, 43, 75 (ditto; the eighth topic of *Mārga-jñatā-adhikāra*, — Kār. II. 21–23).

*pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* = *yoṅs-su-grub-paḥi mshan-ñid* (= *yoṅs-grub*), the ultimate aspect of existence acc. to the Yogācāras, — the unique undifferentiated Absolute, 6, 94, 97.

*paripusṭa-goṭra* = *rgyas-hgyur-gyi rigs*, the element of the Lineage which becomes developed on the Path, 33.

*paritta-ābha* = *hod-chun*, the first sub-div. of the region of the second *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*paritta-śulha* = *dge-chun*, the first sub-div. of the region of the third *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*paropadeśa-vaiyarthyam* = *gtan-gyis bstan mi-dgos*, absence of a necessity of teaching (to the Pratyekabuddha), 27.

*puṇya-jñāna-saṃbhāra* = *bsod-nams dan ye-śes-kyi tshogs*, the Accumulations of Virtue and Wisdom, 61.

*puṇya-prasava* = *bsod-nams-skyes*, second sub-div. of the region of the fourth *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*puṇya-saṃbhāra* = *bsod-nams-kyi tshogs*, the Accumulation of Merit, 59 (brought

to accomplishment by the solitary Pratyekabuddha during 100 aeons).

*puṭgala-nairātmya* = *gan-sag-gi bdag-med*, the unreality of the individual Ego as an enduring, unique, and independent substance (*nitya-eka-svatantra*), 16 (is the principal object of cognition on the Path of the Śrāvaka), 21.

*pūrva-āśedha-ākṣipta-āyuh-pariḥṣayāt* = *shon-gyi tugs-kyis hphans-paḥi tshes zad-pa-na*, owing to the cessation of the force of life-time produced by the previous Biotic Force, 29.

*prthag-bhūta-artha-abhinivṛta-abhāvāt* = *don tha-dad-par-gyur-paḥi mion-par-ten-pa-med-paḥi phyir*, "owing to the absence of preconceived realistic views regarding the separate entities," 37.

*prthagjāna* = *so-soḥi skye-bo*, the ordinary worldly being, he who does not possess the direct cognition of the Truth, opp. to *ārya*, q.v., 19.

*prṣṭha-labdha*, see *prṣṭha-labdha-jñāna*.  
*prṣṭha-labdha-jñāna* = *rjes-thob-ye-śes*, the knowledge of the Saint which is acquired after the state of concentrated trance, 21, 23 (contains the elements of both *pratyakṣa* and *kālpanā*), 24 (forms a part of the Śrāvaka's *bhāvanā-mārga*), 28, 38 (on the Mah. *darśana-mārga*), 40 (is directed upon the objects of the Emp. World and disagrees with *samāhita-jñāna*), 43 (incl. *adhimukti*, *pariṇāma* and *anumoda* of the Mah. *bhāvanā-mārga*).

*prakṛti-nirvāṇa* = *rañ-bśin-gyi myan-hdas* Nirvāṇa as the ultimate, quiescent essence of all the elements, being the negation of every kind of plurality, 92.

*prakṛti-parinirvṛtta* = *rañ-bśin-gyis yoṅs-su-mya-nan-las-hdas-pa*, by their very

nature merged in Nirvāṇa,—the elements as demonstrated in the *mañjha-cakra*, 92.

*prakṛti-sṭha-gotra* = *rañ-bñin-gnas-rigs*, the primordial, fundamental element of the Lineage, opp. to *paripuṣṭa-gotra*, q.v., 33.

*prakṛtyavyaṇ na kiṇ ca na* = *g'ag-par-bya-ba cuñ-zad-med*, "nothing to be added (to the Absolute Essence, Kār. V. 21)." Ref. to Nirvāṇa which is not something to be produced anew, 98.

*prajñaptisat-puruṣa-adhiṣṭhāna-grāhaka-vikalpa* = *skyes-bu btags-yod-kyi rten-can-gyi hulzin-rlog* the imputation regarding the subject as a nominal reality, 52 (incl. in the 108 forms of *jñeya-āvarana* removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*prajñayā na bhava sīdhanam* (Kār. I. 10; Tib. *śes-pas srid-la mi-gnas*; *śes-pas metri causa* for *śes-rab-kyis*), non-adherence to the Phen. Life owing to Highest Wisdom,—ref. to *bhava-apratipñhita-vastu-jñāna*, q.v., 75.

*prajñā-pāramitā* = *śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* (= *śer-phyin*),—its different meanings: a) the monistic Highest Wisdom identified with the Buddha, b) the Path, c) the text of the Sūtras (sic acc. to Aṣṭi-piṇḍ), 7, 45 (*mukhyata dharma-kāyas tathāgata eva prajñā-pāramitā*), 55 (as the 6th Transc. Virtue predominant on the 6th Stage), 65 (in the sense of the Path), 67 (the Doctrine as summarized in the 8 subjects), 76 (in the sense of *śama-apratipñhita-mārga-jñātā*), 98.

*prajñādhāna-pāramitā* = *mon-lam-gyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*, the Transc. Virtue or the Climax of the Effective Vow or of solemn entreaty, 56 (predom.

on the ninth Stage of the Bodhisattva).

*prajñidhi-jñāna* = *mon-nas-mkhyen-pa*, the wisdom of the Buddha which is the result of his previous vows (Kār. VIII. 8), 85.

*prajñita* = *gya-nom-pa*, Perfection,—the third aspect of *nirodha-satya*, q.v., 18.

*pratigṛha* = *khoñ-khro*, enmity, 51 (removed on the first Stage), 52 (does not exist in the *rūpa-dhātu* and *arūpya-dhātu*).

*pratipakṣa-dharmatā-svabhāva* = *gñen-poñi phyogs-tūid-kyi ño-bo-tūid*, having the essential nature of antidotes,—the 173 aspects of the 3 kinds of Omniscience, 69.

*pratipakṣa-bhāvanayā* = *gñen-po-begoms-pas*, through the concentration upon the antidotes (of the obscuring elements), 82.

*pratipakṣa-bhūta-vastu-jñāna* = *gñen-po-phyogs-kyi gñi-śes*, the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World possessed by the Mah. Saint which is the antidote against the egoistic and incomplete wisdom of the Hinayanists. The sixth topic of Sarva-jñātā-adhikāra (Kār. III. 4–6), 77.

*pratipakṣa-saṃbhāra* = *gñen-poñi tshogs*, the Accumulation of the antidotes against realistic imputations,—one of the forms of *saṃbhāra-pratipatti* (Kār. I. 71), 84.

*pratipakṣātmikā saṃbhāra-pratipattih* = *gñen-poñi phyogs-kyi tshogs-kyi sgrub-pa*, the Action of Accumulation of the antidotes (cf. *pratipakṣa-saṃbhāra*), 87.

1) *pratipatti* = *sgrub-pa*, Activity,—the third aspect of *mārga-satya*, q.v., 18.

2) *pratipatti* = *sgrub-pa*, the Activity of the Bodhisattva, a syn. of the

- Mahāyānistic Path. Consists of *saṃ-nāha-pratipatti*, *prasthāna-pratipatti*, *saṃbhāra-pratipatti* and *nīryāṇa-pratipatti*, q.v.), 74.
- pratipatter ādhāraḥ* = *sgrub-paḥi rten*, the foundation of the (Mahāyānistic) Activity = *gotra*, q.v., 83.
- pratipatter ādhāraḥ prakṛtiśāṃ gotram* = *sgrub-paḥi rten rañ-bśm-gnas-rigs*, the fundamental element of the Lineage of Buddhahood, the foundation of the Mahāyānistic Activity,—fourth topic of *Sarva-ākāra-jñātā-adhikāra* (Kār. I. 37, 38), 73 (cf. *gotra*).
- pratibimba* = *gzugs-brñan*, reflection, 46 (refers to the corporeal form of the Buddha).
- pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha* = *so-so-brtags-hgog*, the full and definite removal of all the defiling elements, 41 (refers to *vimukti-mārga*).
- pratisaṃvid* = *so-so-yañ-dag-par-rig-pa*, the 4 kinds of intense penetration (M. Vyutp. § 13), obtained on the ninth Stage, 56.
- pratyakṣa* = *mñon-sum*, direct sense-perception, 19, 23, 62 (the *sarva-ākāra-jñātā* of the Buddha is *pratyakṣa*).
- pratyakṣa-anubhavi jñāna* = *mñon-sum-du ñams-su-myon-baḥi śes-pa*, direct perception, 40 (refers to the moments of *darśana-mārga*).
- pratyakṣeṇa* = *mñon-sum-du*, directly, without constructive thought,—a characteristic of the intuition of a Saint (*ārya*), 21.
- pratyaya* = *rkyen*, Condition (of Phenomenal Existence),—the fourth aspect of *saṃudaya-satya*, q.v., 18.
- pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna* = *so-sor-rlog-paḥi ye-śes*, the Wisdom of the Buddha precisely cognizing all the separate elements of existence, 45, 47 (rel. to *saṃbhoga-kāya*).
- pratyātma-vedya* = *so-so rañ-gis rig-par-byā-ba*, to be intuited introspectively, within oneself,—the Absolute as the object of meditation on the Bodhi *sattva*'s Path, 32.
- pratyātmam* = *so-so rañ-ñid*, in regard of one's own personality, 39, 40.
- pratyeka-buddha-mārga-jñāna-mayī mār-ga-jñātā* = *rañ-rgyal-gyi lam śes-paḥi lam-śes*, the Omniscience in regard of the Path as the cognition of the Path of the Pratyekabuddha,—the third topic of *Mārga-jñātā-adhikāra* (Kār. II. 6–8), 74.
- pratyeka - buddha - yāna - abhīsamaya-gotra* = *rañ-saṃs-rgyas-kyi theg-pa mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi rigs*, the lineage (or family of the Saints) who are possessed of the intuition peculiar to the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, 16, 62.
- prathama-cakra* = *hkhor-lo dan-po*, the first (Swinging of) the Wheel of the Doctrine, i.e. *catuḥ-satya-dharma-cakra*, q.v., 91.
- pradīpa-nirvāṇa* = *mar-me ti-ba lla-bur mya-ñan-hdas-pa*, "Nirvāṇa resembling the extinction of a light,"—the Hinayānistic Nirvāṇa, 29.
- prabhava* = *rab-akye*, Process (of origination, of Phenomenal Existence), the third aspect of *saṃudaya-satya*, q.v., 18.
- prabhākara* = *hod-byed-pa*, "the Illuminating,"—the third Stage of the Bodh., 42 (in conn. with *bhāvanā-mārga*), 54 (*lokottara-jñāna-avabhāsa-karaṇāt prabhākara*).
- pramāṇa* = *tsad-ma*, mode, or source of correct knowledge, 19.

- pramuditā* = *rah-tu-dgañ-ba*, "the Joyous,"—the first Stage of the Bodhisattva, identical with *darśana-mārga*, 42, 51 (*prathama-aparva-dharma-tattva-adhigamena pramoda-lābhya-tvāt*), 87.
- prayoktr* = *shyor-ba-bo*, the acting person, the meditator, i.e. the Bodhisattva on the Path, 85.
- prayoga* = *shyor-ba*, the (20) methods of training,—the second topic of Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra (Kār. IV. 8–11), 78, 85.
- prayoga-mārga* = *shyor-lam*, the Path of Training, the second main sub-div. of the Path, consists of 4 Degrees,—the 4 *nirvedha-bhūgiya*, viz. *āmagata*, *mārdhagata*, *kṣānti* and *laukika-agra-dharma*, q.v., 15, 20 (the Śrāvaka's P. of Tr.), 27 (the P. of Tr. of the Pratyekabuddha), 34 (the Mah. P. of Tr.), 41, 49 (the P. of Tr. of the Śrāvaka as identical with *gotra-lhāmi*), 51, 86.
- pravacana-artha* = *gsun-rab-kyi don*, the meaning of the Doctrine, 20.
- pravṛtti-pakṣa-adhiṣṭhāna-grāhya-vikalpa* = *hjug-pa (hi phyogs-kyi rten-can-gyi) gsum-rlog*, the imputation regarding the object as something to be attained (the Mah. Path and its result), 52 (the *jñeya-āvarana* removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva).
- pravṛtti-viśaya* = *hjug-paḥi yul*, the object of action or the aim,—the 3 kinds of Omniscience (*tisraḥ sarva-jñātāḥ*) as exposed in the first 3 Chapters of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra, 72.
- prasthāna-pratīpatti* = *hjug-paḥi sgrub-pa (hjugsgrub)*, the Action of the Access to the properties of a Mahāyānist (9 varieties),—the eighth topic of Sarva-ākāra-jñātā-adhikāra (Kār. I. 44, 45), 73, 87 (begins with the Stage of Action in Faith—*adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi* = *prayoga-mārga*).
- prahāya-mahatva* = *spoñ-ba chen-po-ñid*, the greatness in the removal of the Obscurations,—the second of the 3 *uddēśas*, 89.
- phala-bhūta-mātur ārambha-bhūta-vastujñāna* = *hbras-yum-la tic-baḥi gñi-śes*, the Bodhisattva's Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World which is near to the Climax of Wisdom (lit. "the Mother") as the ultimate result,—the fourth topic of Sarva-jñātā-adhikāra (Kār. III. 2 c, d), 76.
- phala-bhūta-mātur dūṣa-bhūta-vastujñāna* = *hbras-yum-la rin-baḥi gñi-śes*, the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World (possessed by the Hinayānist), which is far from the Climax of Wisdom (lit. "the Mother") that is the ultimate result. Is the third topic of Sarva-jñātā-adhikāra (Kār. III. 2 a, b), 76.
- pañya-artha-abhinivēśa-abhāvāt* = *phyiḥi don-la mñon-par-ten-pa-med-paḥi phyir*, owing to the absence of imputed realistic views in regard of the external objects, 37.
- piya* = *sa-bon*, the seed (of Enlightenment),—another synonym of *gotra*, q.v., 81.
- buddha-anusmṛti* = *sañs-rgyas-rjes-sudran-pa*, the act of mindfulness concentrated upon the Buddha,—the seventh topic of Anupūrvā-abhisamaya-adhikāra, 81.
- brhat-phala* = *hbras-lu-che-ba*, the third sub-div. of the region of the fourth *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.
- bodhi-citta-utpāda* = *byan-chub-tu sems-bekyed*, the Creative Mental Effort

- for Enlightenment, 34 (the first Cr. Eff. at the beginning of the Path), 72 (the first topic of Sarva-ākāra-jñatā-adhikāra, Kār. I. 18-20, 22 varieties), 88.
- bodhi-dvaya* = *byañ-chub gñis*, the 2 forms of Enlightenment, those of the Śrāvaka and the Pratyekabuddha, 29.
- bodhi-pakṣa* = *byañ-chub-kyi phyogs*, the (37) char. elements of Enlightenment, 46 (relate to the *jñāna-dharma-kāya*).
- bodhipakṣikā dharmāḥ* = *byañ chub-kyi phyogs-kyi chos* = *bodhi-pakṣa*, 78, 88.
- bodhi-samṛhāra* = *byañ-chub-kyi tshogs*, the Accumulation of (the factors for the attainment of) Enlightenment, 29.
- brahma-kāyika* = *tshans-ris*, the first sub-div. of the region of the first *dhyaṇa* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.
- brahma-purohita* = *tshans-pa mdun-na-hdon*, the second sub-div. of the region of the first *dhyaṇa* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.
- bhava* = *avid-pa*, Phenomenal Existence, 29.
- bhava-apratisthita-vastu-jñāna* = *avid-pa-la mi-gnas-paḥi gñi-śes*, the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World which does not relate to Phenomenal Life,—the first topic of Sarva-jñatā-adhikāra (Kār. III. 1), 75.
- bhava-sānti-samatā-prayoga* = *avid-ti mñam-ñid-kyi sbyor-ba*, the process of intuiting the ultimate identity of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa,—the ninth topic of Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra (Kār. IV. 60), 79.
- bhavāgra* = *avid-rtse*, the highest or culminating point of Phenomenal Existence,—fourth division of *āśāpya-dhātu*, 25.
- bhāvanāmāyā prajñā* = *sgom-pa-las byañ-baḥi śes-rah*, analytic wisdom which is the result of meditation, 20.
- bhāvanā-mārga* = *sgom-lam*, the Path of Concentrated Contemplation, the fourth main sub-div. of the Path, 15, 24 sqq. (the P. of Conc. Cont. of the Śrāvaka), 28 (ditto, of the Pratyekabuddha), 41 (the Mah.), 48, 49, 53, 58, 87.
- bhāvanā-mārga-kāritra* = *theg-chen sgom-lam-gyi byed-pa*, the functions of the Mah. Path of Conc. Cont. (*bhāvanā-mārga*, q. v.),—the fifth topic of Mārga-jñatā-adhikāra (Kār. II. 17), 74.
- bhāvanā-mārga-mūrdha-prayoga* = *sgom-lam rtse-sbyor*, the Culminating Process of Intuition on the Path of Conc. Cont.,—the sixth topic of Mūrdha-abhisamāya-adhikāra (Kār. V. 24-34), 80.
- bhāvanā-heyā* = *sgom-span*, the defiling elements that are to be extirpated through the practice of concentrated meditation, 24, 42 (on the Mah. Path), 80 (removed by *bhāvanā-mārga-mūrdha-prayoga*).
- bhūta-darśin* = *yañ-dag-mthoñ*, the Saint who directly perceives the Absolute Truth, 98.
- bhūmi* = *sa*, Stage, basis, or ground,—the degrees of intuition of the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and Bodhisattvas, 14, 42 (the ten Stages of the Bodhisattva as connected with the degrees of the Mah. *bhāvanā-mārga*), 48 (in general), 49 (the Stages of the Śrāvaka), 51 sqq. (the ten Stages of the Bodhisattva).
- madhya* = *lbrin-pa*, intermediate, 19 (sub-div. of *samṛhāra-mārga*), 20 (sub-div. of the Śrāvaka's *prayoga-mārga*), 24 (sub-div. of *bhāvanā-mārga*), 34, 37 (sub-div. of the Mahāyānistic *prayoga-mārga*).



- madhya-adhimātra* = *hbrin-pa* *chen-po*, the grossest or highest of the intermediate,—secondary sub-div. of *bhāvanā-heya-kleśa* and *bhāvanā-mārga*, 25.
- madhya-cakra* = *hkhor-lo bar-ba*, the intermediate (Swinging of) the Wheel of the Doctrine, i.e. *alakṣaṇatva-dharma-cakra* (the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras), q.v., 91.
- madhya-puruṣa* = *skyes-bu hbrin-pa*, "the intermediate individual," i.e. the Śrāvaka and the Pratyekabuddha, 14.
- madhya-madhyā* = *hbrin-pa* *hbrin-pa*, the intermediate of the intermediate,—secondary sub-div. of *bhāvanā-heya-kleśa* and *bhāvanā-mārga*, 25.
- madhya-mṛtu* = *hbrin-pa* *chub-hu*, the lowest of the intermediate,—secondary sub-div. of *bhāvanā-heya-kleśa* and *bhāvanā-mārga*, 25.
- madhyastiha-buddhyā* = *dmu-mar gnas-pa* *hlo*, "with the mind abiding on the Middle-Path,"—an allusion to the Mādhyamika views of Ārya Vimuktasena (Sphu.), 12.
- manasikāra* = *gid-la-byed-pa*, fixation of an object in the mind, 17.
- mano-mātram* = *gid-tsam*, as a mere murmur of the mind (the same as *mano-jalpa-mātram*),—the elements of existence as contemplated at the beginning of *prayoga-mārga*, q.v., 37.
- mahā-karuṇā* = *ñin-rje chen-po*, Great Commiseration, 34.
- mahā-karuṇādi-saṃmukhi-karṇa-bhāvena* = *ñin-rje-chen-po mñon-du-byed-pa* *no-los*, by making manifest Great Commiseration, &c., 80.
- mahānubhāṣa darśana-mārga* = *phan-yon-che-ba* *ñhoñ-lam* or *theg-chen mñhoñ-lam phan-yon daiñ-beas-pa*, the

- Mahāyānist Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga*, q.v.) endowed with great merits,—the fourth topic of *Mārga-jñatā-adhikāra* (Kār. II, 11–16), 74.
- mahā-puruṣa* = *skyes-bu chen-po*, "the Great Being," i.e. the Bodhisattva, 14.
- mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa* = *skyes-bu chen-po* *ñhoñ*, the (32) marks of corporeal beauty of the super-man (cf. Uttar. Transl. p. 263), 47.
- mahā-bodhi-nirmāṇa-kāya* = *byan-chub-che-ba* *ññul-oku*, the App. Body making manifest the attainment of Enlightenment, in the form of Śākya-muni, &c., 47.
- mahā-brahma* = *tehan-chen*, the third sub-div. of the region of the first *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.
- mahāyāna-paryavasānikā* = *theg-pa chen-po* *ñhoñ mñhar-thug-pa*, having their final goal in the Mahāyānist Nirvāṇa,—char. of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas acc. to the *eka-yāna*, 29.
- mātṛ* = *yum*, "the Mother," a synonym of Prajñā-pāramitā, 15 (*pr.-pār.* in the sense of the Path), 65 (as including the 3 forms of Omniscience).
- māna* = *ña-rgyal*, pride, 51 (removed on the first Stage), 52, 53 (the innate form removed on the remaining 9 Stages).
- mārga* = *lam*, the Path, passim. Is synonymous with *abhisamaya*, 7, 9, 13, 18 (the first aspect of *mārga-satya*, q.v.).
- mārga* (-*bhātā*) *prajñā-pāramitā* = *lam-ter-phyin*,—*pr.-pār.* in the sense of the Path, 7.
- mārga-jñatā* = *lam-ñes* (-*ñid*), the Omniscience in regard of the Path. Is possessed by the Buddha and the Mahāyānist Saint from the time of entering the Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga*), 62, 64, 67, 74 (*Mārga-jñatā-adhikāra*).

*mārga-jñatā-angāni* = *lam-les-kyi yan-lag*, the auxiliary attributes of the Omniscience in regard of the Path,—the first topic of *Mārga-jñatā-adhikāra* (Kār. II. 1), 44.

*mārga-satya* = *lam-gyi bden-pa* = *lam-bden*, the Principle of the Path,—the fourth of the 4 Truths or Principles of the Saint, 18 (its 4 aspects).

*mūhyā-dṛṣṭi* = *log-lla*, totally incorrect, nihilistic views, 51 (removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva), 52.

*mūrdha-abhisamaya* = *rtse-moḥi mion-riogs*, the Process of Illumination in its culminating stages,—the second of the 4 Methods of Realization (*catvāraḥ prayogaḥ*), 63, 67, 69 (its essential nature and different degrees), 72 (incl. in the *prayoga-mārga*, *darśana-mārga*, and *bhāvanā-mārga*), 79 (= *Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra*).

*mūrdha-prayoga* = *rtse-sbyor*, a synonym of *mūrdha-abhisamaya*, q.v., 63.

*mūrdhagata* = *rtse-mor-gyur-pa* (= *rtse-mo*), the Degree of the Climax, the second sub-div. of the Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga*, q.v.), 20 (the D. of the Cl. on the Path of the Śrāvaka), 35 (*cala-kūśala-mūla-mūrdhatoḥ mūrdhagatam*, q.v.), 37 (on the Path of the Bodhisattva), 61, 70 (the second degree of *mūrdha-abhisamaya*).

*mūrdhagata-mūrdha-prayoga* = *rtse-moḥi rtse-sbyor*, the Culminating Process of intuition on the Degree of the Climax (cf. *vivṛddhi*), 70.

*mṛdu* = *chun-nu*, inferior, small, 19 (sub-div. of *samḥāra-mārga*), 20 (sub-div. of the Śrāvaka's *prayoga-mārga*), 24 (sub-div. of the Śrāvaka's *bhāvanā-mārga*), 34, 37 (sub-div. of the Mahāyānist's *prayoga-mārga*).

*mṛdu-madhyā* = *chun-nuḥi ḥbrin-pa*, the intermediate of the inferior,—secondary sub-div. of *bhāvanā-heya-kleśa* and *bhāvanā-mārga*, 25.

*mṛdu-mṛdu* = *chun-nuḥi chun-nu*, the most inferior of the inferior, secondary sub-div. of *bhāvanā-heya-kleśa* and *bhāvanā-mārga*, 25, 26, 43 (*mṛdu-mṛdū-dīko mārgaḥ*).

*mṛdu-adhimātra* = *chun-nuḥi chen-po*, the highest or grossest of the inferior, secondary sub-div. of *bhāvanā-heya-kleśa* and *bhāvanā-mārga*, 25.

*mṛdu-indriya* = *dhan-riul*, possessed of a feeble faculty,—char. of the Arhat who has removed the Obscurations gradually, 26.

*mokṣa-bhāgiya* = *thar-paḥi cha dañ-mthun-pa* (*thar-pa cha-mthun*), "the (preliminary) steps conducive to Salvation," a synonym of *samḥāra-mārga*, q.v., 19, 34, 78 (the sixth topic of *Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra*, Kār. IV. 32).

*mokṣa-mārga* = *thar-lam*, the Path to Salvation, a synonym of the Path, 15.  
*yāna* = *theg-pa*, "the Vehicle," a synonym of the Path (*mārga*), 15.

*yāmāḥ* = *ḥlhab-lral*, the third region of the gods in the *kāma-dhātu*, 58.

*yoga-bhūmi* = *nal-ḥbyor-gyi sa*, Stage of Transic Meditation, 48 (3 forms).

*yogi-pratyakṣa* = *nal-ḥbyor-mion-sum*, the direct mystic perception of the Saint, 24.

*rāga* = *ḥdod-chags*, desire, lust, 51 (removed on the first Stage), 52, 53 (the innate form removed on the remaining 9 Stages, corr. to *bhāvanā-mārga*).

*rūpa* = *gzugs*, Matter, 92, 97, 98.

*rūpa-ārtipya-avacara* = *gzugs dañ gzugs-med-na spyod-pa*, relating to the Sphere of Pure Matter and the Immaterial, 53.

*rūpa-kāya* = *gzugs-sku*, the corporeal forms of the Buddha (*sambhoga-kāya* and *nirmāṇa-kāya*), 46, 47.

*rāpa-dhātu* = *gzugs-khams*, the World of Pure Matter or of Ethereal Bodies, 23, 58.

*rūpādi-sarva-dharma-abhāva-svabhāva-avalodha* = *gzugs-la-sogs-paḥi chos thams-cad dños-po-med-paḥi ño-bo-ñid-du khoṇ-du-chul-pa*, the cognition of the essence of Matter and all other elements of existence, as being the negation of every separate reality,—the thirteenth topic of Anupūrva-abhisamaya-adhikāra, 81.

*lakṣaṇa* = *mtshan-ñid*, the char. marks or features of the process of meditation,—the fifth topic of Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra (Kār. IV. 13–31), 78 (see note 3), 88, 98.

*lakṣaṇa-niṣevaḥhārātā* = *mtshan-ñid-ño-bo-ñid-med-pa*, the essential unreality of the elements acc. to the Yogācāras,—refers to *parikalpita-lakṣaṇa*, q.v., 93, 94.

*linga* = *rtags*, mark, char. feature, 66 (the 12 *lingas* referred to in Kār. V. 1, of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra), 79 (ditto; the first topic of Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra = *ūsmagata-mūrdha-prayoga*, Kār. V. 1.), 88 (= *avaivartika-lingādi*).

*loka-guravaḥ* = *hjiḡ-rten-gyi bla-ma*, the Teachers of the World,—an epithet of the Buddhas, 29.

*loka-nāyakāḥ* = *hjiḡ-rten ḥdren-pa*, the Leaders of the World, or of the living beings,—an epithet of the Buddhas, 29.

*lokottara* = *hjiḡ-rten-las-ḥdas-pa*, supermundane, transcendental, relating to a Saint (*ārya*), 16, 17.

*laukika* = *hjiḡ-rten-pa*, mundane, relating to an ordinary individual (*prthagjana*), 16, 17, 36.

*laukika-agra-dharma* = *hjiḡ-rten-paḥi chos-kyi mchog* = *chos-mchog*, the Degree of Highest Mundane Virtues, the fourth sub-div. of the Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga*, q.v.), 20 (the D. of H. M. V. on the Path of the Śrāvaka), 35, 36 (*laukika-sarva-dharma-agra-vād agra-dharma-ākhyam*), 37 (on the Path of the Bodhisattva), 58, 61.

*laukika-agra-dharma-mūrdha-prayoga* = *chos-mchog rñes-sbyor*, the Culminating Process of Intuition on the Degree of Highest Mundane Virtues (cf. *citta-samsthiti*), 80.

*laukika-bhāvanā-maya* = *hjiḡ-rten-paḥi agom-lyuṇ*, being the result of the Bodhisattva's meditation, while he is still a worldly being,—the 4 *nirvedha-bhāgiya*, q.v., 36.

*laukika-sarva-dharma-agra-vād agra-dharma-ākhyam* = *hjiḡ-rten-paḥi chos thams-cad-kyi mchog-yin-paḥi phyir chos-kyi-mchog*, "being the highest point of perfection, or superiority to all the virtuous properties of the (Bodhisattva, while he is still a) worldly being," 36.

*vajropama-samādhi* = *rdø-rje-ḥta-buḥi tiñ-ñe-ḥdzin*, "the thunderbolt-like" state of transic meditation at the end of the Path, 44.

*varga-cārīn* = *tshegs-spyod*, the Pratyekabuddha who associates himself with the Śrāvaka Saints; opp. to *khaḍga-viṣāṇa-kalpa*, q.v., 28.

*vastu-jñāna* = *gti-ñes*, synonym of *sarva-jñātā*, 62, 75 sqq. (= *Sarva-jñātā-adhikāra*).

*vastu-jñāna-prayoga* = *gti-ñes sbyor-ba*, the training for the attainment of the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World,—the seventh topic of *Sarva-jñātā-adhikāra* (Kār. III. 8–10 a, b), 77.

*vasto-avastu-upalambhatayā* = *dños-po dan dños-po-med-par dmigs-pa-ñid-kyis*, owing to the consideration of Ens and Non-ens,—ref. to *phala-bhūta-mātur dāri-bhūta-vastu-jñāna*, 76.

*vikalpa* = *rnam-par rlog-pa*, constructive thought, 43 (in the Mah. *bhāvanā-mārga*), 94.

*vikalpita* = *rnam-par-brtags-pa*, the elements as the representations of constructive consciousness (*abhūta-parikalpanena jñānam eva tathā-pratibhāsa iti vikalpitatvāt*), 97.

*vickitsā* = *the-tshom*, doubt, 51 (removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva), 52.

*vijñāna-ānantya-āyatana* = *rnam-śes mthah-yas-kyi skye-mched*, the Sphere of Infinite Consciousness,—second division of *āwāpya-dhātu*, 25.

*vipakṣa-bhūta-vastu-jñāna* = *mi-mthun-phyogs-kyi gñi-śes*, the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World possessed by the Hinayānist Saint. It is to be shunned by the Bodhisattva, since it is not free from realistic imputations and is devoid of Realisation. The fifth topic of *Sarva-jñatā-adhikāra* (Kār. III. 3), 76.

*vipaśyanā* = *thag-mthoñ*, transcendental analysis, one of the two principal factors of the Path (the other being *śamatha*, q.v.), 16, 17 (general characteristics acc. to the Lam-rim, &c.), 20, 27 (on the Path of the Pratyekabuddha), 34 (on the Mahāyānistic *prayoga-mārga*), 68.

*vipāka-avasthāyām eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* (or *kṣaṇika-prayoga*) = *rnam-par-em-in-pañi skad-cig-mañi shyor-ba*, the momentary intuition of the undefiled elements which have attained complete maturity,—the second topic

of *Eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha-adhikāra* (Kār. VII. 3), 82.

*vipratipatti* = *log-sgrub*, the (16) incorrect views,—the eighth topic of *Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra* (Kār. V. 30 d—42), 80.

*vimalā* = *dri-ma-med-pa*, "the Immaculate,"—the second Stage of the Bodhisattva, 42 (as connected with *bhāvanā-mārga*), 53, 54 (*sarva-dauḥṣīlya-mala-apagamād vimalā*).

*vimukti-mārga* = *rnam-grol-lam*, "the Path of Deliverance," the second degree of *samāhita-jñāna*. It takes place after the *ānantarya-mārga*, q.v., at the time when the defiling forces are removed (Abh. vyākḥ.), 22, 24 (contained in the Śrāvaka's *bhāvanā-mārga*), 25, 26, 28 (on the Path of the Pratyekabuddha), 38 (the Mah.), 40 (acc. to Abh. Āl. does not include the *anvaya-jñānāntā*), 41 (on the removal of the Obscurations), 44 (at the end of the Path).

*vimuktīṃ sākṣātkaroti* = *rnam-par-grol-ba mñon-sum-du-byed-pa*, "makes manifest the deliverance (from defilement)." Refers to *duḥkha-dharma-jñāna* and *vimukti-mārga*, q.v., 39.

*vivāda-prahāya* = *rtsoḍ-spañ*, refutation of the objections of opponents,—third part of the analysis of a special subject (*mthah-āpyod*) in a *yig-cha* manual, 3.

*vivardhi* = *rnam-kphel*, the (16 forms of) progress of the moral merit of the Bodhisattva abiding on the Degree of the Climax,—the second topic of *Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra* = *mūrdha-gata-mūrdha-prayoga* (Kār. V. 2), 79.

*vīṣiṣṭa-prayoga* = *shyor-ba khyad-par-can*, the special methods, i.e. the

- 20 *prayogas* of Sarva-ākāra-abhisam-  
bodha-adhikāra, 85.
- viśuddhi-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga* = *rnam-  
dag(-gi mṭshan-ñid-kyi) sgom-lam*,  
the Mah. Path of Conc. Contempl. as  
the attainment of the full and ultimate  
purification (= *atyantā-viśuddha-bhā-  
vanā-mārga*, q.v.),—the eleventh topic  
of Mārga-jñatā-adhikāra (Kār. II.  
28–31), 75.
- viśeṣa-lakṣaṇa* (*soḍaśa viśeṣa-lakṣa-  
ṇāni*) = *khyad-mṭshan (bcu-drug)*, the  
16 points of superiority of the Mah.  
Path, corr. to the 16 moments of  
*darśana-mārga* (Kār. IV. 26–26), 78.
- vītarāga-bhūmī* = *hdod-chags dan-bral-  
baḥi sa*, the Stage of Liberation from  
Passion, the sixth Stage of the Śrā-  
vaka, representing the intuition of the  
*anāgāmin*, 50.
- vīrya-pāramitā* = *brtson-hgrus-kyi pha-  
rol-tu-phyin-pa*, the Transc. Virtue or  
the Climax of Energy, 54 (predominant  
on the fourth Stage of the Bodhisattva).
- vidyā-āloka nāma samādhi* = *snan-ba-  
mched-pa ḥes-hya-baḥi tin-ne-hdzin*, the  
state of transic meditation during which  
the light of knowledge becomes in-  
creased (= *mārdhagata*), 37.
- vedanā* = *tshor-ba*, feeling, the second  
of the 5 *skandhas*, 97.
- vaiśvadevānīka* = *rnam-par-hyaji-ba*,  
purifying (opp. to *sāṃkleṭika*), 6, 55.
- vyāñjana* = *dpe-byad*, the (80) secondary  
corporeal marks of the Buddha, 47.
- vyatīrṇita-traiḍhātuka-janmāṇaḥ* = *kham-  
gsun-paḥi skye-ba-las ḥdas-pa*, those  
who have ceased to exist in the  
3 Spheres of Worldly Existence,—the  
Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha Arhats,  
29.
- vyāpti* = *khyab-pa*, pervasion (cf. *gotreṇa  
vyāptih*), 31 (cf. *mārga-jñatā-angāni*, 74).
- śama-apyatīṣṭhita-mārga-jñatā* = *śi-ba-la  
mi-gnas-paḥi lam-śes*, the Omniscience  
in regard of the Path which is not  
attached to Him. Nirvāṇa,—the second  
topic of Sarva-jñatā-adhikāra (Kār. III.  
1), 76.
- śamatha* = *śi-gnas*, quiescence of the  
mind, or mind-concentration. Is one  
of the two chief factors of the Path  
(the other being *vipaśyanā*, q.v.), 16,  
17 (characteristics acc. to the Lam-  
rim, &c.), 20, 27 (on the Path of the  
Pratyekabuddha), 68.
- śānta* = *śi-ba*, Quiescence,—the second  
aspect of *nirōdha-satyā*, q.v., 18.
- śīla-nirmāṇa-kāya* = *bsolḥi sprul-sku*, the  
App. Body acting as Viśvakarman, 47.
- śīla-anusmṛti* = *tshul-khrims-rjes-su-dran-  
pa*, the act of mindfulness concentrated  
upon Morality,—the tenth topic of  
Anupūrva-abhisamaya-adhikāra, 81.
- śīla-pāramitā* = *tshul-khrims-kyi pha-rol-  
tu-phyin-pa*, the Transc. Virtue of  
Morality or the Climax of Morality,  
54 (predominant on the second Stage  
of the Bodhisattva).
- śīla-vrata-parāmarga* = *tshul-khrims dan  
brtul-ḥugs mchog-tu-hdzin-pa*, precon-  
ception in regard of incorrect observ-  
ances of moral rules and vows, 52  
(removed on the first Stage of the  
Bodhisattva).
- śukla-dharma* = *dkar-poḥi chos*, "the  
white," i.e. the virtuous elements, 49.
- śukla-vidarśana-bhūmī* = *dkar-po rnam-  
par-mthoḥ-baḥi sa*, "the Stage of  
Perception of the virtuous elements,"  
—the first Stage of the Śrāvaka,  
identical with the Śrāvaka's *samṛbhā-  
mārga*, 49.
- śubha-kṛtina* = *dge-rgyas*, second sub-div.  
of the region of the third *dhyaṇa* in  
the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*śūnya* = *ston-pa*, Non-substantiality, non-substantial,—the third aspect of *duḥkha-satya*, q.v., has here the sense of "devoid of a relation to a real Ego," 18.

*śūnyatā* = *ston-pa-ñid* (*ston-ñid*), Non-substantiality, or Relativity of all the elements of existence, 7, 34 (principal object of concentration on the Mahāyānistic *prayoga-mārga*), 78 (the 16 forms of it as the last 16 aspects relating to *mārga-jñatā*; cf. *śoḍaśa śūnyatāh*), 98.

*śūnyatā-rūpeṇa* = *ston-pa-ñid-kyi ho-bo-ñid-du*, as having the essence of Non-substantiality, separate unreality, 97.  
*śaikṣa-avaivartika-bodhisattva-saṅgha* = *slob-pa phyir-mi-dog-paḥi byan-sems-kyi dge-ñidun*, the Congregation of the Bodhisattvas abiding on the Path, who have attained the Irretrievable State,—the eighth topic of Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra (Kār. IV. 38 sqq.), 79.

*śraddhā-bhāmi* = *dad-paḥi sa*, "the Stage of Devotion," a synonym of *sambhāra-mārga*, q.v., 19, 34.

*śravaṇādi-bhājana-prayoktr* = *mñan-pa-la-sogs-paḥi snod sbyor-la-po*, the acting individual, i.e. the Bodhisattva on the Path as a worthy hearer, &c. (of the Prajñā-pāramitā, Kār. IV. 6, 7), 85.

*śrāvaka-mārga-jñāna-mayī mārga-jñatā* = *ñan-thos-kyi lam-śes-paḥi lam-śes*, the Omniscience in regard of the Path as the cognition of the Path of the Śrāvaka,—the second topic of *Mārga-jñatā-adhikāra* (Kār. II. 2), 74.

*śrāvaka-yāna* = *ñan-thos-kyi theg-pa*, the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas, 29.

*śrāvaka-yāna-abhisamaya-gotra* = *ñan-thos-kyi theg-pa mñan-par-rlogs-paḥi rigs*, the lineage (or family of the

Saints) who are possessed of the intuition peculiar to the Śrāvakas, 16, 62.

*śrāvaka-yānika* = *ñan-thos-kyi theg-pa-pa*, an adherent of the Śrāvaka Vehicle, 29.

*śrāvakādi-manaskāra* = *ñan-thos-la-sogs-paḥi yid-la-byed-pa*, Hinayānistic i.e. egoistic tendencies, 54.

*śrutimayī prajñā* = *thos-pa-las-hyün-baḥi śes-raḥ*, analytic wisdom which is the result of study, 20.

*ṣaṭ pāramitāh* = *phar-phyin drug*, the 6 Transc. Virtues,—the first 6 topics of Anupūrva-abhisamaya-adhikāra, 81.

*śoḍaśa kṣaṇāh* = *skad-cig-ma bcu-drug*, the 16 moments of the Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga*), 23 (on the Path of the Śrāvaka).

*śoḍaśa śūnyatāh* = *ston-ñid bcu-drug*, the sixteen aspects of Non-substantiality or Relativity. Explained in the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha in accordance with the Madh-vibhanga and the Mahāyāna-saṃgraha, and in the Comm. on the three Pr.-pār.-sūtras in accordance with the Mūla-mādhyamika, 6.

*saṃsāra-nirvāṇa-udhaya-upalambha-vigamā* = *hkor-ba dan mya-ñan-las-hdas-pa gnīs-kaḥi dmigs-pa dan-bral-baḥi-phyir*, owing to the absence of a consideration of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa as two separate entities, 76.

*saṃskṛta* = *ñidus-hyas*, conditioned, active, mutable, 46 (char. of *jñāna-dharma-kāya*).

*śakala-vyavaiśāna-pakṣa-vipāka-dharma-tā-avasthā* = *rnam-par-byan-baḥi phyogs rnam-par-smin-paḥi chos-ñid-kyi gnas-skabs*, the state of complete maturity of the element of the Absolute and all the purifying elements, ref.

to *vipāka-avasthāyām eka-kaṣṭha-abhī-sambodha*, 82.

*sakṛd-āgāmin* = *lan-cig rhyir-hon-ba*, he who returns to this world once more, —the Saint who has attained the second result, through the removal (on the *bhāvanā-mārga*), of the first 6 forms of defilement peculiar to the World of Carnal Desire (*kāmāvacara-śaṭ-prakāra-kleśa-prahāṇāt*), 50.

*sangha-anusmṛti* = *dge-hdun-rjes-su-dran-pa*, the act of mindfulness concentrated upon the Congregation —the ninth topic of Anupūrva-abhisamaya-adhikāra, 81.

*satkāya-dṛṣṭi* = *hjig-tshogs-la-lta-ba*, the conception of a real personality, 51 (removed on the first Stage of the Bodhisattva), 52, 53 (the innate form removed on the remaining 9 Stages).

*sattea-dhātu* = *sems-can-gyi khams*, the Fundamental Element of the living beings, syn. of *dhātu*, *gotra*, and *tathāgata-garbha*, q.v., 99.

*satya-abhisamaya* = *bden-pa mñon-rtogs*, the direct intuition of the 4 Truths or Principles of the Saint,—general definition of *darśana-mārga*, q.v., 21.

*santāna* = *rgyud*, the stream of elements constituting a personality, 16, 92.

*saṃnāha-pratipatti* = *go-chaḥi sgrub-pa* or *go-sgrub*, the Action of the Outfit, the first of the 4 varieties of *pratipatti*, 63, 73 (the seventh topic of *Sarva-ākāra-jñātā-adhikāra*, Kār. I. 43), 87 (begins with the Path of Acc. Merit—*saṃbhāra-mārga*).

*satatā* = *mānam-ñid*, the equality or the ultimate unity of all the elements of existence in the aspect of the Absolute,—the eighth topic of *Sarva-jñātā-adhikāra* (Kār. III. 10 c, d), 77.

*satatā-jñāna* = *mānam-ñid ye-śes*, the Wisdom of the Buddha cognizing the equality or unity of oneself and all the living beings in the sense of being possessed of the unique element of Buddhahood, 45, 47 (rel. to *saṃbhoga-kāya*).

*satatā-parijñāna* = *mānam-pa-ñid-du yonś-su-śes-pa*, the full knowledge of the equality i.e. the ultimate unity of all elements of existence, 76.

*saṃhita* = *mānam-par-bhāg-bhān*, abiding in a state of perpetual trance,—char. of the Arhats in the *anāraṇya-dhātu*, 29.

*saṃhita-citta* = *mānam-par-bhāg-paḥi sems*, with a perfectly concentrated mind, 37.

*saṃhita-jñāna* = *mānam-bhāg-ye-śes*, the intuitive knowledge of the Saint at the time of intense concentration. Consists of *ānantarya-mārga* and *vimukti-mārga*, q.v., 21, 24, 28, 38 (on the Mah. *darśana-mārga*), 43 (incl. *nirhāra* and *atyanta-vituddhi* of the Mah. *bhāvanā-mārga*).

*samudaya* = *kun-hbyun*, Driving Force or Origin (of Phenomenal Existence), —the second aspect of *samudaya-satya*, q.v., 18.

*samudaya-satya* = *kun-hbyun bden-pa*, the principle of the Cause or the Driving Force of Phenomenal Existence, 18 (its four aspects), 78 (eight aspects of the 36 *mārga-jñātā-ākārāḥ* refer to it).

*saṃbhāra-pratipatti* = *tshogs-kyi sgrub-pa* (*tshogs-sgrub*), the Action of Accumulation of the factors conducive to Enlightenment (17 varieties), —the ninth topic of *Sarva-ākāra-jñātā-adhikāra* (Kār. I. 46–71), 73, 84, 87.

*saṃbhāra-bhūmi* = *tshogs-kyi-sa*, a syn. of *saṃbhāra-mārga*, 87.



*saṃbhāra-mārga* = *tsogs-lam*, the Path of Accumulating Merit, the first main sub-div. of the Path, 15, 18 (the Śrāvaka's P. of Acc. M.), 19 (its definition as *dharma-abhisamaya* q.v.), 27 (with the Pratyekabuddha), 33 (the Mahāyānist P. of Acc. M.), 49 (the Śrāvaka's *saṃbh.-m.* is identical with *śukla-vidarśana-bhūmi*), 51, 58.

*saṃbhoga-kāya* = *loṇs-spyod-rdzogs-paḥi sku* (or: *loṇs-sku*), the Body of Supreme Bliss,—the Buddha residing in Akaniṣṭha, 46, 84 (the third topic of Dharma-kāya-adhikāra, Kār. VIII. 12 sqq.).

*samyak-prajñā-pāramitā-dūṣṭhātā* = *yañ-dag-paḥi ḥes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa dan-rin-bar-gyur-pa*, being far from the true Climax of Wisdom, cf. *phala-bhūta-mātur dāw-i-bhūta-vastu-jñāna*, 76.

*samyag-āsanā-bhāva* = *yañ-dag-par ḥe-bar-ḥgyur-ba*, the proximity (to the Climax of Wisdom). Cf. *phala-bhūta-mātur āsanā-bhūta-vastu-jñāna*, 76.

*samyag-upāya-kauśala-balena* = *yañ-dag-paḥi thaḥs-la-mkhas-paḥi stobs-kyis*, by the force of the correct skill in action, 80.

*sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha* = *nam-kun mñon-par-rdzogs-par rtogs-pa* or *nam-rdzogs-sbyor-ba*, the Method of a full and clear intuition of all the aspects of the 3 forms of Omniscience. Is the first of the 4 Methods of Realization (*catvāraḥ prayogāḥ*) and a synonym, of the Path as a whole, 63, 67, 68, 69, 70 (*sarvākāra-mārga-vastu-jñāna-prakāra-saṃgrahaḥa trisarvajñatā-bhāvanayā adhigamaḥ*), 77 (= *Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra*).

*sarva-ākāra-jñatā* = *nam-pa-thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-nid* (= *nam-mkhyen*), the

special Omniscience of the Buddha in regard of all the aspects of existence, 44, 63, 64, 67, 70 (attained at the final moment of the Path), 72 (= *Sarva-ākāra-jñatā-adhikāra*), 80, 83 (syn. with *jñāna-dharma-kāya*).

*sarva-jñatā* = *thams-cad-ḥes-pa-nid*, or *vastu-jñāna* = *gñi-ḥes*, the Omniscience in regard of the objects of the Empirical World. It represents the cognition of all the elements from the Non-ego standpoint, is possessed by the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, and is accessible to the Hīnayānist Saint, 62, 64, 67, 75 (*Sarva-jñatā-adhikāra*).

*sarva-dharma-nairātmya* = *chos thams-cad bdag-med-pa*, the same as *dharma-nairātmya*, 37.

*sarva-vipaḥsa-apagamena* = *mī-mñun-paḥi phyogs thams-cad dan-bral-bas-na*, owing to the removal of all the points to be shunned, 82.

*sarva-sattva-agratā-citta-mahatna* = *sem-can kun-gyi mchog-nid-kyi sems-chen-po-nid*, the greatness of intellectual power owing to which one is superior to all living beings,—the first of the 3 *uddeśas*, q.v., 80.

*sarve'py evam dharmā dharmatā* = *chos thams-cad kyañ de-lta-buḥi chos-nid yin-no*, "all the elements of existence are (merged in the unique) Absolute Essence,"—ref. to *advaya-eka-kṣaya-abhisambodha*, 83.

*sahaja* = *lhan-skyes*, innate,—the defiling elements which are extirpated on the Path of Concentrated Contemplation (*bhāvanā-mārga*), 22, 42 (as removed on the Mah. *bhāvanā-mārga*), 53 (= *sahaja-kleśa-āvaraṇa*, q.v.).

*sahaja-kleśa-āvaraṇa* = *ñon-sgrīb lhan-skyes*, the defiling elements which are

innate and are to be extirpated on the *bhāvanā-mārga*, 24.

*sākṣāt* = *pratyakṣeṇa* q.v.

*sāṃkleśika* = *kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa* = *kun-ñon*, defiling,—a category of the elements of existence (They are contained in the twelve-membered formula of dependent origination. Cf. Bu-ton's History, Transl. notes 53-56), 6, 55.

*sādhumati* = *legs-paḥi blo-gros*, "that of Perfect Wisdom,"—the ninth Stage of the Bodh., 43 (conn. with *bhāvanā-mārga*), 56 (*dharma - dekanā - kausālato 'navadyatrāt sādhumati*).

*sāṃbhogika-kāya* = *samḥoga-kāya*, 47.

*sāsrava* = *zag-beas*, influenced by defiling agencies, 43 (refers to that part of *bhāvanā-mārga* which contains the elements of constructive thought, i.e. to *adhimukti*, *pariṇāma*, and *anumoda*).

*saṅha-rājṛmbhita-samādhi* = *señ-ge-rnam-par-legyiñs-paḥi lñ-ñe-ñdzin*, the Meditation of the Gaping Lion, practised at the end of the Path of Illumination and consisting in the contemplation of the twelve-membered formula of functional dependence (*dvādaśāṅga-pratītya-samutpāda*) in the direct and the reverse order (Kār. V. 23), 85.

*sāraṇa* = *gya-nom-maṅ-ba*, the seventh sub-div. of the region of the fourth *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*saudarjyā* = *ñin-tu-sbyaṅs-dkaḥ-ba* "the Unconquerable,"—the fifth Stage of the Bodh., 42 (conn. with *bhāvanā-mārga*), 55 (*susṭhu dukkheṇa jiyate iti sudarjyā*).

*sauḍṛā* = *ñin-tu-miññ-ba*, the sixth sub-div. of the region of the fourth *dhyāna* in the *rūpa-dhātu*, 58.

*soṇadhi* = *phuc-po dan-beas-pa*, with residue (in the form of the 5 groups

of elements),—the incomplete form of Nirvāṇa, 29.

*skandha* = *phuc-po*, the 5 groups of elements of a personality, 92.

*stuti-stobha-praśamsāḥ* = *bstod-ñkur-bśaṅs geṇs*, (the virtues of the Mah. *bhāvanā-mārga*) extolled, praised and glorified (by the Buddhas and other Bodhisattvas),—the seventh topic of *Mārga-jñatā-adhikāra* (Kār. II. 20), 75.

*smṛti-samprajñāna* = *dran-pa dan bśe-bśin*, memory and attention, connected with the state of mind-concentration or mental quiescence (*śamatha* q.v.), 17.

*śrota-āpatti-phala* = *rgyun-ñugs-kyi ḥbras-bu*, the result of Entering the Stream, is attained in the 16th moment of the Path of Illumination (*śoḍaśe darśana-mārga-citta-kṣaṇe śrota-āpānnaḥ*), 50.

*śrota-āpatti-phala-pratipānnaka* = *rgyun-ñugs-kyi ḥbras-bu-la ṣugs-pa*, the candidate for the result of Entering the Stream, 49.

*svapna-svabhāva* = *rmi-lam-gyi ño-bo-ñid*, the elements of existence, being essentially like visions in a dream, 82.

*svabhāva-kāya* = *ño-bo-ñid-sku*, the Body of Absolute Existence,—the element of the Absolute with the Buddha, 45, 46, 83 (the first topic of *Dharma-kāya-adhikāra*, Kār. VIII. 1).

*svabhāva-lakṣaṇa* (*śoḍaśa svabhāva-lakṣaṇānti*) = *ño-bo-ñid-mśhan* (*bcu-drug*), the 16 varieties of the essence of the Bodhisattva's training as the part characterized (Kār. IV. 29-31), 78.

*svabhāva-buddha* = *rañ-bśin-gyis dag-pa*, pure by nature,—the Absolute as existing from the outset in the living beings, 46.

*sva-mata-sthāpanā* = *rañ-ñugs - gśag-pa*, establishment of the author's own

point of view,—second part of the analysis of a special subject (*mtshah-dpyod*) in a *yig-cha* manual, 3.

*svayam-bodha* = *bdag-ñid rtogs-pa*, the cognition (of the Pratyekabuddha) by himself, without the help of a teacher, 27.

*svayambhū* = *rañ-byni*, he of self-sprung wisdom,—an epithet of the Pratyekabuddha, 27.

*śvalakṣaṇa* = *rañ-gi-mtshan-ñid*, the particular essence of an element of existence. Considered to be real in the *prathama-cakra*, 92, 94 (a thing in itself).

*śvalakṣaṇa-siddha* = *rañ-gi-mtshan-ñid-kyis grub-pa*, real as a thing in itself. Acc. to the Yogācāras the *paratantra-lakṣaṇa* and *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa* are both *śvalakṣaṇa-siddha*, 96.

*hetu* = *rgyun*, cause (of Phen. Existence), —the first aspect of *samudaya-satya*, q. v., 18.

*hetu-pratyaya-apekṣa* = *rgyu-rkyen-las-pa*, dependent on causes and conditions (ref. to *paratantra-lakṣaṇa*), 94.

*heya* = *spañ-ba*, points to be shunned by means of *darśana-mārga* and *bhāvanā-mārga* (i. e. *dr̥ṣṭi-heya* and *bhāvanā-heya*), 88.

(To be continued.)

## ABBREVIATIONS.

Abhidh. vyākḥ.	=	Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā of Yaśomitra.
Abhis. ālokā.	=	Abhisamayālaṅkāra-ālokā of Haribhadra.
Kār.	=	Kārikā.
Kg. RGYUD.	=	Tantra Section of the Kangyur.
Kg. MDÖ.	=	Sūtra Section of the Kangyur.
Kg. ŚER.	=	Prajñā-pāramitā (Śer-phyin) Section of the Kangyur.
Skabs.	=	Phar-phyin skabs-brgyad-ka of Hjam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa.
Tg. MDÖ.	=	Sūtra Section of the Tangyur.
Stoñ-thun	=	Stoñ-thun Bskal-bzañ-mig-lybyed of Mkhas-grub.
Don.	=	Don-bdun-cu aser. to Hjam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa.
Rnam-bśad	=	Rnam-bśad-sñiñ-poḥi rgyan of Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen.
M. Vyutp.	=	Mahāvvyutpatti.
Luñ.	=	Luñ-gī-sñe-ma of Bu-ston.
Legs-bś.	=	Legs-bśad-sñiñ-po of Tsoñ-kha-pa.
Sa-lam Kh.	=	Sa-lam-gyi rnam-gzāg Mkhas-paḥi yid-lyphrog of Mkhas-grub (Khai-ḡub).
Sa-lam Jig.	=	Sa-lam-gyi rnam-gzāg Theg-pa gsum-gyi mdzes-rgyan of Dkon-mchog Hjigs-med-dbañ-po (Kün-chog Jig-med vañ-po).
S.-nirm.	=	Samdhinirmocana-sūtra.
Sūtral.	=	Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṅkāra.
Gser.	=	Gser-phreñ (Legs-bśad-gser-phreñ) of Tsoñ-kha-pa.

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## CORRECTIONS.

- p. 99, 17; 100, 5 -*ālokā*-, r. -*āloka*-.  
p. 101, 1 fr. bel. *gñis-su*-, r. *gñis-su*-.  
p. 102, 3 *chun-ñid*-, r. *chun-ñu*-.  
p. 102, 16 Māh-, r. Mah.  
p. 102 b, 10 *dbyina*-, r. *dbyina*-.  
p. 103 b, 8 object -*grāhya*-, r. subject -*grāhaka*-.  
p. 103 b, 17 *adhimatra*-, r. *adhimātra*-.  
p. 104, 8 *mñon*-, r. *mñon*-.  
p. 104, 11 -*mons*-, r. -*mons*-.  
p. 104, 27 cancel parenthesis.  
p. 105, 28 *asamskrta*-, r. *asamskrta*-.  
p. 106, 1 *vacāra*-, r. *vacara*-.  
p. 107, 19 *unmālita-dvaya*-, r. *unmālita-dvaya*-.  
p. 107, 26 *len-baḥi*-, r. *len-paḥi*-.  
p. 107 b, 13 -*murḥa*-, r. -*mūrḥa*-.  
p. 108, 19 after -*jñāna* add—in the 10 moments—.  
p. 108, 25 *lin-tu*-, r. *lin-tu*-.  
p. 108 b, 31 -*ksaya*-, r. -*kyaya*-.  
p. 109 b, 15 *gñuñ-ba*-, r. *gñuñ-ba*-.  
p. 109 b, 29 -*sanjñā*-, r. -*sanjñā*-.  
p. 110 b, 13 *ḍukya*-, r. *ḍukya*-.  
p. 110 b, 17 *enaiḥ-pa*-, r. *enaiḥ-ba*-.  
p. 112, 4 *pyūya*-, r. *pyūya*-.  
p. 112, 19 (37, r. 37) (the.  
p. 112 b, 29 *ngoñ-baḥi*-, r. *ngoñ-baḥi*-.

## Auslegung von Vedastellen.

Von

Herman Lommel, Frankfurt a. M.

### RV. 4, 54, 2.

Der Sinn von RV. 4, 54, 2 kommt in Geldners Übersetzung so unvollkommen zum Ausdruck, daß es als nicht überflüssig erscheint, ihn mit einigen Worten näher zu erklären.

Alle Wesen wollen fortleben, aber nicht zu sterben ist nur den Göttern gegeben, während das, was die Menschen erwarten dürfen, nur ist, daß ihr Leben in ihren Kindern fort dauert, daß sozusagen die Fackel des Lebens von Hand zu Hand geht. Daß das Leben des Vaters auf den Sohn übergeht und in ihm fort dauert, ist besonders in der Vater-Sohn-Zeremonie Kaush. Up. 2, 15 eindringlich dargestellt; ebenso Brh. Ar. Up. 1, 5, 17.

In diesem Sinn heißt es denn an unserer RV.-Stelle: ‚Den opferwürdigen Göttern nämlich erstens verleiht du Unsterblichkeit (= daß sie überhaupt nicht sterben müssen), das höchste Anrecht, sodann erschließest du als Gabe für die Menschen das Leben in der Aufeinanderfolge‘ (wörtlich: die aufeinanderfolgenden Leben; gemeint: die genealogische Abfolge des in der Zeugung fortgepflanzten Lebens).

Geldners Übersetzung: ‚(du weisest) den Menschen ihre Lebenszeiten in der richtigen Folge (zu)‘, drückt das nicht aus. Fast könnte man denken, daß einem und demselben Menschen nacheinander Jugend, Mannesalter, Greisenalter verliehen wird, wie wohl auch das die deutschen Worte nicht aussagen. Daß die Folge eine ‚richtige‘ sei, ist müßiger Zusatz: natürlich lebt nicht der Sohn vor dem Vater oder der Enkel vor dem Großvater. Wenn Folge

herrscht, ist sie notwendig richtig, und ein solcher Zusatz kann nur irre machen, ob der Sinn recht verstanden sei. Es wird aus dieser Übersetzung nicht ersichtlich das Verhältnis von der bei den Göttern herrschenden Unsterblichkeit zu der bei den Menschen geltenden Übertragung des Lebens.

Begreiflich, wenn dieser Gedanke selten so rein ausgesprochen und meist mit dem Wunsch um lange Lebensdauer des einzelnen verbunden ist. Doch ist das, wovon wir hier sprechen, da oftmals unverkennbar mit enthalten. So 8, 18, wo Strophe 22 gesagt ist, daß wir Menschen in den Banden des Todes sind, und Strophe 18: „für Kind und Kindeskind macht unsre Lebensdauer (*āyus*) länger zum Fortleben“ (*jīvāse*).

#### RV. 2, 38, 8.

RV. 2, 38, 8 sind die Worte *vāruṇo yónim āpyam ānīśitam nimīṣi jārbhuraṇaḥ* „Varuṇa geht zu seiner Ruhestatt im Wasser, nicht rastend im Blinzeln zuckend (aufgezuckt habend?)“ zwar übersetzbar, aber zunächst nicht verständlich. Oldenberg und Geldner haben versucht, auf eine Erklärung hinzuführen, indem sie darauf verwiesen haben, daß mehrfach bei Varuṇa von Augenzwinkern die Rede ist. Aber das hilft nichts. Denn wenn AV. 4, 16, 5 gesagt ist, daß Varuṇa das Augenblinzeln der Leute zählt, so bedeutet das nicht, daß er sich gerade für diese Regung bei den Menschen besonders interessiert, oder gar, daß er eine in seinem Wesen beruhende Beziehung zum Zwinkern habe. Vielmehr ist das Blinzeln etwas ganz Geringfügiges, Vorübergehendes, so daß man es aus der Nähe nicht beachtet, aus der Ferne nicht bemerkt. Deshalb ist es gewählt zur Veranschaulichung der einzigartigen Sinnesschärfe des Gottes, der alles wahrnimmt, der als Dritter vernimmt, was zwei, die beisammensitzen, miteinander reden (AV. 4, 16, 2), und auch den sieht, der meint, es könne verborgen bleiben, wenn (oder wohin) er geht (ebenda).

Auch RV. 2, 28, 6 bezeichnet das Augenblinzeln das Geringfügige. Der Satz: „denn fern von dir (Varuṇa) kann ich nicht einmal



blinzeln' bedeutet ja auch keineswegs, daß der Gott gerade bei dieser wichtigen Funktion dem Menschen beisteht, sondern der Beter übertreibt in seinem Gefühl der Unsicherheit und Abhängigkeit das eigene Unvermögen, wenn er damit anschaulich ausdrückt, daß er ohne den Gott nicht das geringste vermag. Er sucht dabei zugleich, durch Selbsterniedrigung dem Gott zu schmeicheln.<sup>1</sup> Die Worte stehen etwas unvermittelt in dem Zusammenhang der Bitte um Nachsicht und haben den unausgesprochenen Nebensinn wie jene vorhergenannten Worte in AV.: wenn ich nicht blinzeln kann ohne dich, so weißt du auch — besser als ich selber — sogar das Geringste, was ich getan habe.

Um solcher Stellen willen zu sagen, daß 'der Vorstellungskreis von *nimiš* in ausgeprägter Beziehung zu Varuṇa . . . steht' (Oldenberg), ist völlig abwegig. Wenn im Evangelium gesagt ist, daß kein Sperling vom Dach fällt ohne den Vater und daß die Haare auf unserm Haupt gezählt sind, so wird man Gott Vater deshalb nicht eine ausgeprägte Beziehung zu den Sperlingen zuschreiben, noch das Haare-zählen für eine seiner vorzüglichsten Beschäftigungen halten.

Aber es heißt ferner von Mitra und Varuṇa RV. 8, 25, 9, daß sie sogar, wenn sie mit den Augen blinzeln, aufmerksam wahrnehmen. Grassmann hat da einigermaßen treffend übersetzt 'selbst wenn sie schlummern'. Gemeint ist: selbst wenn sie zu schlummern scheinen. Während es von den Spähern der Götter mehrfach heißt, daß sie aus Wachsamkeit niemals blinzeln, d. h. daß ihnen niemals die Augen zufallen, ist hier das Unheimliche der unfehlbaren Aufmerksamkeit der Ādityas damit geschildert, daß auch, wenn ihre Lider fast geschlossen scheinen, sie doch alles sehen. Eine lauernde Katze etwa blinzelt so und stellt sich, als wäre sie am Einschlafen, aber dabei sind alle ihre Sinne und Muskeln aufs äußerste gespannt, und schon ist sie im Sprung da, wo die geringste Regung geschah. Solche Tücke liegt im Wesen Varuṇas, der den Sünder nicht nur bestraft,

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<sup>1</sup> Zu diesen und den folgenden Bemerkungen über Varuṇa vgl. auch meine 'Religion Zarathustras', S. 276.

sondern es auch darauf anlegt, ihn zu ertappen. Die Rache, die er gegenüber dem Sünder übt, hat einen moralischen Gehalt, insofern es das Recht, die Ordnung ist, was er damit verteidigt. Daneben aber besteht manches, was den moralischen Charakter des Gottes selber beeinträchtigt. Denn während die Ādityas selbst nicht getäuscht werden können, täuschen sie den Menschen (RV. 2, 27, 3); sie können an Klüften und Hindernissen vorbeiführen (ebenda 5), aber es scheint, daß sie selber solche Gefahren bereiten. Und weil in der noch unentwickelten Ethik das reine Wollen des Menschen nicht genügt, sondern er, ohne zu wollen und es zu wissen, einen Verstoß begehen kann, ist es auch mehr Schicksal und glückliches Gelingen als Tugend und redliches Verdienst, wenn der Mensch das Glück hat, sich nicht zu verfehlen; daher heißt es denn (RV. 2, 27, 16): ‚Eure zauberische Irreführung (*māyā*) gegen den, der euch hintergeht (*abhidrūhe*), die Schlingen, die ihr gegen den Bösewicht geknüpft habt, daran möchten wir wie Rosselenker mit dem Wagen vorbeifahren.‘ Noch offener enthüllt sich diese Seite der Ādityas RV. 7, 65, 3: ‚Die beiden sind die mit vielen Schlingen versehenen Übergänge (Brücken) über das Unrecht, die für einen betrügerischen Menschen schwer zu überschreiten sind. Über eure Pfade des Rechts, o Mitra und Varuṇa, mögen wir, wie mit einem Schiff übers Wasser, als über Hindernisse, hinweggelangen.‘ Da ist nicht nur das Unrecht ein Abgrund, sondern der Weg des Rechtes hat selbst auch Fußangeln, und die Fallensteller daran sind die Götter. Die bei uns so gern als ethisch angesehenen Ādityas, deren Wesen zweifellos einen starken ethischen Einschlag hat und deren Wirken die Moral fördert, sind eben doch zugleich die Wege-lagerer der Gerechtigkeit.

Dieses gefährlich Lauernde bedeutet es, wenn 8, 25, 9 gesagt wird, daß sogar mit blinzeln den Augen sie alles aufmerksam beobachten.

Die angebliche besondere Beziehung Varuṇas zum Augenblinzeln, kraft deren er jedes Zwinkern regieren solle, hilft also zur Erklärung von RV. 2, 38, 8 nichts.

Dort ist die Rede von Savitars Macht über alle Lebewesen und Naturreiche, ebenso über das Wassergetier wie über das Wild auf dem Lande und die Vögel in der Luft (Str. 7); ja daß auch Götter wie Indra, Varuna und andere sich seinen Geboten fügen (Str. 9). Dies letztere bedeutet nicht etwa im Sinne des sogenannten Kathenotheismus, daß Savitar damit als mächtiger denn diese Götter hingestellt wird, sondern nur, daß der in Savitars Wesen liegende Wechsel von Ruhe und Tätigkeit auch diese Götter in seinen Rhythmus einbezieht. — Ich bemerke bei dieser Gelegenheit, daß der seit Max Müller unter den Indologen fortgeerbte Begriff des Kathenotheismus oder Henotheismus mir als höchst fragwürdig erscheint. Hier jedenfalls ist er so wenig am Platze als etwa in der griechischen Götterwelt, wenn gesagt wird, daß auch die Götter der Macht der Aphrodite sich beugen. Niemand denkt daran, dies als henothetische Hervorhebung Aphrodites aufzufassen. Es fragt sich, ob tieferes Verständnis des vedischen Polytheismus uns nicht manches, das als Henotheismus gedeutet wurde, anders aufzufassen lehrt.

Strophe 8 drückt — wie manche andere Stelle — das savitari-sche Gebot des Ruhens aus, mit Schilderung der Heimkehr von Vögeln und anderm Getier zu ihrer Lagerstätte, je nach ihrer Art, und im Zusammenhang damit stehen die Worte: , . . Varuna geht zu seiner Ruhestatt im Wasser, nicht rastend im Blinzeln zuckend.'

Wir hören auch sonst, daß Varuna ins Wasser hinabgeht (RV. 7, 87, 6; AV. 13, 3, 13), und daß dies gerade bei Sonnenuntergang der Fall ist, sagt uns Kauś. Br. 18, 9 (Hillebr. V. M. III, 10). Dies alles paßt sehr gut zu unsrer Stelle im Savitarhymnus: wie Vögel und Wild zu Nest und Lager, überhaupt alles Lebendige zu der seiner Art und Natur entsprechenden Ruhestatt, so geht Varuna ins Wasser.

Freilich, wenn alles dunkel und unbeweglich ist, auf dem Wasser da flimmerts und glitzerts noch die ganze Nacht. Auch in der schwärzesten Nacht spiegelt der See noch irgendeinen Schein von irgendwoher, und wenn kein Hauch die Fläche kräuselt, so ist

es wie ein inneres Leben und Zucken des Wassers, wenn ein schnappender oder springender Fisch seine Wellenkreise über den Wasserspiegel sendet. Vielleicht ist hier so etwas gemeint. *Nimiṣi* kann dann das Einschlummern meinen: er geht zu seiner Ruhestatt — noch im Einschlummern (wenn das Licht seines himmlischen Auges bedeckt wird) rastet er nicht völlig, sondern immer wieder zuckt ein Licht, ein Strahl, ein Schein auf; wie denn das Verbum *bhur* ‚zucken‘ gerne, besonders in dem hier vorliegenden Intensiv, von dem Aufleuchten von Feuer und Licht gebraucht wird.

Die als Vermutungen gegebenen Deutungsversuche von Oldenberg und Geldner mußte ich ablehnen, und ich gebe meine Auffassung nunmehr in der bestimmten Fassung der Übersetzung: ‚Auch Varuṇa (begibt sich) so gut als möglich zu seinem Ruhelager, (aber) er rastet nicht, (sondern noch) im Einschlummern blinkt er auf (zuckt er hell leuchtend auf).‘

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# Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the Second Millenary B.C.

By

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## Introductory.

The aim of the present paper is to sum up all Aryan, i.e. Indo-Iranian, names and a few other words preserved in the native documents of W. Asia and Egypt from the XVIIIth to the XIIIth centt. B.C., to determine their original form and meaning from the point of view of Indian and Iranian linguistics and, so far as it is possible, to estimate the linguistic value of these data.

Apart from the Hyksos problem, which the writer deems possible to solve in the Aryan sense, the idea of the presence of Indo-Iranian elements in the population of the Near East in the epoch referred to is not new, dating from the end of the last century.<sup>1</sup> The question has been dealt with chiefly by historians and Assyriologists—the material belonging to the cuneiform literature,—i.e. by scholars who could hardly possess an independent opinion on matters connected with Indo-Iranian linguistics; a few Indian scholars interested in the question treated but a part of it.

The rôle attributed to the—real or supposed—Aryans by General History (e.g., Mr. Hall, Cambridge Ancient History, Ed. Meyer) is important enough to make the problem interesting both to an historian and an Assyriologist, and an Indian or Iranian scholar as well; the necessity of a complete discussion of the problem in the light of Indo-Iranian philology was felt among Semitists long ago.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. *infra*, a historical sketch at the end of Ch. IV.

<sup>2</sup> F. Böhl wrote in 1911 (*Kanaaniter und Hebräer*, Bonn Diss., Greifswald, p. 16): "Auffallend nun bei den Königen von Mitanni und Hatti, sowie der Kassiten-Dynastie von Babylonien, ist eine Bildung, die den arischen Ursprung der Träger vermuten ließ. Diese Theorie, die schärfste Nachprüfung von indogermanistischer Seite fordert ..."

These considerations have induced the writer to undertake an attempt to elucidate the question so far as it is in his power. Being merely an Indian scholar, lacking the knowledge of Semitic languages and of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts, he had to rely upon the authorities (such as Delitzsch, Tallqvist, the editors of the Amarna Letters, &c.). After perusing the sources so far accessible, he picked up all the names, &c., liable to be interpreted as Aryan, and tried to examine them in this light, the explanations of other scholars, if any, being carefully noted (the names, &c., not recorded as Aryan before, are marked with an asterisk, the doubtful with the sign °).

The list cannot claim to be complete: not only a newly discovered tablet or so, but even an amended reading can bring a new Aryan name,<sup>1</sup> not to speak of the possibility of missing some more or less obvious Indo-Iranian forms.

The paper being intended both for Semitists (or historians) and Indo-Iranian scholars, the interpretations had to be made in a rather elementary form, the writer endeavouring not to advance any assertion, unless based on an authority, which rendered the very numerous quotations necessary.

It was deemed advisable to group the material into five chapters disposed in a chronological order (the dates being taken from the work of Ed. Meyer): I—the Kassites, II—the Hyksos, III—the dynasts of Palestine and Syria (Amarna), IV—the Mitanni (Amarna and Boghazkeui) and V—the Hittites. The three last chapters are difficult to keep apart, especially Chh. III and IV, the forms of the Hittite documents referring, probably, to the Mitanni too. Each chapter ends in a general linguistic discussion of the forms (Chh. III and IV are dealt with together).

The writer has purposely confined himself to the linguistic part of the question, a few historical remarks being inserted to facilitate the understanding.

The table at the end of the paper represents, in a graphic form, the general conclusions the writer has arrived at.

<sup>1</sup> V. *infra*, the case of *Inlarûta*, formerly read *Engûta*.

Aware of his shortcomings, the writer does not consider the present paper as anything more than an attempt to shed light on the problem, an attempt that may, at present, prove useful as a work of reference, and, in the future, as material for a final work from a more competent pen.

The bulk of the paper being practically accomplished in 1929, some important books and papers published later could not be consulted by the writer, residing at a place far away from centres of learning.

## I. The Kassites.

(1756–1170 B.C.)

### Introductory.

The following notes are chiefly based on the material given by Th. Pinches, who published (romanized) the tablet containing the Kassite-Babylonian Vocabulary, the principal source of the well-known book of Delitzsch.

The Vocabulary was probably compiled (in the beginning of the 1st millenary B.C.) in order to facilitate the understanding of the names of the Kassite kings of Babylonia, lists of which have been preserved too.<sup>1</sup> The readings are not at all certain, nor identical in the lists and in the Vocabulary. The latter gives two Kassite forms of the same word or name (v. i.). Under such conditions, the analysis of the scanty material becomes very uncertain;<sup>2</sup> the writer has confined his study to the very few (four or five!) words of obviously Aryan origin and to a few other ones which may be of the same or related stock.

### A. Words of Aryan origin.

1. ŠURIAŠ, the Sun-god, Bab. Šamaš.

Voc. obv. 5: *šu-ri-ia-aš* (cf. ib. obv. 4, *ša-aš-id.*), met with in names like *Šagaraktišuriaš* (No. 27), "My redemption is Šuriaš."

<sup>1</sup> Published by Pinches and in the CAH, I 553 and II 699.

<sup>2</sup> Every *m*, e.g., can be read *r*, *pu*, *up*—*lu*, *ub*; v. Delitzsch 48, n. 1.



Sch. 262, 13 (as did Hommel, Heth.-Sk. 13) identifies this word with Ind. (Ved.) *sūrya*, "sun" (also as deity).<sup>1</sup>

The Aryan character of this word has been generally accepted;<sup>2</sup> it is perhaps the only Kassite word about which there is such a consensus of opinions.

2. *MARUTAS* (v. l. *Marattas*), the War-god = Bab. *En-urta*.

Voc. obv. 9: *ma-rat-taš* (cf. *ibid.* 9, *gi-dir*, *id.*), but cf. the name *Nazimarutaš* (List No. 26) = Bab. *šil<sup>tu</sup> En-urta*, "Shadow (i. e. protection) of En-urta."

Hommel (*ibid.*) rightly compares this name to Ind. *marut*, "god of wind," pl. Indra's companions in his exploits.

Hüsing (op. cit.) explains the name as follows: *Nazit*—an Elamite god + *murū*, Elam. "earth, world" + *taš*, "he has created"—thus: "God Nazit has created the world." This very ingenious interpretation presupposes the complete discarding of the Babylonian traditional translation, the latter being supported, though, by the analogy of other names, like *Šagaraktišuriaš*, &c.

3. *ŠUMALIA*, the goddess of mountains.

Voc. 15: *šu-gur-ra* = *Šu-ma-li-ia*.

The name appears in an inscription of Nebukadnezar I (ab. 1130 B.C.) as that of "*Šumalia*, the lady of the shining mountains, who inhabits the summits, &c." (cf. Delitzsch 33). The name of king Melišibarru = *Awil<sup>tu</sup> Ši-i-ma-lia* (List No. 36) presents a various reading (*šimalia*).<sup>3</sup>

The writer would suggest Ind. *sumālī* (archaic *\*sumālīā*, *\*sumā-lyā*),<sup>4</sup> fem. from *sunala*, "having a beautiful wreath, garland," obviously an epithet of a goddess, taking the place of the name.

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch 40 notes this similarity, if not identity, but considers it as purely external and accidental, the Kassite word being = *šurī* + *yaš*, "land."—Hüsing, Elam. 23, considers *-yaš* in this word as the sg. ending.

<sup>2</sup> So did E. Meyer, KZ 42, p. 26, after Winckler's discovery at Boghazkœni.

<sup>3</sup> Hommel, Heth.-Sk. 13, No. 11 (of late followed by Autran, Les Langues du Monde, p. 283) connects *šimalia* (*Sumali*) with Av. *zima*, "snow," Ind. *hima*, and esp. *Himālaya* ("Snow-abode"). The latter word is late, appearing in the Kumārasambhava, the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, &c. <sup>4</sup> Cf. Whitney, § 362 b.

4. ŠUGAMUNA (ŠUGAMUNA), the Plague-god, the Light-god = Bab. *nu-Nergal*,<sup>1</sup> *nuNusku*.

Voc. 13: *šu-ga-mu-na*, but the inscription of king Agum (Agukak-rime, Pinches 109) reads *šugamuna* (the preceding line 12 of the Voc. gives another Kassite synonym, *šu-ga-ab* = *nuNergal*, which makes Pinches decompose *Šugamuna* into *šuga* + *muna*).

Sch. 267, 28, rightly compares ved. *śucamāna* (or *śocamāna*), part. pr. med. of  $\sqrt{\text{śuc}}$ ,<sup>2</sup> "to shine, burn, suffer." As to the meaning, the correspondence is complete.

The Kassite word is interesting from the phonetical point of view: the guttural consonant ( $k = q$ ), not yet palatalized, has been preserved (as in the subst. *śoka*, "sorrow"), unless it be an analogy formation. On the other hand, the ending *-muna* goes back to a form *-māna*, like Iranian (Av. *-māna*, *-mna*), not to *-māna*, as in Indian.

5. \*ABIRATTAS, the name of the fifth king of the first Kassite dynasty (ab. 1678 B.C., cf. CAH I, 675) = Ind. \**abhiratha*, "standing on a chariot," or "overcoming chariots," composed of the preposition *abhi*<sup>3</sup> + *ratha*, "chariot," cf. Ved. *adhiratha*, "being on a chariot, charioteer," and, as to the meaning, Av. *rapaešta*, lit. "standing on a chariot," i.e. "warrior."

The name is very suggestive, if we think of the rôle of the horse and of the battle-chariot in the Kassite conquest: it were these mountaineers who, in all probability, introduced the horse with its Aryan name (v.i., s.v. *śisū*) into Babylonia. Up to the present, this name is the only name of a man of Aryan affinity (the latter having been ignored by scholars interested in the Kassite question). Its simple construction, contrasted to that of the later theophorous

<sup>1</sup> Babylonian god of the midday-sun: the intense heat is the connecting link with the meaning "plague" (cf. the Greek Πορρο; whose rays kill).

<sup>2</sup> The verb, though active (*śocati*), forms, in the Veda, the Middle participle.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *abhirata*, "overcoming heroes" (v. Whitney, § 1310 a, native scholiasts: "surrounded by heroes"). A Semitic etymology (*abi*, "father") is hardly admissible for the early Kassite period.

compounds, can even make one irresolute as to its being a real name or a byname, a laudatory epithet (*biruda*, as it is later called in India), like *Suziga* (v.i.); it reminds us of the Hyksos names.

### B. Words of Aryan or Indo-European affinity.

1. *SUZIGAŠ*, another name or byname of the king (usurper) Nazibugaš (1368 B.C., CAH II, 700).

Sch. 267, <sup>27</sup> = Ind. \**sujiḡa* (the final *s* being the nominative ending), "well vanquishing, victorious," from  $\sqrt{j\bar{i}}$ , with the reversion of *j* to *g* (common with this root in reduplicated forms).<sup>1</sup>

The writer cannot explain away two difficulties: 1) the final *a* instead of the *i* one should expect (possibly due, though, to the inexact Babylonian transliteration); 2) the non-occurrence of the word in Indian, where the substantive *jaya* or the adjective in *-jit* (ifc.) are common. If this word be really Aryan, it should be considered not as a name, but rather as a laudatory epithet (*biruda*, v.s., s.v. *Abirattas*).

2. *KARA*, of unknown meaning (Babyl. translation wanting), recurs in several names of kings (*Kara-indaš*, *Kara-buriaš*, *Kara-hardaš*).

Sch. 267, <sup>31-33</sup> = OP. *kara*, "army."—The Semitic (or Asianic) construction of the 2nd name (*Karaburiaš*), analogous to *Kadaš-mamburiaš*, &c., invalidates Sch.'s translation ("Lord of the army") and renders the whole conception doubtful.

3. *BUGAŠ*, "god," in names like *Nazi-bugaš*, "Protection of B."

Sch. 262, <sup>2</sup> (as before him Hommel, Heth.-Sk. 12, and of late CAH I, 553, compares Ind. (Vedic) *bhaga*, "lord," then the name of an *Āditya*,—OP. *bagā*, Av. *baya*, Phryg. *Bayaios* (*Zeüs*), Slav. *bogŭ* (the meaning of Iran. and Slav.: "god").

We are in the dark as to the exact meaning of the Kassite word: is it "god" in general or the name of a particular deity?—In spite of the concordance of the meaning, the quality of the root-vowel (*u* for *a*) makes a difficulty (unless Sch.'s theory as to the

<sup>1</sup> Perfect stem *jigī-*, desiderative *jigīṣa-*.

regularity of this alternation or rather of the Babylonian transliteration be accepted).<sup>1</sup>

4. BURYAŠ, a god.

(Voc. obv. 4: *uð-ri-ia-aš*, but in the king lists—*oburyaš*); the Bab. equivalent is *Addu* (Haddad), *Rammanu*, i.e. the wind-god, while in the lists it is translated *Bel-mâtâtî*, "Lord of the lands."

Sch. 262, s = Ind. *obhara*, translating "lord" ("Herr"), *u* and *ria* representing Aryan *a* and *ra* respectively.

Hommel, op. c., 12, s (followed by CAH I, 553, and Autran, l. c.) connects this name with Gr. *ἄρπάζω*, "the North wind" (to which one might add Slav. *buřa*, "storm"). On the other hand, the first part (*bur*) is, in all probability, connected with the word *burna* (v. infra), while *yaš* may be = *yašu*, "land" (Kassite, Voc. 34).

It is very likely that the chief god ("Lord of the lands") of the Kassites was a storm deity, like the Semitic Haddad, the Mitanni Tešub and a similar god of the Hittites,<sup>2</sup> as well as the Vedic Indra, but, if the name *Buryaš* be Indo-European, it can hardly be connected with Aryan languages.<sup>3</sup>

5. BURNA, Bab. *ki-di-nu*, translated by Pinches "ordinance," by Delitzsch "Schützling," protégé.

Sch. 262, s: "servant," comparing Lithuan. *bernas*, "servant."

The word in question (often read *burra*) appears in the name, borne by several kings, *Burnaburiaš* (Sch. "The lord of the subjects"), translated in Bab. "Protected by the Lord of the lands."

Though the ending *-na* is identical, as to the sound, with that of the Ind. p. p. p. (cf. *pūrṇa*, note 12) and the meaning ("protected") fits in very well with that of the root *bhr* ("to hold, support"), the writer prefers to leave the question open.

<sup>1</sup> The word *buga*, "supreme god," is met with in Tungus (cf. S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Essay on the bases of Shamanism among the Tungus* [Russian], Vladivostok 1919, p. 14),—probably a mere coincidence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. infra.

<sup>3</sup> Ind.  $\sqrt{bhr}$  (*bhar*) is not a so-called "long  $\bar{r}$  root," which have, in weak forms, *ir* and *ur* (after labials, so  $\sqrt{pr}$ , "to fill," p. p. p. *pūrṇa*).

## General remarks on the Kassites.

1) Only five words (*šurīaš*, *marutaš*, *šugamuna*, *šumalia* and *Abirattaš*) are of distinct Aryan affinity, all of them, with one exception, being names of deities;<sup>1</sup> of the others for which at least Indo-European parentage may be claimed, two (*bugaš*, *burīaš*) seem to be in the same case, while two (*burna*, *kara*), probably no names, but common nouns, are questionable.

2) All other words contained in the Vocabulary, &c., are neither Aryan, nor Indo-European; they have been considered as akin to the Caucasian or Asianic group of languages, having much in common with Elamite.<sup>2</sup>

3) All Aryan or Indo-European names have their doublets in the language referred to: thus *šurīaš* is called *šaḫ* (Voc. obv. 4, *šu-aḫ*), *marutaš*—*gidir* (Voc. 9), *šugamuna*—*sugaḫ*<sup>3</sup> (Voc. 12, *šu-ga-aḫ*), *šumalia*—*šugurra* (Voc. 15), *Burīaš*—*ḫuṭḫa* (Voc. 7, *ḫu-ut-ḫa*, or *ḫu-laḫ-ḫa*).<sup>4</sup> Aryan names appear preceded by alien components: *Šagarakti-šurīaš*, *Nazi-marutaš*.

4) The structure of the Kassite compound names is not Indo-European, but identical with the Semitic or Asianic,<sup>5</sup> where the compound—a contracted sentence,—consists of a determinate preceding the determinant, while an Indo-European compound name is

<sup>1</sup> Should *šurīaš* be an Aryan word, the total would amount to six.—The writer has not been able to find, in the printed material, the name *bebeyaš*, explained by Sch. 267, as as = Ind. \**bebheyas*, p. fut. pass. intens. *Vāhi*, "to fear."

<sup>2</sup> Hommel, *Grundriß* 29–30; cf. Hüsing, *Elam.*, also F. N. Pinck, *Die Sprachstämme des Erdkreises*, Leipzig-Berlin 1922, p. 41.—Autran, op. c., p. 283, mentions the Kassite word *šagarakti* = Bab. *ša-ru*, "redemption," that appears in the tablets of Kerkuk. The writer ventures to record a few other Asianic affinities: thus Kass. *bašḫu* (Voc. 17: *ba-aš-ḫu* = Bab. *šlu*) "god," reminds us of the proto-Hittite *cašḫub*, "god" (Forrer 230); *inda* (in the name *Kara-indaš*) is probably identical with Asianic \**hūta*, *Imta*, *lvdaç*, &c. (Sundwall 82).

<sup>3</sup> This native word, considered by Pinches (v.s.) as the original of *Šugamuna*, might have been a contraction of the Aryan form.

<sup>4</sup> *burna* also had a doublet, unfortunately mutilated: Voc. 47, *ki* ... = Bab. *kidīnu*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gustavs, *Bemerkungen zur Bedeutung und zum Bau von Mitanninamen*, OLZ, 1912, col. 304.

a substantive or an adjective, in which the determinant generally<sup>1</sup> precedes the determinate. Thus the Kassite name *Nazi-marutaš* is translated into Babylonian *šil* <sup>u</sup>*En-urta*, the order of components being preserved, meaning "[My] Protection [is] Marutaš," while in Skt. it would be \**Marud-gupta* ("Protected by M.," cf. *Candragupta*, &c.); *Meli-šumu* = Bab. *Arel-Šugamuna* = ["I am a] Man (i.e. servant) of Š.," cp. Ved. *Divodasa*, "Servant of Heaven."

It is a well-known fact that the structure of a language, reflecting the very bases of the linguistic mentality, is the firmest factor of a language, by far more tenacious than the vocabulary.

### Conclusions.

The above facts permit, in the writer's opinion, the following conclusions:

a) The Kassites, a people of Asianic stock, had a slight admixture of Aryans, probably their ruling class;

b) these Aryans (in all probability most closely related to the Indians) were very soon submerged by the alien majority and hardly preserved anything of their mother-tongue but a few names, chiefly of deities.<sup>2</sup>

### Appendix I.

*sisū*, "The horse."

Bab. and Assyr. *sisū* (*sisū* ?),<sup>3</sup> Canaan. (Am. 263, 25) *zū-zima* (*zu-ū-zi-ma*, pl.), Hebr. סוס (pl. סוסים), Aram. *sūsā*, Egypt. *ssm-t*<sup>4</sup> (*ss-t*, *ssm*).

<sup>1</sup> An exception are the old Aryan names consisting of a present participle preceding the object: Ind. *ābharad-vasu*, "bringing wealth," OP. *Darayavañu* (same meaning). Cf. also Greek names like *Νικόδημος*.

<sup>2</sup> It is very likely that this denationalization took place in Babylonia and not before: the names *Abivattai* (1678 n.c.) and *Suzigaš* (? v.s., 1368 n.c.) might have been understood by those who bore them. The above assumption seems to be corroborated by the occurrence in Bab. of the word *sisū*, "horse" (v. Appendix I).

<sup>3</sup> Assyr. Handwörterbuch, Leipzig 1896, p. 506.

<sup>4</sup> From Semit. pl., cf. below, p. 166, n. 9.

The word can hardly be explained from Semitic,<sup>1</sup> wherefore Meyer designates it as "of unknown origin."<sup>2</sup> The ideogram *imér-KUR.RA*, "the ass of the eastern mountains," points to the importation of the horse, usually attributed to foreign, chiefly Aryan or Indo-European invasions.<sup>3</sup>

It is but natural that attempts to interpret this term as a loan-word have been made. They cannot, however, be considered as convincing.<sup>4</sup>

The writer would suggest Ind. *śīśu*, "a child, the young of an animal" that might be applied to a foal or a colt.

Semasiologically we have to presume:

1) a specialization, i.e. = "foal, colt," then

2) a certain generalization, the term being applied to the horse of any age.

This supposition is supported by the analogous development of another Bab. word for "horse," *\*murniskē*, used, so far as we know, only in pl. (*murniški*). Delitzsch (op. c., p. 391) explains this word as follows: *māru*, "a young ass or wild ox," and probably "a foal" + *niskū*, "a jewel" (cf. p. 473), i.e. "a foal (or colt) as a fine young animal"<sup>5</sup> (this explanation is adopted by Meissner).

<sup>1</sup> Meissner, *Das Pferd in Babylonien*, MVAG 1913, 2, p. 9 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, SBA 1925, p. 252, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Unknown in Babylonia before the 1st dynasty, not mentioned in Hammurabi's Code (Meissner, op. c.); appears in Egypt with the Hyksos (v.i., s.v. *ssmt*). Wolf, p. 72, however, points out that the horse is represented on the Cappadocian tablets (cf. below, p. 167, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Hommel, *Grandriß* 14, and Eisler 73, n. 2, compare Iranian (sic!) *aspa*, (i.e. Indian *asva* = Iran. *aspa*- and possibly *as[s]a*), while Hahn, *Kulturpflanzen*, 2nd ed., p. 53, connects Hebr. *śis* with the name Susiana (ap. Meissner, p. 9).

<sup>5</sup> That would correspond to Skt. *śīśurātna*. The horse having been introduced into Babylonia (at least in important quantities) by the Kassites, there is a great probability of this term having belonged to their language (originally to that of their Aryan ruling class). Though there is no direct evidence of this connexion, the writer can find no better place for dealing with this important term than an appendix to the chapter on the Kassite language.



## II. The Hyksos.

(1675-1575 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>

### Introductory.

While the material and the general idea of the preceding, as well as of the following chapters, have been prepared and discussed by several scholars during 30 years or so, the present writer is alone responsible for the proposed interpretation of some Hyksos names from Aryan languages. He had to find his way through the scanty material concerning this dark period of the history of Egypt.

A fortuitous reading of the first volume of Ed. Meyer's "Ancient History" <sup>2</sup> at the end of 1928 revealed the existence of some Hyksos names that seemed to present Aryan affinities. This discovery induced the writer to study the question as thoroughly as he was able to. Such a work on a field that had been quite unfamiliar to him, involved not a few difficulties: the scanty material was to be gathered from various publications, the authorities very often contradicting one another. The writer trusts that he has gathered all the material accessible to a non-Egyptologist. On the other hand, he is perfectly aware of the difficulty of a right interpretation of these data to one who possesses but a few second-hand notions on the language and history of Egypt. The writer has obtained the certainty that this chapter (or rather the French paper, of which it is but an abridged version) contains no nonsense from the point of view of Egyptology: he is indebted to the courtesy of Professor Father E. Drioton, Assistant Curator, Egyptian Museum, the Louvre (Paris), who kindly perused the French paper referred to.

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<sup>1</sup> E. Meyer, CAH, 1800-1600 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> French translation, based on the 3rd German edition. The writer was able to lay his hand on the 2nd volume of this work in its latest impression (1928), where E. Meyer exposes his hypothesis of the presence of an Aryan element among the Hyksos, only in the beginning of 1929, after this chapter had been practically finished (in French). Only then did the writer peruse the important paper of the same scholar in SBA 1925.

These circumstances caused the writer to proceed with the utmost caution: all the interpretations of the words in question have been recorded, whatever their value may be.

### A. The sources.

The above reason necessitates a treatment of the subject different from that adopted in the other chapters: while elsewhere a so to say lexicographical method was deemed sufficient, a more explicite and detailed exposition seemed necessary here. So we have to treat the question of sources with more detail.

#### a) The Hyksos problem.

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the historical importance of the Hyksos, the foreign invaders of Egypt, whose domination is a line of demarcation between the Middle and the New Empires. It is very likely that the Hyksos succeeded in establishing a short-lived world-power embracing Palestine, Syria, reaching so far as Crete, with Egypt as its centre. The Hyksos invasion determined, for many centuries, the history of Egypt: the XVIIth dynasty displayed the national reaction, driving the foreigners from the country, the XVIIIth—in order to safeguard the national development—subjugated Palestine and Syria, thus making Egypt a world-power.

On the other hand, an old tradition brings the Hyksos in connexion with the People of Israel, who are said to have migrated into Egypt under their dominion, Patriarch Joseph being a minister of a Hyksos king.

#### b) Egyptian sources.

The Egyptian tradition considers these invaders as enemies of the gods of the land, i.e. of the whole ancient civilization; and, as to their nationality, as Asiatics, *šamu* (*š'mu*), barbarians (*š'mu*).<sup>1</sup> Their

<sup>1</sup> Wolf seems to identify *š'mu* with *šemu*, Semites. The inscription of the queen Hatshepsut (XVIIIth dyn.) at Speos Artemidos uses the two forms one beside the other. W. M. Müller (MVAG 1888, No. 3, p. 7) interprets it in the

chiefs are called *hiq-khasut* (*hq-hsct*), "Princes of Desert," like Beduin sheiks of Sinai or Syria, whence their Greek name of "Hyksos," wrongly interpreted as "Shepherd Kings."

We know that official monuments avoid dwelling upon facts and epochs humiliating to the national feeling. As the centre of the Hyksos power lay in the Delta, where the natural conditions are unfavourable to the preservation of monuments, the documents of the Hyksos epoch have been, up to the present, very scanty,—apart from a few inscriptions, chiefly on scarabs (often of rude workmanship).

### c) Greek sources.

The well-known Jewish historian of the 1st cent. A.D., Josephus Flavius, considers the Hyksos as Semites, ancestors of the people of Israel; his polemical work "Contra Apionem" has preserved several extracts from the History of Egypt by Manetho. These extracts—reflecting partly the official, partly the popular Egyptian tradition—(extracts preserved also by later Christian writers, Julius Africanus and Eusebius, as well as in the so-called Book of Sothis) form the only consecutive account of the events of the epoch.

Modern science has, in general, adopted the view of a Semitic origin of the Hyksos (admitting, however, a certain foreign alloy, of late considered to be Mitannian); the scanty remains of their language (about two dozen words, according to E. Meyer, merely proper names) have been interpreted as Semitic, at least in the majority of cases, a certain amount of those that could not be explained in this way being supposed to be Egyptian. Still, there remains a residuum of names defying any interpretation.

It follows from the above remarks that our sources concerning the Hyksos are twofold: Greek (or rather, Hellenistic), i.e. extracts and quotations from Manetho, and purely Egyptian. Manetho gives

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sense of the presence, among the Semite invaders, of some foreign element (possibly, Aryan); cf. also S. A. Cook, CAH I, 232–33. This interpretation is rejected by Breasted (Anc. Rec. Eg. II, 125), as well as by most other scholars.

a list of the Hyksos kings of the XVth dynasty and the name of their capital; native documents contribute about 30 names, a part of which is purely Egyptian. Only two names of Manetho's List agree with those of Egyptian monuments (besides the name of the capital).

We will take Manetho's List, then those names from the native sources that are more or less certainly Semitic, and then try to investigate the mysterious residuum.

Manetho's List is given in the form generally accepted (E. Meyer, *G. d. A.*, I 2, § 305; Weill); the various readings are to be found in the foot-notes.

1. *Salitis* (Σάλιτις);<sup>1</sup>
2. *Buôn* (Βρών, Weill—Bêôn);<sup>2</sup>
3. *Apachnan* (Ἀπαχνάν);<sup>3</sup>
4. *Apôphis* (Ἀπωφίς);<sup>4</sup>
5. *Iannas* (Ἰάννας);<sup>5</sup>
6. *Asêth* (Ἀσηθ).<sup>6</sup>

To these six names that of the capital *Avaris* (Ἀβάρις) should be added.

Two names (*Apôphis* and *Iannas*) have been identified with those of native documents (*Apopi* and *Khyân* respectively), as well as that of *Avaris* (*H't-w'rt*), while the identification of two other names (*Buôn* and *Asêth*) is questionable.

The interpretation of the first name of the list (*Salitis*) as Semitic seems easy, as we shall see, but the names of *Buôn* and *Apachnan*, after having put the ingenuity of several scholars to a severe trial, remain enigmatical.

<sup>1</sup> Afr., Eus.-*Saites*, Sothis-*Silitis*.

<sup>2</sup> Sothis-*Baion*.

<sup>3</sup> Afr.-*Pachnan*, Sothis-*Apachnas*.

<sup>4</sup> Sothis-*Aphôphis*; at the end of the List Afr. (*Aphobis*) and Eus. (*Aphôphis*).

<sup>5</sup> Afr. -*Staan*, wanting Eus. and Sothis; Afr. and Eus. insert *Archles* before *Aphobis* (Ἀφίς).

<sup>6</sup> Sothis has: 5—*Sethôs*, 6—*Kertôs* and 7—*Asêth*.

## B. The Hyksos names.

### 1. Semitic.

The Hyksos names more or less generally admitted to be of Semitic origin slightly depass half a dozen; the authorities are far from being unanimous as to their interpretation.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Ištar-ummi* (*jštr-‘m*), a female slave taken at Avaris by Ahmose of Elkab.

2. *‘Abd*,—on the coffin where the dagger bearing the name of the king Apopi was found.

3. *Nehemen*, the name of the owner of the said dagger.

4. *Iš-mu* (*j‘m*),—on a scarab of the Hyksos epoch<sup>2</sup> (like the following).

5. *Anat-her* (*‘ant-hr*).<sup>3</sup>

Burchardt and E. Meyer assume the first part (*‘ant*) to be = *Anat*, a Canaanite goddess;<sup>4</sup> the second part (*hr*) appears to Burchardt as doubtful, while Meyer considers it to be a form of the Egyptian verb and to mean "satisfied." Then the name would mean "A. is satisfied"; this interpretation is rejected by Wolf,<sup>5</sup> for grammatical reasons: *hr* = Sem. *el*, "god". The name would then seem to mean: "Anat is my goddess."

6. *Iakob-her* (*j‘kb-hr*),<sup>6</sup> according to E. Meyer: "Iakob [a Canaanite god] is satisfied," or—following Wolf—"I. is [my] god."<sup>7</sup>

7. *Salitis* (vv. rr. *Salatis*, *Silites*, *Saites*) of Manetho has long ago been compared to Hebr. *šallit* (related to Arab. *sultān*), "prince, sovereign,"<sup>8</sup> but E. Meyer (l. c.) believes that it might be Semitic,

<sup>1</sup> The latest paper on the subject, serving as a base to the following, is Burchardt, *Rassenangehörigkeit* (1912).

<sup>2</sup> Gauthier II 145, No. 8.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid., 138, No. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Burchardt supposes *‘ant* of the Turin Papyr. X, 123, to be an abbreviation of this name.—In Wolf's opinion, *‘ant* (as well as *j‘m*) is Semitic.

<sup>5</sup> P. 69, n. 6: the Egypt. verb *hrw* would form *hrj*, according to Sethe, *Verbum I*, § 248.

<sup>6</sup> Gauthier, *ibid.*, No. 12.—*Ipeq-har*.

<sup>7</sup> Weill, *ibid.*, remarks that Iakob was no god, but a Canaanite hero.

<sup>8</sup> Sayce, *PSBA*, v. 23, 1901, p. 98; Eisler 142, n. 8; *CAH I*, 233.

while Wolf (p. 70) considers it to be non-Semitic. It is hardly a name, in the strict sense of the word, but rather a title. Müller thinks that it was a surname of Khyân (v. infra), Pieper (p. 32)—that of King Khenzer.<sup>1</sup>

8. *Khyân* (*hy'n* = *Hayan*), generally identified with *Iannas* of Manetho.

Burchardt compares Assy. "*hayanu*", "little"; Meyer considers its Semitic origin as possible, while Wolf classes it among the numerous Hyksos names that defy any interpretation. The name being found in the inscription of Zendjirli,<sup>2</sup> Pieper<sup>3</sup> (as before him Müller, op. c. 6) admits the Hittite origin.

## 2. The unknown residuum — Aryan names.

All the scholars who have contributed to the study of the Hyksos onomastics (E. Meyer, Burchardt, and, of late, Wolf) admit a certain non-Semitic residuum of unknown origin in Manetho's List, presenting unsurmountable difficulties.<sup>4</sup>

A good deal of these mysterious names can, in the writer's opinion, be interpreted as Aryan; the writer does not pretend, however, to explain all the names in this way, some Hyksos names still remaining a riddle.

The order of investigation is as follows: 1) Manetho's List (1a—the names in their original Greek form, 1b—Egyptianized names), 2) Egyptian documents and 3) doubtful names.

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, Nachträge 37, n. 1, assigns Khenzer (*hndr*) to the XIIIth dyn.; Hall 215, n. 2, supposes that "Khenzer" could have been, under the Ptolemies, pronounced as *shalti(r)*, though the word might have been Egyptian.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lidzbarski, Die Stele von Ordek-burnu, Ephem. f. Semit. Epigraphik, III, 1911, p. 200, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> OLZ 1922, No. 3, col. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Meyer, G. de A. I 2, § 304: "Andere wie Baon, Apachnan, Smqn sind undeutbar."—Burchardt: "... mit den nur bei Manetho überlieferten Namen ... ist wohl kaum etwas anzufangen." Wolf: "Diesen Namen stehen andere gegenüber, die einstweilen der Zuweisung an irgendeinen Sprachstamm trotzen ... so Baon, Apachnan, Chian-Iannas, Salitis" (p. 70).

## 1. Manetho's List.

The names transmitted by Manetho have the advantage of being vocalized: the Greek transliteration notes even the quantity of vowels, as well as the stress, while the Egyptian hieroglyphic script gives, as a rule, nothing but the consonantic skeleton.

## 1a. Hyksos names in their original Greek form.

1. APACHNAN (Josephus Ἀπαχνά, Vulg., ed. Teubner, and the Book of Sothis Ἀπαχνάς, Jul. Africanus—Παχνά),

= Ind. (Vedic) *apaghñán*, n. sg. m. part. pres. *√han* (*ghan*) + *apa* (prefix), "repelling, destroying" (the simple root meaning "to strike, kill").<sup>1</sup>

The transliteration of *gh* by *χ* is quite regular (cf. Ἀμιτροχάτης = *amitraghāta*).<sup>2</sup>—Several Egyptologists have proposed interpretations of this name that are generally rejected by their fellow-scholars.

a) W. M. Müller (p. 17): Ἀπαχνα = *pa* (the definite article) + *Aknen* [*rē*], the name of *Rē* of one of the Apopis, or *Απ(ωφίς) + αχνα*.<sup>3</sup>

b) Sayce: Παχνά = *Pa-kana'n*, "the Canaanite."<sup>4</sup>

c) Erman: the title *Ā-peḥti-nubti* (of the Stela of the year 400 of Ramses II) forms the base ("liegt zu Grunde") of the name *Apachnas*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The meanings of Indian words are given (here, as well as elsewhere) according to the Larger St.-Petersburg Dictionary by Böhtlingk and Roth and that by Monier-Williams (2nd ed.).

<sup>2</sup> A surname of Bindusāra Maurya (CHI I, 495).

<sup>3</sup> This explanation is opposed to by Lieblein 116 and by Gauthier II, 141, n. 6.—The writer understands, from a highly competent source, that the use of the article in proper names is not attested in Egyptian documents previous to the XVIIIth dyn.

<sup>4</sup> PSBA, v. 23, 1901, p. 98, rejected by Pieper 35.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. Eisler, 143—4, n. 3.



Many scholars explain the name in question (*Āa-peḥti-nubti*) as the royal title of the god Seth (of Nub), the very existence of a Hyksos king of this name being doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

2. Βῥῶν (Jos. *Brῶn*, Jul. Afr., Euseb. *Brῶn*, Book of Sothis *Baiῶn*, Jos. Vulg. *Βῥῶν*, Jos. Armenian<sup>2</sup>—*Banon*) = (possibly!) Egypt. *Bebnem* (Pap. Tur. VII / VIII /, No. 135),<sup>3</sup>

= Ind. *\*vandāna*,<sup>4</sup> "conquering," adj. from *V̄an*, "superare"; Av. *vanana*, "conqueror, victor."<sup>5</sup>

It is tempting to compare the above name with the Iranian (Parthian, 1st cent. B.C.—A.D.) *Vonones* (Tacitus, but Strabo and Josephus—*Βονῶννης*, Monum. Ancyranum *Οδοῶννης*, coins *Οναννης*)<sup>6</sup>—a name known only under its Greek garb,<sup>7</sup> the original form being uncertain.

The *b* of Manetho constitutes no difficulty, the confusion of *b* and *w* at the low epoch being admitted by Burchardt;<sup>8</sup> still the form *bebnem* of the Turin Papyrus (XIXth dyn., before 1200 B.C.) is puzzling.—The long *o* of Manetho in *Buῶn* is to compare to Coptic transliterations *o* < *ā* stressed.<sup>9</sup>

Let us examine other interpretations:

Sayce (l. c.): *Bnon* = *Ben-On*, "the Onian," i.e. "the man of [the city of] On" (= Heliopolis); Burchardt (§ 180) compares *Brῶν* to Hebr. בֶּרֶךְ, Eisler<sup>10</sup> to Semitic *Banān*.

<sup>1</sup> So Gauthier (II, 151, No. 27. 1), Roeder (s.v. Seth in Roscher's *Lexikon*, IV, 725 sqq.), Pieper, p. 38. Meyer (l. c.) is inclined to accept the king of this name, but he is not conclusive.

<sup>2</sup> Lepsius, *Königsbuch* 15.

<sup>3</sup> Lieblein 113 sees the same name in *benen(re)* of the Pap. Ebers,—a view rejected by Gauthier.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. as to the suffix *-ana* and the accent on the penultima (like *manana*, &c.) Whitney, § 1150. 2 b; cf. also ved. *vanana(m)* (neuter), "wealth."

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *AIW*, col. 1354.

<sup>6</sup> Occurs in an Indo-Parthian dynasty, *CHI* I, 578.

<sup>7</sup> *IN* 376.     <sup>8</sup> *I*, § 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Rassenangehörigkeit* 7.

<sup>10</sup> 142, n. 4.

3. Aseth (Jos., Book of Sothis *Ασθηθ*, Jos. Vulg. *Ἀσσηθ*),

identified by Hall<sup>1</sup> with the name of a Hyksos king (on scarabs) *Uazed* (*w'dd*, also read *Uatjed*, *Uatchet*), about whom scholars do not agree.<sup>2</sup>

Cf. Ind. *vaśitā*, "one who dominates," n. sg. m. of *vaśitṛ*, a nomen agentis of *√vaś*, "to wish, dominate."

Meyer (l. c.) only remarks that Aseth may be Semitic; W. M. Müller (p. 18) considers this word to be a corruption of *Ασσης* = *a-wsr-re*, a name of one of the Apopis. Eisler (ibid.) compares *Assis* = *w'dd*, to Sem. *'Azizu*.

*w'dd* (meaning "green") may have been an Egyptianized form of the Aryan word (v. infra).

4. KERTOS (*Κερτός*, only the Book of Sothis, between *Sethos* and *Aseth*),

= Ind. *kartā*, "he who does, acts," n. sg. m. nominis agentis of *√kṛ* (the *s* being but a Greek ending of nom. sg.; *ῥ* < *ā*, cf. supra, s. v. *Bnōn*).

## 1 b. Egyptianized names.

Before coming to the discussion of the two names preserved by Manetho, as well as in Egyptian documents, the writer would like to remind the reader of the well-known fact of the adaptation of foreign personal and local names to the phonetic system of the borrowing language. The examples are numerous enough; the most striking may be the Russian practice of substituting familiar Christian names (mostly of Greek origin) for Western names: thus Heinrich or Henry becomes *Andrej* (= Andrew), William (Wilhelm) *Vasily* (= Basile) and so on, a process based on a purely external similarity of sound.

1. APOPHIS (Jos. *Ἀποφης*, Jul. Afr. *Ἀφωβης*, Euseb. and the Book of Sothis *Ἀφωφης*),

<sup>1</sup> P. 216; this scholar notes that the scarabs are of the same type as those of Khyân.

<sup>2</sup> Gauthier II, 147, No. 14; Pieper does not place him among the Hyksos, believing the name to be that of a queen (so Weill I, 794); Gauthier thinks that this queen was the wife of the king in question.

= Egypt. *Apopi* (*Apepi*), the name of several Hyksos kings, occurring on many monuments (cf. Weill I, 167 sqq., Gauthier II, 139 sqq.), mostly with purely Egyptian names of Rê. Though this name is assumed by several scholars (Weill, Meyer, Burchardt) to be Egyptian—probably owing to its similarity in sound to *Apap*, the name of the mythical serpent, enemy of the Sun-Rê<sup>1</sup> (a rather queer name for a king, "the son of Rê"), the writer ventures to identify it with Ind. *apabhid*, the root-name of *Vbhid* + *apa*, "to repel, drive away," meaning thus "one who repels" (i.e. the enemies).

The writer is aware of the difficulty concerning the absence of the final consonant (*d*) that might have disappeared in the respective dialect, as it was the case in Old-Persian;<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, an Aryan form \**apabhis*, the final *d* having fallen before the nominative ending *s*, seems also possible.<sup>3</sup>

The name of Rê of one of the Apopis—*Neb-khopesh-rê*, "Lord of the Scimitar" (the latter being a characteristically Hyksos weapon) presents a special interest.

2. AVARIS (Anaris, *Ἀβάρης*), the name of the Hyksos capital and stronghold, Egypt. *H't-w'rt* (Weill I, 172 Ha-ouarit, Maspéro—Hâouârrou, cf. infra Excursus I).

The Greek form is very near to Ind. *āvāra*, "shelter, defence," or *āvarāṇa*, "covering, protection, defence," from *Vvṛ* + *a*, "to cover, conceal, enclose" (especially by a wall, so *grāma āvṛtaḥ*, "a village enclosed, surrounded with a wall").

<sup>1</sup> Pierret, *Diet. arch. ég.* 35.—Griffith (PSBA XIX, 1897, 294), quoting Lieblein, shows that the name *Apepa* was frequent enough under the XIIIth dyn.

<sup>2</sup> Meillet, *Gramm. du vieux-perse*, §§ 165, 166.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae, *Gr. Ir. Ph. I.*, Avesta, § 392.—The *ph* of Jos., Eus., and the *b* of B. of Sothis can represent the sonant aspirate (cf. Graeco-Ind. coin *Σαυβητης* = *Sauvkhata*, &c.).—This would oppose the other possible interpretation: *Apopi* = Ind. *apāpi*, n. sg. of *apāpin*, "sinless, virtuous" (cf., as to the meaning, Greek *Ἀπίσιος*).

The ending of the original word being not quite clear,<sup>1</sup> the root and the general meaning are, in the writer's opinion, perfectly obvious. We cannot leave unmentioned an interesting coincidence: the history of Alexander's Indian Campaign names several fortresses—the best known situated in the mountains of the Indus land—Aornos (*Ἄορνος*),—a name identified with Ind. *āvarana*.<sup>2</sup> Thus *Avaris* would mean “a stronghold, a fortified place.” The story of Manetho is related by Josephus<sup>3</sup> in a rather confused manner (possibly, owing to the contamination of two stories): Salitis, the first Hyksos king, had chosen a town, called Avaris in connexion with some ancient theological tradition (*ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχαίας θεολογίας*), and had it fortified with a large and strong wall<sup>4</sup> (*τείχει τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ περιβαλεῖν*); at the end of their rule over Egypt, the Hyksos were sheltered in this town, invested by the Thebans.<sup>5</sup>

Thus Avaris is, in Manetho's view, the chief stronghold of the “Shepherd Kings,” well manned, able to shelter all of them with their goods (*ὅπως τῇ τε κτήσιν ἄπασαν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἰσχυρῷ*).

The Egyptian name seems to corroborate Manetho's reference to some “ancient theology”: Hall<sup>6</sup> translates *H'tw rt* (*Het-waret*), “the house of the leg,” since people must have believed that a relic of Osiris was preserved there.<sup>7</sup>

Avaris is repeatedly mentioned on Egyptian monuments, from Nehesi<sup>8</sup> (XIIIth dyn.)<sup>9</sup> up to Merneptah (XIXth dyn.), and even Ramses III (XXth dyn.), as a centre of the worship of Seth (“Seth

<sup>1</sup> Williams gives a word *āvari*, “shop, stall,” known from native lexicographers only; if the *t* belonged to the original word, it might have been = Ind. *āvārita*, p. p. of the Causative of the verb *āvr* (“protected”).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tomaschek, Pauly-Wissowa, R.-Enzyklop. Klass. Altert. I, 2659, s. v.; also V. Smith, Early History of India (4th ed.), pp. 56 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Contra Apionem 78 (ed. Teubner).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Weill's (I, 70 sqq.) analysis of Josephus' story.

<sup>5</sup> Jos., *ibid.* 87–88. <sup>6</sup> 214, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> W. M. Müller (p. 22) translates the same name: “Platz des Flußarmes,” Pierret, *Diet. arch. ég.*, 79–80: “Lieu de la fuite.”

<sup>8</sup> Meyer, *Nachträge z. Ägypt. Chron.* 24.

<sup>9</sup> Weill I, 172 and n. 2.

of Avaris"). In the Saite epoch (XXVIth dyn.) the worship of Osiris begins to predominate to the exclusion of Seth. Thus the "ancient" theology of Manetho must have been rather recent; one can easily imagine that the city of Seth was anxious to become the holy city of Osiris.

In the writer's opinion, the popular etymology ("Volksetymologie") has had a prominent part in the interpretation (by Manetho and, probably, even earlier) of the name of Avaris.<sup>1</sup> The tradition concerning the Indian *Aornos* = *Āvaraṇa* presents a curious analogy: *ἄορνος* being explained = ἄ-ορνις, "without birds," i.e. "inaccessible [even] to birds."

## 2. Hyksos names from Egyptian sources.

The Hyksos names that have come down in Egyptian documents only are often difficult to interpret owing to a defective spelling. Even in later times, the Old-Persian names were a puzzle to the scribes who had to write them with hieroglyphs, as we learn from Burchardt's painstaking study:<sup>2</sup> Egyptian forms are intelligible only by comparison with the Babylonian (cuneiform) spellings. So *ḫtrjwš* = OP. *Darayavauš* = Babyl. *da-a-ri-iš-a-muš* = Gr. *Δαρείος*. The confusion of signs and popular etymology have a free course in such spellings. Matters must have been still worse under the Hyksos, who, especially in the beginning, had to do with half-illiterate scribes.

<sup>1</sup> A. Gardiner, JEA 1918, p. 260 (ap. Lods, Israël dès origines au milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> s., Evolution de l'Humanité, N° 27, Paris 1930, p. 198) states that the town Sin (or Sain, i.e. "muddy, trouble"), lying at the easternmost branch of the Nile, was chosen by the Hyksos as their capital and called Avaris (then, under the XIXth dyn., Pi-Ramesse and later again Sin, of which "Pelusium" is but a Greek translation). Prof. P. Montet, however, identifies Avaris with Tanis; cf. RB, 1930, pp. 5 sqq.—It is very likely that "Avaris" was first used as an appellation (= "fortress"), but later specified as a proper name (cf. Germ. *Burg* as the name of a town in Prussian Saxony).

<sup>2</sup> Altkanaanäische Fremdworte, § 174.

1. SEMQEN (*šmqn*),

= Ind. \**sumaghān*, *sumahān*, n. sg. m. of *suma(g)hant*, "very great."

This chief bore the plain title of *hiq-ḥasut* (v. s.); Gauthier (II, 138, n. 1) remarks that he must have been one of the early Hyksos chiefs who had not yet assumed the royal title.<sup>1</sup>

This name is not liable to an interpretation from the point of view of Semitic philology, though several scholars (Weill I, 182, Burchardt and of late Wolf) are inclined to consider it as Semitic. Burchardt,<sup>2</sup> however, (as well as Meyer<sup>3</sup>) sees no way of interpreting it; Spiegelberg<sup>4</sup> suggests Semit. *šumukin*, *Simeon*.

Gustavs<sup>5</sup> explains *šmqn* as "Subareic" (i.e. Harrian-Mitanian): *Šimik* being the name of a god, while the ending *-n* goes back either to *-uni*, "to send," or to *en*, "Lord"; the name would then mean: "Simik has sent" or "S. is [my] Lord."

2. QAR (KAR) or *Qarankh*,

one is tempted to interpret this name, known from scarabs<sup>6</sup> only, as = Ind. *kara* ( $\sqrt{k_r}$ , "to do, act")—"one who acts," or to connect it with OP. *kara*, "army."<sup>7</sup>

3. TAUTI (*Taouti*, Gauthier II, 149, No. 18), a queen.<sup>8</sup>

The reading is, however, uncertain, Irshuta or Shahashuta being also possible.

*Tauti* = Ind. *tavati*, "powerful," n. sg. fem. pres. part. of  $\sqrt{tu}$ , "valere."

<sup>1</sup> Weill I, 473, n. 2, and 534, n. 2, believes him to have been a contemporary of the XIIIth dyn.

<sup>2</sup> *Rassenangehörigkeit*, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> G. d. Alt., I 2, § 304.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. Eissler 142, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *AZ*, v. 64, 1929, p. 57.—Mr. Gustavs explains some three or so names of Syrian slaves in an Egyptian list as "Subarean."

<sup>6</sup> Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. XXI, 23–24; Gauthier II, 149, No. 22; Weill I, 195 (without transliteration).

<sup>7</sup> The word *kara* (of unknown meaning) forms a part of several Kassite names (v. s.).

<sup>8</sup> Pieper assigns this queen to the Ancient Empire.

## 3. Doubtful words.

Under this heading a single word that may be of Aryan affinity has been considered. A few other words of this description have been relegated to the Appendix II, there being no direct evidence of their having belonged to the Hyksos language (or languages).

1. SUTEKH (*šwṭḥ*, *šwṭj*), the name of the god of the Hyksos, identified by the Egyptians with Seth,

= Ind. *\*sutik*, n. sg. of *\*sutij* = *sutejas*, "very brilliant, very mighty" (*Ūtīj*).

The Egyptologists of our days object to the vocalization "*sutehh*" of the Egyptian name, which must have been, to judge by the Greek Σῆθ and its derivatives like Σέθωϛ and so on, *šētekh*, later *šet*.

Roeder<sup>1</sup> calls the form *šwṭḥ*—imaginary ("scheinbar"); he sees no reason for dividing the same deity into an Egyptian Seth and a foreign (Hittite, Syrian) Sutekh: the Egyptians identified the Hyksos god (whose name we do not know), the Storm-god of the Hittites and the Syrian Baal with their Seth,—the Egyptian god of this name being, under the XIXth dyn., an amalgamation of all these deities.<sup>2</sup>

## 4. Linguistic character of the Hyksos names.

The names called Aryan by the writer bear, as shown by the foregoing study, an unmistakable Indian character: almost all of them possess parallels in Indian, while the comparison with Iranian seems necessary but in a few instances (like *Bnōn-Vonones*). Phonetical features too, so far as we can judge by the very imperfect tradition, seem to point in the same direction: should the preservation of the initial *s* (*Šmqn* = *\*sumaghān*, *Šwṭj* = *\*Sutij*?) be considered as questionable (v. infra), that of the aspirate *gh* (*Apachnan* = *apaghnan*) may be of greater importance. It would seem that the conditions among the Hyksos were nearly the same as in the kingdom

<sup>1</sup> Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. Set; cf. Gardiner, *JEA* V, 1918, p. 44, and Meyer, op. cit., I. c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Excursus* II.



of Mitanni (or Harri) and in Palestine and Syria of the Amarna epoch (as suggested by E. Meyer), the dominant element being Indian, and not Aryan, as it was formerly presumed (v. *infra*).

As to the formation, the names are mostly root-words (with prefixes, like *apabhid* or *sutij*), participles (*apaghnān*, *tavati*), nomina agentis in *-tar* (*vaṣitā*, *kartā*), or words formed with the simplest suffixes *-a*, *-ana* (*kara*, *vanana*).

An interesting, though negative, feature is the absence of real compounds of two (or more) stems, that are so frequent in the names of the Mitanni kings and of the Syro-Palestinian chiefs of the Amarna letters. Following the theory of Fick<sup>1</sup> concerning Indo-European names, that recognizes but the full (i.e. compound) name and the hypocoristica, the Hyksos names are no Indo-European names at all. The theory referred to is now considered not to fit in with the facts: the Italians, Albanians, Phrygians and Armenians do not stick to the principle of the bipartite name, common among Indians, Iranians, Greeks, Celts, Germans and Slavs. Still, since the oldest times, the simple name (an adjective or a substantive) was almost as common as the compound in India: the Veda mentions names like *Aruṇa*, *Asita*, *Kuṣa*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Kāśyapa*, side by side with *Agni-yuta*, *Devarāta*,<sup>2</sup> &c.

Then, the Hyksos names may have been no names (in the sense of Christian names or Roman *praenomina*), but laudatory bynames (designated in India by the modern-Ind. term *biruda*), distinct from names used by the relatives or friends of the persons concerned.<sup>3</sup> Thus the ancient kings of Magadha known to the Buddhists as *Bimbisāra* ("The essence of the Moon") and *Ajātaśatru* ("To whom no enemies are born") are called by the Jains by the plain names *Śreṇika* and *Kuṇika*, respectively; the Maurya king

<sup>1</sup> Die griechischen Personennamen (2nd ed., Göttingen 1894), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A. Hilka, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der indischen Namengebung. Die indischen Personennamen (Indische Forschungen 3), Breslau 1910, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, concerning *Salitā* (= *Shallit*).

(3rd cent. B.C.) Bindusāra was for the Syrian ambassador Megasthenes *Ἀμιτροχάτης* (= Skt. *amitraghata*), "Killer of the enemies,"<sup>1</sup> &c.

Later ages, up to our times, know too many instances of a similar substitution of bynames to the exclusion of original names: few people remember that *Plato* was but the byname of *Aristocles*. In the French royal house the titles of princes were in current use as names: so the future kings Louis XVI and Charles X were for their mother, when children, "Berry" and "Artois."

When two nations come in contact for the first time, the queerest misunderstandings as to the names take place. We may remind here of the manner of Greek historians of Alexander's Campaign to call Indian kings by the name of their state<sup>2</sup> (a native custom, often recurring in the Epics): *Takṣaśīla*, i.e. the king of *Takṣaśīla*, becomes *Taxilos*, the king of Magadha is called *Palibothros*, from the name of his capital *Palibothra* = *Paṭaliputra*.

A similar misunderstanding may have taken place when native scribes had to express the names of foreign conquerors in hieroglyphs. The Amarna letters, being mostly a correspondence between vassal princes and their Egyptian overlord, had to use simpler forms of names.

The meanings of the Hyksos names, as far as they have been interpreted above, match with those of Semitic origin in their Greek form, which, as Prof. Petrie says,<sup>3</sup> "are well in keeping with the character given to the Hyksos."

### Conclusions.

The above study of the Hyksos names furnishes some arguments in favour of the theory, suggested by several scholars over thirty years ago, concerning the presence of an Indo-European or Aryan element among the Hyksos.

<sup>1</sup> CHI I, 495.

<sup>2</sup> La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Maurya*, etc. (*Hist. du Monde*, E. Cavaignac, t. VI), Paris 1930, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. of Egypt* I, 240.

So far as the writer is aware, W. M. Müller was the first (1898) to admit, though not unreservedly, the Aryan origin of these invaders.<sup>1</sup> This idea was propounded by Hommel in his "Grundriß" (1904).<sup>2</sup>

Burchardt (1912) considers the Hyksos to have been a Semitic nation with a Hittite and Aryan alloy<sup>3</sup> (practically Hommel's point of view). That is the opinion of Gemoll<sup>4</sup> and Hall,<sup>5</sup> and, lastly, of Ed. Meyer;<sup>6</sup> according to that great historian, the Semitic Hyksos were ruled by the same element as was dominant (at a later date) in Palestine and Syria, i.e. by *Ḫarrîans* or Aryans. This hypothesis was chiefly based upon cultural phenomena, such as the introduction of the horse and of iron, both of which have been long ago recognized as characteristically Indo-European and Aryan.<sup>7</sup>

The writer's attempt to interpret several Hyksos names as Aryan (or even Indian),—should it appear plausible,—might give this hypothesis a new (if not decisive) support.

A thorough study of the monuments of the Hyksos period (tombs,<sup>8</sup> scarabs, &c.),—a study quite out of reach for the present writer,—may supply us with new and valuable material.

## Appendix II.

1) *smt* (vocalization unknown), "horse."

Explained as a formation from the Semitic plural of a word found in Assyrian as *sistû*, Hebr. *sûs*,<sup>9</sup> &c. We have already tried

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., 13, n. 2.      <sup>2</sup> P. 45, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Rassenangehörigkeit*, p. 8.      <sup>4</sup> *Israeliten und Hyksos*, Leipzig 1913, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> P. 212.      <sup>6</sup> *G. d. Alt.* II, pp. 41–42.

<sup>7</sup> Of late, W. Wolf (op. cit.) has shown himself as a decided opponent of the Aryan hypothesis: cf. *infra* (p. 167, n. 1), his remarks on the horse in Egypt. Wolf believes the Hyksos to have been a Semitic people with some foreign admixture, which could not be either Aryan (as supposed by Meyer) or Mitannian (Gütze), though the latter view seems to be in a better favour with Mr. Wolf.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Wolf, pp. 74 sqq., where a short sketch of the principal results of archaeological investigations is given (Abusir-el-Malek, Sedment, contain, i.e., foreign pottery with Palestinian affinities). Since 1928, Prof. P. Montet has been investigating the ruins of Tanis, which he identifies with the Hyksos capital, *s. Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 1928–31.

<sup>9</sup> E. Meyer, *SBA*, 1925, p. 252, n. 3; *CAH* II, 311 (Hall).

to interpret this word as identical with Ind. *śisū* (v. supra Ch. I, App. I, *sisū*).

Though there is no direct evidence (e.g., tradition or monuments) as to the connexion of *samt* with the Hyksos, still most scholars believe that the horse was introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos<sup>1</sup> and the word itself adopted from their language,<sup>2</sup> or, at least, under their rule.<sup>3</sup>

2) *wrryt* (= *wererit*?), "chariot, battle-chariot."

A word of foreign origin (CAH II, I. c.), of unknown etymology,<sup>4</sup> unknown before the invasion of the Hyksos, appearing under the XVIIIth dyn.<sup>5</sup>

The present writer would suggest Ind. *vararatha*, "good, excellent chariot," a descriptive compound of *vara*, "good, excellent," and *ratha*, "chariot."

The only difficulty is that of the vowel of the last syllable (*j=i?*). Still, the Ind. *ā* (or rather the sound so expressed) was, since ancient times,<sup>6</sup> pronounced like Engl. *ū* (in *but*).

3) *tu-t-k-n*, some medicine used as an eye-ointment.

This word is met with in the recipe against eye-diseases of an Asiatic (*am*) from Byblos, in the Papyrus Ebers<sup>7</sup> (ca. XVIth cent. B.C.),<sup>8</sup> along with two other (Semitic?) loan-words.

<sup>1</sup> E. Meyer, G. d. Alt. II, 2nd ed., 1928, p. 44.—Also Wolf, p. 72, who remarks, though, that the horse being represented on the Cappadocian Tablets (2nd half of the 3rd millenary), the Egyptians might have borrowed the animal and the word from the Semites of Syria.

<sup>2</sup> Sethe, NGGW, 1916, 2, 1373; Eisler, 73, n. 2.      <sup>3</sup> W. M. Müller, 13, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Wolf, p. 73, the word making on the author, however, "the impression of being good Egyptian."

<sup>5</sup> Erman-Grapow, Ägypt. Handwörterbuch, Berlin 1921, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> At least in Pāṇini's days, i.e. in the 5th cent. B.C.—Cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, § 3.

<sup>7</sup> G. Ebers, Papyrus Ebers. Die Maße und das Kapitel über Augenkrankheiten (Abh. Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., v. XI, 1890: LXIII, 9—*ṯuṯkn*<sup>11</sup>), i.e. "grain or corn."—W. M. Müller, Asien und Europa, 188, n. 3, says that the determinative denotes a grainy or powdery substance, though later on he says: "earth, metal."

<sup>8</sup> W. M. Müller, MVAG, 1912, pp. 47/8, assigns this papyrus to the epoch of the downfall of the Hyksos power, though based on still older material.

W. M. Müller explained this word at first<sup>1</sup> as = *šumšuk* = *σάμψυρον*, i.e. marjoram; later (cf. p. 167, n. 8) he seems to have given up this interpretation.

One is tempted to compare Ind. *tutthaka*(*m*), "blue vitriol" (used as an eye-ointment) "collyrium,"—a diminutive of *tutthā*, "fire," then (n.) "blue vitriol, collyrium." This word, appearing already Uṇādisutra 2, 7, seems to be a MInd. (Prakrit) form of *turtā*, "quick, expeditious" ( $\sqrt{tṛ}$ ), with the *ū* shortened in a closed syllable and the *tt* aspirated under the influence of the *r*.<sup>2</sup> The Egyptian *n* may represent the final nasalized vowel (*n̄*, *anuvāra*).

#### Excursus I.—The name of Avaris on Egyptian monuments.

The name in question is differently written on the monuments.

The simplest form is 1)  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{e} \overline{\text{w}}\text{r}$  = *He-w'r* (*He-wār*, the last sign  $\text{⊗}$  being the determinative of "town"): the Table of Sacrificial Offerings of the king Apopi Aknenrē (Weill I, 170), or 2)  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{e} \overline{\text{w}}\text{r} \overline{\text{t}}$  = *He-w'r-t*: the list of nomes of Ramses (Weill, *ibid.*, 172, n. 3).

Then, in a more complicate manner, with the sign for *t* ( $\triangle$ ) introduced into the first hieroglyph: 3)  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{e} \overline{\text{w}}\text{r} \overline{\text{t}}$  = *He(t)-w'r-t*,—so on the oldest monument of Nehesi (XIIIth dyn., the statue of Tell-Mokdam, Weill, *ibid.*, 171), and 4)  $\text{⊗} \overline{\text{h}}\text{e} \overline{\text{w}}\text{r} \overline{\text{t}}$  = *He(t)-w'r-t* (the 3rd sign being a determinative of "building"), on the inscription of the queen Hatshepsut at Speos Artemidos.




The form 1)—the only one found on a Hyksos monument made by order of a Hyksos king and thus having the best claim to authenticity, may have represented an Aryan word like *āvāra*; the aspirate (or even a guttural, *h*) constitutes no more difficulty





<sup>1</sup> *Aegyptiaca*, Festschrift Ebers, 7, 7 (the writer has not been able to consult this volume).

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the latter phenomenon cf. Pāli *acchā* < Skt. *arcis*, *sotthiya* < *śrotriya*, &c. (Geiger, *Gramm. d. Pāli*, § 62, 1. 2).—Uhlenbeck, *Etym. Skt. Diet.* 113, gives *tuttha* as "unexplained."

than the *h* in *-her* of *Anat-her*, &c., should the latter represent the Semit. *el*.

*Alapic* of Manetho seems to point to a form like 2), i.e. *He-wāret*.

Erman and Grapow (*Ägypt. Handwörterb.*, p. 162) consider the signs  and  as identical in sound (*h-t*), meaning "great house, temple, town"; that would contradict the readings of the forms 1) and 2) by other scholars, cf., e.g., Sottas et Drioton, *Introd. à l'étude des Hiéroglyphes* (Paris 1922) Table, p. 141 (where  is given with the meaning "castle").

It would seem that the signs  () were at first used phonetically, in order to express the foreign name of the place; later generations read them as ideograms: , "town" or "castle," and , "leg." Since the sounds of the name of the old city evoked no association in the mind of an Egyptian of the low epoch, it was easy to connect the queer name with the well-known myth of the dismemberment of the body of Osiris.

## Excursus II.—Sutekh.

The writer, neither intending to discuss the conclusions of competent scholars, nor willing to abandon the purely linguistic domain, thinks, however, that a review of several scattered notices concerning the god of the Hyksos may be not devoid of interest.

The main fact is the identification of this deity with the Egyptian Seth on one hand, and with the Hittite god improperly<sup>1</sup> called Tešub, on the other, the latter being a storm-god,<sup>2</sup> like the former (E. Meyer compares Tešub to Hadad of the Amorites and Assyrians).<sup>3</sup> The Egyptian god is brought into connexion with the solar myth: Seth kills the serpent Apap (*Ἀπωπις*), the enemy of the Sun-god.

Papyrus Sallier I, one of the very few documents of Egyptian literature directly alluding to the religion of the Hyksos, states that

<sup>1</sup> V.i.

<sup>2</sup> We should, for the sake of fullness, mention the Kassite storm-god *Burias* (v.s.). <sup>3</sup> Op. cit., II 1, § 481.

the king Apopi worshipped his god Seth ("Sutekh") in the same way as the Egyptians worship Phra<sup>1</sup>-Harahti (a solar deity). Monuments of Egyptian art, though later than the Hyksos epoch, yield some rather interesting data.

Petrie<sup>2</sup> describes a statue (found at Serabit-el-Khadem) of "Sutekh," the great Hittite god, especially honoured in Syria, representing a deity of ferocious aspect, with a conical head-gear and an overhanging tress,—very like the Seth of Ramses II on the Stela of the year 400, and also named "Sutekh<sup>3</sup> āa Rehti,"—"S. great and mighty" (Prof. Petrie adds: "... the adjectives 'great and mighty' are distinctive of Sutekh").

Similar figures have been published by Griffith;<sup>4</sup> the god is represented piercing a serpent with a lance. The Beyrut statuette, of rude workmanship, without the lance (probably, broken off), is of special interest.

Worthy of note is a scarab of the XIXth dyn., published by Petrie:<sup>5</sup> "Sutekh," standing on a lion,—cp. Tešub, or the goddess of the city of Kadesh.<sup>6</sup>

If it were possible to make use of these, probably late, data, one might arrive at the following conclusions:

1) *Āa-pehti*, "great and mighty," might have been an Egyptian translation of the Hyksos word \**sutik* (*suti*j) = Ind. *sutejas*, "very mighty,"—an epithet of a god;

2) the distinctive trait (or exploit) of this storm- (and war-?) god is the killing of the serpent, the enemy of the Sun;

3) the Aryan god of these characteristics is \**vrtraghan* (Ind. *vrtrahan* = Indra; Av. *Vərəspərayna*);

4) the worship of Indra is attested for the Mitanni royal house (Boghazkeui, XIV–XIIIth cent. B.C.) and the Aryan dynasts in Palestine (*Indarāta*, v.i.,—El-Amarna, XIVth cent.).

<sup>1</sup> *Researches in Sinai*, 1906, p. 127 and Fig. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic Petrie!*

<sup>3</sup> *PSBA*, XVI, 1894, pp. 87 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pl. XI, 209. <sup>5</sup> *Of Meyer, op. cit.*, § 478, note.



### III. Palestine and Syria.

(Amarna Letters.)

(1380-1350 B.C.)

#### 1. ARTAMANYA of Ziribašani.

Am. 201, 2: *ar-ta-ma-an-ia*,

= Iran. \**artamanya*, Ind. \**rtamanya*, "remembering, revering Truth."

The cuneiform does not supply us with sufficient data concerning the initial vowel: as in OP., where the initial *a* (in *ar*-) signifies, according to Meillet,<sup>1</sup> a vocalic attack ("aleph"), which is sufficiently proved by the Elamite transliteration (OP. *ar* = El. *ir*).<sup>2</sup>

Compared by Sch. 271, 6, and Meyer (18) to the Persian name of Greek historians *Ἀρταμένης* (*Ἀρτάμνης*); v. IN 37.<sup>3</sup>

Web. 1294 calls the above name "Mitanni, Aryan," quoting Dhorme (RB 1909, 61) who defines it as Hittite and compares Phrygian *μavía*, fem. of *μavης*, "good."

Ind. *manya*, "remembering, mindful of," as in *punarmanya*, or, as *√man* means (in the Veda) "to set the heart on, honour, esteem,"<sup>4</sup> "honouring"; then *rtamanya*, "honouring, revering Truth" (which comes very near to Sch.'s translation "believing in Truth").

#### 2. ARZAWIYA of Ruḫizzi.

Am. 191, 2; 192, 4, &c. *ar-za-wi-ia*; also *ar-za-ú-ia* 53, 26, &c.; *ar-sa-ia* 289, 7 (the latter reading alone is treated by Sch. and Meyer).

The cuneiform does not show the real sound expressed by *z*: it may have been a *j*, as well as a *z*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 47, § 93: OP. *aršam* ('*ršāma*), El. *ir-ša-ma*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hüsing, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Son of Smerdis, Diodorus (31, 19, 1), the supposed ancestor of Cappadocian kings, and also a son of Darius I.

<sup>4</sup> PD, s. v. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Web. 1558 (Gloss., s. v.) is uncertain, whether A. be a pr. n. or a tribal designation (from the Arzawa country).

<sup>6</sup> Tq. XXIII.

Ind. \**arjavya*, from *arjava*, "straightness, honesty," also, as adj., "honest, &c." (in the later literature), or a *vṛddhi*<sup>1</sup> formation from *rju*, "straightforward, honest," whereto in Iranian correspond Av. *ərəza* (AiW 337/8) and *ərəzu* (ib. 353/4), OP. *ardu*.

Meyer (18 A 8) compares Av. *arəza*, "battle," or OP. (in Greek) *Βαζαένρις* = Av. *ərəzwant*, *ərəzu* (and *ərəzwan*) are also used as proper names, AiW 353/4.

Web. 1114 considers the name as Hittite, Tq. 31 as Hittite or Iranian.

### 3. BIRIAMAZA, an Egyptian officer of high rank at Hamath.

Am. 7, 15: *bi-ri-ia-ma-za*; 52, 45: *bi-ru-a-za*.

The latter spelling, as well as other names like *Namyawaza*, *Mattiuaza*, permits us to reconstruct the original as \**Biriawaza*.<sup>2</sup>

= Ind. \**vīryavāja*, "one who owns the prize [or booty] of prowess" = *vīrya*, "prowess" + *vāja*, "prize, booty."<sup>3</sup>

The name seems to be Indian, as Iranian does not possess a word corresponding to Ind. *vāja* (Av. *vāza* = Ind. *vāha*, "pulling, beast of burden," cannot, for semasiological reasons, be taken in consideration).

Tq. 64—"Hittite-Iranian."

### 4. BIRIDAŠWA, chief of Yanuamma.

Am. 196, 41; 197, 70: *bi-ri-da-aš-wa*.—Possibly identical with *Daša*, 53, 58 (Web. 1117), the latter being a shortened form of *Biridašwa*.

The first syllable almost certainly contains an *r* (v.i., s.v. *Biridiya*), the second—*ašwa* = Ind. *aśva*, "horse,"—as rightly recognized by G. J. Thierry,<sup>4</sup> who proposed the equation with Ind. *bṛhadaśva*,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Whitney, § 1211.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tq. XXIII: the cuneiform *m* = *v* in later Babylonian.

<sup>3</sup> Konow I, 44, n. 1, considers the names in *-waza* (= *vāja*) as betraying the interest in races, as in the Veda.—*Vāja*, however, may mean a "booty, prize" in the military sense, the original meaning being (RV) "strength, power." Still, he believes *waza* in *Mattiuaza* to be Iranian.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. F. Böhl, *Kanaaner und Hebräer* (Bonn, Diss.), Greifswald, 1911, p. 17, n. 1.

"one who owns a great horse,"<sup>1</sup> though it is hardly fair to the first part. Prof. Reuter (ap. Tq. XXI) suggests *pr̥d-aśva*, "one who owns a battle (*pr̥t*) horse."<sup>2</sup>

The present writer would prefer the equation = *vr̥ddhāśva*, "one who owns a grown (i.e. high, strong) horse," the word *vr̥ddha* (originally a p. p. p. from the *√vr̥dh*, "to grow") having this meaning in the Veda<sup>3</sup> (later chiefly "old").

Web. 1290 (and 1607/8), showing that this chief was a brother of Namyawaza (and of Etagama, i.e. of two bearers of Aryan names), divides the name *Biridaśva*, comparing the first part to *Pirizzi* (cf. infra, s.v. *Biridiya*) and the second to *Daśa*,<sup>4</sup> *Daśarti*, and considers it as Mitannian.

Dhorme (RB 1909, 60-61) calls it Hittite, as well as Tq. 64 ("Hittite or Iranian"), in spite of the remark quoted above.

The occurrence of *aśva* is very important, pointing to Indian connexions (not to Iranian, where it would have been *aspa* or *asa*).

#### 5. BIRIDIYA, of Megiddo.

Am. 242-246; 248, 19: *bi-ri-di-ia*, and Thureau-Dangin, AO 7098: *bi-ri-di-id*.

The original form is *\*br̥diya* = Iran. (OP.) *Bardiya* (the name of the younger son of Cyrus, Στέργιδης), written *br̥diy*, El. *Pirtiya* (so Hüsing 26, while Meillet 48, 67: *birtiya*), Babyl. *bar-zi-ya*, Aramean (Egypt) *brzy*.

The vocalic *r* (*r̥*) is obvious (v.s., s.v. *Artamanya*) from these transliterations, a fact recognized already by Justi (IN 63).

While the root—Av. *barəz*, Ind. *br̥h*, "to be high," is evident, the meaning is not easy to determine: Justi (l. c.)—"one to be exalted, praised," whereas Bartholomae (AiW 945/6) considers the

<sup>1</sup> Hesitatingly admitted in CAH II, 331.

<sup>2</sup> The word *pr̥t* is, already in the Veda defective (loc. pl. *pr̥t̥su* and *pr̥t̥susu*), being supplemented by the derivative *pr̥tanā*; cf. Whitney, § 397.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. compounds like *vr̥ddhasena*, "having large darts," *vr̥ddhāyu*, "possessing a high living power," &c.

<sup>4</sup> Which Web. 1117 recognizes to be a shortened form of *Biridaśva* (v.s.).

name as an hypocoristic ("Kurzname").—The consonant *d* is significant, as it points to an Iranian dialect closely allied to Persian (OP. *d*, Av. *z*).<sup>1</sup>

Is this name related to that of *Pirizzi* (Am. 27, 89, 93, 100, &c., Web. 1305, Dušratta's messenger), which might correspond to Av. *berazi*, "high"?

H. R. Hall was the first to propose the identification of *Biridiya* with OP. *Bardiya*.<sup>2</sup>

6. \*BİŠITANU, a man in Šumur.

Am. 62, 26: *bi-ši-ta-nu* (a letter of Abdi-Aširta, the chief or king of Amurru).

Possibly related to Av. *pešō-tanū*, "he whose body has been doomed, polluted," also used as a p. n. (e.g., a son of Vištāspa, AiW 897). In OP. (from Greek sources) Βισθάρης, a son of Artaxerxes III, *Hystanes*; Pehl. *Bešūtan* (v. IN).

7. \*DAŠRU, a chief in Syria.

Am. 261, 3; 262, 3: *da-aš-ru*.

It is tempting to compare this name to Ind. \**daśru*, from the root *da(ṛ)ś*, "to bite," that would phonetically correspond to Gr. δάξω (Ind. *aśru*), "tear." The meaning would be "biting," cp. *Damśaka*, the name of a prince in the *Rajatarāṅgiṇī*.—Cf. also Av. *tišidāšura*, "sharply biting" (AiW 653).

Another, though less plausible, interpretation: = Ind. (Ved.) *dasra*, "accomplishing wonderful deeds, giving marvellous aid," an epithet of the two Aśvins, said to be the name of one of them,<sup>3</sup> the other being called *Nāsatya*.

8. \*ETAGAMA, ruler of Kinza (Kadesh on Orontes), son of Šutarna, brother of Namiawaza.

Am. 149, 30 (?); 151, 59: *e-ta-ga-ma*; 174, 11; 175, 9; 176, 9: *e-da-ga-ma*; 53, 8. 11. 21. 37. 60; 54, 21. 37: *a-i-tu-ga-ma*; 189, 2:

<sup>1</sup> Hüsing, l. c., considers *Berziya* as a form more common to Babylonians.

<sup>2</sup> PSBA, v. 31, 1909, p. 234, n. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Konow II, p. 37.

*e-tak-ka-ma*; 56, 23. 27: *a-tak-ka-ma*; 140, 25: *i-ta-ka-ma*; 189, 20: *i-tak-ka-ma*; 197, 31: *i-ta-at-ka-ma*.

Thureau-Dangin AO 7097, obv. 10: *E-da-qa-ma*; Weidner 1, obv. 41 (p. 14): *A-i-täg-ga-ma*.

Web. 1286 gives Hommel's interpretation of the name as Semitic: *Ai-da'ama* (cf. Phœnician god *d'm*, Phœn. name *Da'am-melek*).

The writer would suggest an Aryan etymology: Ind. *\*eta-gama*, "quickly going," from *éta* (Ved.), "rushing, darting" (*√i*, "go") + *gama*, "going" (*√gam*); cf. *étava*, "coming quickly."<sup>1</sup>

The fact that Etagama's father and brother bear Aryan names makes this etymology plausible.

As to the transliteration of the Ind. *e* by an *i*, cf. infra the Hittite *a-i-ka* = Ind. *eka*.

#### 9. INDARŪTA, chief of Akšapa.

Thureau-Dangin AO 7096, rev. 23: *en-dar-ú-ta*; AO 7095, obv. 1: *in-tar-ú-da*.

Th.-D. suggests<sup>2</sup> to correct Am. 223, 4: *Engûta* (*en-g[u]-ú-ta*) into *Endarûta*.

Prof. E. Sieg identifies<sup>3</sup> this name with Ind. *Indrotá* = *indra* + *ûta* (*√av*), "upheld, loved by Indra," a name occurring in the Veda,<sup>4</sup> as well as in the later literature. The name of the old Aryan god appears in the cuneiform as *Indar(a)* (v. infra, p. 190), possibly, owing to the principles of the script, unable to express three subsequent consonants; on the other hand, this spelling may have reflected the real pronunciation: the name is often to be read in the Veda in three syllables: *indara*.<sup>5</sup>

Cf. infra, p. 206, the Hittite name *Endarva*.

<sup>1</sup> So Graßmann, s. v.; PD prefers "variegated," also as the name of a horse of the gods.

<sup>2</sup> RA XIX, 1923, p. 100, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. A. Jirku, ZA, v. 36, 1925, pp. 74-76 and 164; the latter scholar proposes a hybrid etymology, half-Aryan and half-Semitic: "Indra, look!" like *Istar-uta* (*√atā*, "to see").

<sup>4</sup> RV VIII, 68, 15 (v. 17—*Indra-ûta*); Śatap. Br. 13, 5, 3, 5; MBh. 12, 5595.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wackernagel I, p. 55, § 506,—as noted by E. Meyer.

10. <sup>o</sup>IRIMAYAS(š)A, Pharaoh's messenger.

Am. 130, 11: *i-ri-ma-ja-aš-ša*.

Web. 1064 declares this name to be Egyptian, following Ranke 11, who, however, gives no Egyptian parallel and rejects the identification with *Hâ-ramassi*.

The writer would propose the following interpretation: *Irimayaš(š)a* = Av. \**airime-aspa* (\**airimayaspa*), OP. \**arimai-asa* (\**arimayasa*), meaning "One who owns a quiet horse" (or "quiet horses").

Meillet, Gr. v.-p. §§ 113, 255—as well as other distinguished scholars<sup>1</sup>—insists upon protoir. \**sp* (Av. = Ind. *śv*) becoming in OP. *s* (*ss*, so *asa* = Av. *aspa*, *visa* = *vispa*). Cf. infra *Tahmas(š)i*.

As to the meaning cp. *Vištāspa*, "one who owns docile horses" (AiW 1474).

Should the above interpretation be correct, *irimayaš(š)a* would be the "Persian" (Western) form corresponding to the "non-Persian" (or Eastern) \**arimaspa*, preserved in the name of a Scythian tribe (*Ἀριμασπῶται* of Herodotus III, 116; IV, 27).<sup>2</sup>

## 11. MAYARZANA, chief of Hazi.

Am. 185, 3: *ma-ja-ar-za-na*.

The name should be read *Mawarzana* (with Tq. 123 and Meyer 18 A 7) = Iran. *Māh-varzāna*. The latter scholar considers the second part as = Ir. (non-Pers.) *varzāna* (Gr. *Βαγδάνης*), while Tq. rightly identifies *ma* with Iran. *māh* (= Ind. *mās*), "moon." The meaning would be: "protected<sup>3</sup> by the Moon-god."

## 12. NAMYAWAZA, son of Šutarna, Pharaoh's representative in Ube.

Am. 182, 6: *nam-ja-wa-za*; 129, 32: *nam-ja-wa-zi*; 53, 4: *nam-ja-za*.

<sup>1</sup> Such as Darmesteter, Geldner, Salemann (Gr. Ir. Phil. I, 263 *as(s)a*), this theory being, however, opposed to by Bartholomae (ibid., pp. 216–7).—*airime* is an adverbial locative of the adj. \**airima*; the cognate *arəm* is used both adverbially and adjectively (cf. compounds like *arəm-maiti*, "of right thought").

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus translates this name "one-eyed," cf. Tomaschek, Pauly-Wissowa, R. Enz. Kl. Alt. II, 1896, col. 826—who interprets it as "possessing wild horses," from *airima*, *arima*, "desert."

<sup>3</sup> Av. *varzāna* is rendered by Justi, s.v., "Schutzverwandter, Schützling" while Bartholomae (AiW 1378) prefers "zur Gemeinde (*varzāna*) gehörig."

The name corresponds to Ind. \**nāmya-vāja*, "one who owns a glorious (*nāmya*) prize or booty (*vāja*)."

The first part (*nāmya*) is not found (though quite possible) in Iranian,<sup>1</sup> while it is common in Indian; the same remark holds true as to *waza* = Ind. *vāja* (cf. Konow's remark supra, p. 172, n. 3).—Meyer 19 A 11 classes this name among those of Aryan affinities, giving no interpretation; Web. 1114 and Tq. XXIII consider it as "Mitanni-Hittite."

13. RUŠMANYA, of Šaruna.

Am. 241, s: *ru-uš-ma-an-ja*.

Ind. \**ruci-manyā*,<sup>2</sup> "remembering, honouring Light" (cf. supra *Artamanya*).

Sch. 271, s = (same etymology) "believing in Light," a view adopted by Meyer 18 A 2.

Web. 1294 considers the name as "Hittite-Mitannian, Aryan,"<sup>3</sup> comparing it with *Artamanya*. Dhorme (RB 1909, 61) mentions Phryg. *μavla*.—Tq. XXI, quoting Sch. and Meyer (who considers it as Iranian), finds it "Indian in type."

14. ŠATIYA, (probably) of Enišaši.

Am. 187, s: *sa-ti-ja*.

The name should be read *satya*, as recognized by Sch. 271 = Ind. *satya*, "true, sincere, honest," also p. n. (postvedic).

Meyer 19 A 14 considers it to be not Iranian; Tq. XXI "Indian in type."

15. ŠUBANDU, a chief in S. Palestine.

Am. 305, s: *šu-ba-an-du*; 301, s; 302, s, &c.: *šu-ba-an-di*,

= Ind. *subāndhu* (also *°ndhū*), "closely related, a good friend," or "having good relatives, friends," also a p. n. (Vedic, so a ṛṣi in

<sup>1</sup> The writer means, of course, *nāmya*, adj. from *nāman*, "name"; Iran. *nāmya*, "flexible," from *Vnam*, has nothing to do with it and gives no satisfactory meaning.

<sup>2</sup> *rūci* (also *ruci*), "light, splendour, &c." is found in the Atharvaveda, in the Brāhmaṇas, &c.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of this juxtaposition is not clear to the present writer, the Hittite and Mitanni languages being substantially different from Aryan.



RV).<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sch. 271, 15 and Meyer 19 A 13. Tq. XXII, "Indian in type," while Weber 1349, ignoring this connexion, compares the name *Iawibanda* of Tell-Ta'annek.<sup>2</sup>

16. <sup>o</sup>SUMITTA, an Egyptian officer (?).

Am. 57, 13: *šu-mi-it-ti*[a]; 40, 6: [*šu-mi*]i-it-ti.<sup>3</sup>

= Ind. (Ved.) *sumédha* (parallel form <sup>o</sup>*dhas*), "of good (*su*) understanding (*medhā*), sensible, wise," also a p. n.

The latter part is the specifically Indian form of Aryan *\*mazda*, preserved in Iranian (Av. *mazdah*).

*Šumitta* might be identified, following Hrozný (who doubts it), with the name of a chief of Kargamiš, preserved in the Boghazkeui documents,—*Šumittaraš* that the writer would regard as = *sumitra* (v. infra, p. 206).

17. ŠUTARNA, of Mušihuna.

(According to Web. 1280, possibly identical with Š. of Kinza, i.e. of Kadesh on Orontes, the father of Namyawaza and a relative of the royal house of Mitanni.)

Am. 182, 2; 183, 3; 184, 4: *šu-tar-na*.

= Ind. *\*su-dharṇa* (?) or *\*su-dharṇi*, "very strong, well protecting" (cf. Ved. *dharṇi*, "protector".)

Sch. 270, 3 = Ind. *sutaraṇa*, "well helping" ("schön fördernd") = *su-taraṇa*, from  $\sqrt{tṛ}$ ; this interpretation is accepted by Meyer 19, 2, who compares *Sutirna*<sup>4</sup> (*Zutirna*), a Median chief of Sargon's list, and by Tq. XXII.

<sup>1</sup> So Graßmann X, 59, 8 (possibly an appellative).

<sup>2</sup> That seems to be the idea of Sellier and Hrozný, the explorers of this site (Denkschr. Wien. Ak. Wiss., Ph. Kl., v. 50, 1904). The writer would suggest, for the latter part of the name (*banda*) an Asianic etymology: Stephanus Byzant: *βάνδα* = *βάνα*.

<sup>3</sup> Is the *i* to be read long? The scribes hardly distinguish *i* from *e*, v. Böhl, p. 2, § 2; cf. infra *wi-id-ja* = *vedya*.

<sup>4</sup> This form is nearer to Ind. *sutṛ-ṇa* (*su* + p. p.  $\sqrt{tṛ}$ , "well-crossed, overcome"), though the meaning would speak against this derivation, unless the participle had an active sense.

This person is probably different from the Mitanni king of the same name (v. *infra*, p. 189, s. v. *Šuttarna*).

18. ŠUTATNA, son of Šarātum (Zurata) of Akko.

Am. 8, 19, 38: *šu-ta-at-na*; 233, 4; 234, 3; 238, 23 (?): *za-ta-at-na*; 235, 5: *zi-ta-at-na*.

(Neither the vowel, nor the consonant of the first syllable are consistently written by the scribes; cf., concerning the confusion between *s* and *z*, Böhl, 22, § 10 b.)

= Ind. *\*sūta-tana*, "to whom an offspring (or posterity, *tana*) has been born (*sūta*)," as supposed by Tq. XXII (reading *sūta*<sup>o</sup>, which is also possible).

Sch. 271: *\*sūta-tana*, "son of a charioteer (*sūta*)"; this meaning seems to the writer less acceptable.<sup>1</sup>

Web. 1302 disapprovingly quotes Hommel's etymology: "Zitatna,—one from Tatna" (i.e. from Dothan).

19. ŠUWARDATA, chief of Kelte (and Harabu).

Am. 271, 12, &c., and Th.-D., AO 7096, obv. 3: *šu-wa-ar-da-ta*; Am. 290, 6: *šú-ar-da-tum*.

= Ind. (Ved.) *\*suwardatā* (more common *swardatta*), "given by the Sun."

*Svār*,<sup>2</sup> meaning in the older parts of the Veda "sun," later "sky," was regularly pronounced *suār* and even written (Taittiriya Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda) *súvar*;<sup>3</sup> *dātā* is the old form of the past passive participle of *ṽdā*, "to give," found only in composition in the Veda,<sup>4</sup> later replaced by *datta*.

<sup>1</sup> *Sātatanaya*, same meaning, an epithet of Karpā in the Mahābhārata, is worth mentioning, though being a special case.

<sup>2</sup> The strong form, the weak cases being formed in RV. from the stem *sūr*, of which is derived *sūrya*, "the sun" (cf. Wackernagel I, p. 24, § 22).

<sup>3</sup> Whitney, § 843; Wackernagel I, § 246.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Whitney, § 955 c; only *trādātā*, "given by thee," in RV. I, 10, 7; III, 40, 6; V, 7, 10 and V, 40, 1.

The etymology of this name was (though hesitatingly) recognized by Sch. 271, 9, who compared (as to the meaning) Av. *hvarə-cipra*, "a descendant of the sun,"<sup>1</sup> and then adopted by Meyer 26 (and later, SBA 1925, 252-3, used as an argument for the presence of Indians in Asia Minor).

Web. 1330 quotes Meyer and compares the name of the Indian Sun-god *Sūrya*,<sup>2</sup> rejecting Hommel's (AiU 233) interpretation *šu-(w)ar-data*, "one from Ardata."

Tq. XXI seems to regard the name as Indo-Aryan, while p. 227 he questioningly defines it as Iranian.

20. °TAHMAŠ(Š)I, an Egyptian officer.

Am. 303, 20: *taḥ-ma-aš-ši*.

Ranke 18 = Eg. *Pth-mš*, "Ptaḥ has begotten," an interpretation adopted by Web. 1323,<sup>3</sup> as well as by Tq. 228 (declared by Dhorme to be Egyptian already in RB 1909, 61).

The present writer would venture another explanation: \**Taḥ-māš(š)a* = OP. \**Taymas(s)a*, Av. \**Taymaspa*,<sup>4</sup> M. P., P. *Tahmāsp*, "one who owns strong horses."

As to the "Persian" form *as(s)a* v. s., s. v. *Irimayašši*. There is no necessity for supposing every Egyptian officer in Syria or Palestine to have been an Egyptian by birth: we know several bearing obvious Aryan names, such as Biriamaza, Namyawaza, &c. The coincidence with Eg. (as well as with Iranian!) may be fortuitous.

21. °TEUWATTI, dynast of Lapana.

Am. 53, 35. 57; 54, 27 (?). 32 (?): *te-ú-wa-at-ti*.

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Hall ingeniously compares Gr. *Ἡλιόδοτος*, PSBA, 31, 1909, 234 and CAH I, 312.

<sup>2</sup> The writers of CAH (I, 312 and II, 331), probably misled by this comparison, as well as by the old reading *šuyardata*, explain *šuyardata* as *šuryadāta*.

<sup>3</sup> Web. compares *Tahmāša* (Eg. *Pth-mš*, Ranke ib.) and *Tahša* (Mitanni, quoting Bork). Th.-D. 96, AO 7094, obv. 13, has *Atahmāša*.

<sup>4</sup> Av. has only *Tamāspa*, "one who owns fat horses," so AiW 655,—which Justi AH 319 considers as a misread \**Taymāspa*.

= Ind. \**dyavātta* (pronounced *diavā°*), "given by Heaven" i. e. a compound consisting of the (middle) stem *dyo* (strong *dyau*, Gr. *Ζεύς*) in instrumental case<sup>1</sup> + *tta*, p. p. p. *√dā*.

Though the stem *dyo* (weak *div*) shows not a few irregularities in composition<sup>2</sup> and often enters, as a prior member of such, in a case-form (e. g., *divi-cara*, loc., "moving in the sky," *divo-ruc*, abl. "shining from the sky," &c.), the interpretation seems to be questionable.

Meyer 19, 12, and H. R. Hall, l. c., regard this name as Aryan, giving no explanation; Hommel, H.-Sk. p. 8, compares it to the Iranian names in *-bates* of classical authors (*Arta-bates*, &c.).

Web. 1114 (followed by Tq. XXII) believes it to be Mitannian-Hittite, comparing it (1061) to *Teie*, *Mattiūaza*, &c.

22. \*TURBAZU, chief of Zilû (?).

Am. 288, 41; 335, 9: *tu-ur-ba-zu*.

= Iran. \**tura-bāzu*, "one who has strong arms," *tura*<sup>3</sup> meaning "strong"<sup>4</sup> (P. *tūr*, "brave"), Ind. (Ved.) *turá*, "quick, strong, powerful."

We have to admit the syncope of *a* in *tura* (cf. *Sutatna*, *Ruṣ-manya*); on the other hand, this etymology seems quite plausible: we know so many old-Iranian names in *-bazu* (*Ἀρταβάζης* = *Artabāzu*, &c.). Another possibility would be to compare Ind. *Turvasu* (the later, epic form of Ved. *Turvāśa*) the name of an Aryan hero and of his tribe. In this case we should have to admit the transliteration of the Aryan *va* with the cuneiform *ba*; such instances occur in New-Babyl. cf. Tq. XXIII.

Ranke 25 considers Turbazu to have been an Egyptian, giving, however, no interpretation of the name.

<sup>1</sup> Reconstructed Whitney, § 361 d; instr. in compounds ib. § 1250 b. Cf., as to the whole, *devatta* (RV), Whitney, § 955 c.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., *dyau-sapšita*, "impelled by Heaven" (strong form), *dyaur-loka* (nominative), &c., cf. Whitney, § 361 e.      <sup>3</sup> Cf. English "Armstrong."

<sup>4</sup> Justi, *Awesta-Handbuch* 328, distinguishes *tūra*, "strong," from *tāra*, "Turanian," while Bartholomae, *AW* 656, gives *tūra* "Turanian."

Web. 1194 (as Tq. 235) admits this possibility; he observes that the syllable *tur* cannot be read *ben* (as in *Ben-amāya* instead of *Turamāya*).

23. WIDYA, chief of Aškalon.

Am. 320, 5; 321, 5; 322, 4; 323, 3; 324, 4; 325, 3; 326, 3: *wi-id-ia*.

= Ind. *védyā*, "to be known, renowned, celebrated," gerundive from *√vid*, "to know."

Böhl 2, § 2 mentions the confusion of *e*- and *i*-syllables in the Amarna Letters (cf. supra, p. 178, n. 3).

H. R. Hall, PSBA 31, 1909, p. 234, n. 97, was the first to point out the Aryan character of this name.

24. YAŠDATA, a chief in Palestine, possibly brother of Biridiya.

= Av. *\*yaza-dāta* (Ind. *\*yajadāta*), "given by the sacrifice."

Meyer's (18, 4 A) interpretation, accepted by Web. 1309, as *\*yazda-dāta*, "given by a *yazata*" (i.e. a deity), also seems plausible enough, in spite of the difficulties, both phonetical and semasiological.

Meyer believes that the compounds with *yazata* (MP. *yazd*) were hardly possible in such a remote antiquity; *yazata* (AiW 1279) means anything venerable (like Ved. *yajata*), a deity in general, or, in a narrower sense, a god to whom a day was devoted. Should our interpretation of the name *Zitrayara* be correct, one might infer that, even in those days, a "calendar" idea was not alien to the minds.

Phonetically *yazdāta* would, owing to the haplology, the syncope of the whole syllable *-ta*, be suspiciously near to MP. (Pehlevī) *yazdāt* (also *yazdāndāt*, cf. IN 146-7); that would be a case similar to those of *Kundašpi* (9th cent. B.C.) and *Kuštašpi* (8th cent. B.C.) of Commagene, generally regarded (since Lenormant) as Iranian, i.e. MP. forms of old *Vindāspa* and *Vištāspa*. Meyer (SBA, 1925, 252, n. 3) explains these names by a rapid evolution of the language of a people separated from the bulk of the nation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Av. *vašdyā*, *vašdyā* (n.) means "knowledge."

<sup>2</sup> Tq. XXIII rejects—for this very reason of the similitude to MP.—the Iranian etymology of those two names, and explains them by the Asianic stems *κουνδα*, *καστα*, *σπκ*.

The etymology of Sch. 271 = Ind. \**yaśodattu*, "given by the glory," adopted by Tq. XXI, implies difficulties both as to the form (syncope of the long vowel *o*) and as to the meaning (that requires the admission of the personification of an abstract idea we know nothing of in India).

25. ZIRDAMYAŠDA, a subordinate of Namyawaza.

Am. 209, 3; 210, 3: *zī-ir-dam-īa-aš-da*.

= Iran. \**zrda-myazda*, composed of \**zrda* (Av. *zərəd*, *zərədaya*, "heart") + *myazda* (Av. "a solid [not fluid] sacrificial offering," cf. Ind. *miyēdha* = *medha*), i.e. "one who makes an offering of the heart" (cf., as to the composition, the p. n.—of unclear meaning—*Nərəm-yazdana*, AiW 1072).

If our interpretation is correct, the name is interesting both by its form and meaning: 1) *z* in *zirda*, corresponding to i.-e. \**gh*, Ind. *h* (*hṛd*, *hṛdaya*, "heart"), is characteristic for the non-Persian dialects (P. *dil*, Mazandarāni *zīl*),—an important fact for such a remote epoch; 2) the meaning seems to be decidedly clerical.

Hommel, H.-Sk., p. 8, interpretes the name as *zirta-myazda* or *zairita*<sup>o</sup> ("yellow"); Tq. 249 recognizes the same final element.

Meyer 18, 5 tries to detect *yazda* (\**Zirdam-yazda*).

Web. 1302 compares this name to *Yašdata*.

26. \*ZITRAYARA, a dynast(?) in Syria.

Am. 214, 11: *zi-it-ra-īa-ra*; 211, 3; 212, 3; 213, 3: *zi-it-ri-īa-ra*.

= Iran. \**ciṣra-yāra*, "one who owns multifarious crop," from *ciṣra* (Av.; OP. \**ciṣa*),<sup>1</sup> "various,"<sup>2</sup> manifest," and *yār*, "year, crop," cf. adj. Av. *huyāirya*, *dužyāirya*, "bringing a good (bad) year, crop" (AiW 1835 and 759). Cf. also Av. *yāirya*, "annuus," the name of

<sup>1</sup> Iran. *ṣr* > OP. *ç*, a kind of sibilant (Meillet, § 106): *Παραφάρης* = \**ciṣa-farnāh*, "one who has a multifarious (brilliant) majesty or glory," but non-Persian *Τιβραύστης* = *ciṣra-vahīšta*,—"the best as to the appearance" (IN 164).

<sup>2</sup> The two meanings of *ciṣra* are taken from Justi, Handbuch, and Bartholomae, AiW, respectively. The first meaning seems to give a better sense in the names (v. supra), where the original meaning "bright, clear, excellent" (Skt. *ciṣra*) has possibly survived.

the deities of the six seasons (AiW 1287). (*yāra* may be a synonym of *yāirya*; then the meaning would be "one to whom *yara* has become manifest.")

*cīpra* is transliterated in New-Babylonian and Assyrian *-šitra*, *-šitir* (Tq. XXIII), but one has to keep in mind the confusion of *s* and *z* in the El-Amarna Letters, already referred to.

27. <sup>o</sup>ZURASAR, chief of Aḫtirumna.

Am. 319, 4: *zu-ra-šar*.

Can it be identified with Ind. *surāṣṭra* (Vedic, Taittirīyasaṃhita), "having good dominion," later also a p. n.<sup>1</sup>

The name in question can be compared to *\*sukṣatra*, the derivative of which is *Sauśatar* (v. infra, p. 189), both as to the sense and as to the sound: the groups *kṣ* and *ṣṭ* have been simplified to *š*, *r* being separated by an epenthetic vowel (*a*).

Tq. 249 considers the name to be Hittite.

28. ZURATA, dynast of Akko, father of Šutatna, brother of Biridiya.

Am. 232, 3; 245, 24. 31. 33. 41. 43; also Th.-D. AO 7096, rev. 22: *zu-ra-ta*; Am. 8, 19: *ša-rá-tum*.

= Ind. (Ved.) *surátha*, "one who owns a good chariot" (*zu* often used instead of *su*, owing to the similarity of the characters, cf. Böhl, l. c.),—often occurring as a p. n. of several princes in the Epos.

29. \*AMĀYA, in *ben-amāya*, "The son of Amāya," so to read.

Am. 62, 42. 43: *ben-a-ma-a-ia*, according to Web. 1142 instead of *Tur-a-ma-a-ia* (cf. the glossary s. v.).

= Ind. *amāyá*, "free from deceit, guileless" (Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, "not cunning").

Still there is a Hittite named *Māya* (Am. 62, 26: *ma-a-ia*) and an Egyptian officer of the same name (Am. 292, 33, &c.), the latter name being (Ranke 12) a shortened *Taḫmaya* (*Pth-mj*).

Cf. Web. 1297 and our note p. 180, n. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Of a man, Rāmatāpaniya-Upaniṣad (then the name of a country, a part of Gujerat, still surviving in the name of the town *Surat*).



## Geographical names.

30. AKŠAPA, a town in Palestine.

Th.-D. AO 7095, obv. 1; AO 7096, rev. 23: *Ak-šá-pa*.

According to Th.-D., p. 100: Hebr. אַכְשָׁפִי that would correspond to *Akšap* (*oph*), Eg. *'k-sa-pu* (cf. W. M. Müller, 96, Pap. Anastasi I, 21, 4: recte *'a-k-sa-p*).

According to Gesenius s.v., the town lay in Joseph's tribe, but E. Meyer (G. Alt. II, 1, p. 35, n. 2) prefers to identify it with *Ek-dippa* in Phoenicia.

= Ind. *\*akṣāpā*, "indestructible, imperishable" (?), cf. the causative stem *kṣapaya*—(Ath. V. *kṣā°*) from  $\sqrt{kṣi}$ , "to destroy," and the adjectives *akṣaya* (from the simple root) and *akṣayya* (from the parallel causative stem *kṣayaya*).<sup>1</sup>

The above explanation of this geographical name seems plausible, if we recollect that the chief of this town bore a characteristically Indian name—*Indarūta*.

We have to mention a Semitic etymology: Prof. Lods<sup>2</sup> connects the name of *Ākšaph* ("Akchaph") with *kaššaph* ("kachchaph"), "magician."

31. ŠUNAMA, a town in Palestine.

Am. 250, 43: *šu-na-ma*; Th.-D. AO 7098, obv. 12, rev. 21: *Šū-na-ma*.

Web. 1311: bibl. שֻׁנָּם (*šunem*) and *šnm* of the list of Thutmose III.<sup>3</sup>

Th.-D. 98 identifies it with *Souva* of Josephus Flavius and the modern *Sulam*, to the East of Megiddo (the sender of the letter AO 7098 is Biridiya, the ruler of M.).

= Ind. *sunāmā* (nom. m.f. of *sunāman*),<sup>4</sup> "well-named, glorious."

<sup>1</sup> There is a root *kṣap* (pres. *kṣapati*) "to fast," caus. (?) *kṣapayati*, meaning "to throw, cast" (cf. *kṣip*).—The old Vedic (and even Aryan) subst. *kṣap*, "night," is to be mentioned. <sup>2</sup> Op. cit. (v.s., p. 161, n. 1), p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. Müller, p. 170: Th. III, No. 38: *ša-na-ma*, Šošenḫ No. 15: *šan-m-d*.

<sup>4</sup> The word being an adj., some such word as *pur* (fem.), "town, fortress," is to be supplied. The form *sunāmni* would be more common (cf. Whitney, §§ 436, 437), but also *satyanāmā* and *satyanāmni*.

## IV. The Mitanni.

(1475-1280 B.C.)

## a) Names of men.

## 1. ARTAŠUMARA, king of Mitanni.

Am. 17, 19: *ar-ta-aš-(š)u-ma-ra*.

= Ind. (and Aryan) *ṛta-smara*, "remembering, mindful of, Truth" (as recognized by Tq. XXI).

As to the initial vowel (*r* or *ar*), as well as to the meaning v. supra, s.v. *Artamanya*; the origin of *u* (*sumara*) can hardly be determined, it may be purely graphic or reflect the real pronunciation (attested for a later epoch, v. infra). The root, Ind. *smṛ*, *smar*, appears in the Avesta as *mar* (AiW 1142-3), "to notice, retain in memory, to be mindful,"—but after a prefix ending in a vowel, as *šmar*: *aivišmar*, *paitišmar*.

Hommel, Heth.-Sk., p. 9, compares the second part to Scythian Ὠμαράκος, which Justi, IN 236, explains as "teller," cp. Pehl. *hušmār*, P. *dīnār-shumār*. It is interesting to note the same insertion of *u* in Middle-Indian: Pali *sumarati* (Geiger, §§ 31, 2 and 50, 6) and Prakrit *sumaraī* (Pischel, § 139).

Sch. 271, correcting an older reading *Artashumra*, proposed *Artasuvara*,<sup>1</sup> "rightly professing Truth"; Meyer 20 B 3 reads <sup>o</sup>*sumara*, but in the second edition of his history: *Artasuvara*.

## 2. ARTATĀMA, a king, grandfather of Dušratta.

Am. 24. III. 62; 29, 16: *ar-ta-ta-a-ma*.<sup>2</sup>

= Ind. (Ved.) *ṛtādhamā* (nom., stem <sup>o</sup>*dhāman*), "of truthful, pure character."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *w* and *m* are confounded in the cuneiform, especially later (in Babylonian), v. Tq. XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> The same name is preserved on an Egyptian ostrakon (Br. Mus. 5647), of the end of the XIXth dynasty, published by Spiegelberg, ZA VI, 1891, p. 166 (cf. also id. VIII, p. 385): <sup>2</sup>*r-d<sub>3</sub>-d<sub>3</sub>-m*.

<sup>3</sup> Vajasaneyi Samhitā 5, 32; 18, 38,—so PD. ("wahren, lauten Wesens"), while Williams s. v., quoting the same passages,—"abiding in truth." Böttling (pd.): "die Wahrheit liebend."

The (possessive) compound is formed of *rta* + *dāman*; the latter word has various meanings: "abode, law, manner, power." The corresponding word in the Avesta has an almost identical meaning: *dāman* (*dāman*) may mean "place, abode" (AiW 734-5), or "creature, being", and "intention" (ib. 736), cf. *duždāman*, "of bad intentions, wily" (ib. 758).

Sch. 270 proposes the above identification as an alternative of taking the word to be the superlative of *rta* (i. e., *rtatama*); the latter interpretation is hardly possible, because one has to explain away the long *ā* in *-tāma*; still it has been adopted by Tq. 311.

Konow I, p. 44 prefers to derive *-tāma* from the Indian root *\*tam*, "to desire," preserved in grammatical lists (Dhātupāṭha) only.

It is necessary to remind the reader of the general tendency of Mitanni to replace Aryan sonant stops by surds, as the original Mitanni words possessed but consonants of the latter category (cf. Bork 16).

### 3. \*DĀŠARTĪ, a Mitannian.

Am. 162, 76: *da-a-šar-ti-i*.

= Ind. (Ved.) *\*dāśartī*, "enemy of barbarians," from *dāsa*, "enemy, barbarian" (opposed to *arya*, cp. *dasyu*)<sup>1</sup> and *rtī* (*ṛti* or *rtī*, AV), "assault, assailant, enemy."

The form of the word deserves notice owing to the exact designation of long syllables; the last syllable, being stressed in Indian,<sup>2</sup> could make the effect of a long one.

Web. 1268 = *daša* + *arti*, *daša* compared to *Daša*,<sup>3</sup> *Taššu*, *Biri-dašwa*; *arta*<sup>4</sup> (i) is said to occur very often in Mitanni names like *Artamanya*.

### 4. DUŠRATTA, king of Mitanni.

Am. 20, 3; 21, 3, &c. (13 times): *du-uš-rat-ta*; 19, 3: *tu-uš-rat-ta*; 17, 3: *tu-iš-e-rat-ta*; the Mitanni letter (Am. 24) only *tušratta*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Konow II, 16 sqq.      <sup>2</sup> Cf. Whitney, § 1267.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Weber recognizes *Daša* to be an abbreviation of *Bīrdašwa* (q. v.).

<sup>4</sup> *arti* means in Mitannian, "a gift, present" (e.g., *wirat-arti*), Bork, op. cit., Vocabulary, p. 125.

= Ind. *\*duš-śratha* (*\*duḥ-śratha*), "difficult to disable, unyielding," from *duš* (Gr. *δυσ*), the prefix of dispraise + *śratha*,<sup>1</sup> *√śrath*, (intr.) "to become loose, yield," (trans.) "to slacken, disable."

Hommel, Heth.-Sk. 9, saw in the second part the Iran. *-ratha* (*raṣa*), "chariot"; cf. Konow I, 44: Aryan or Iran. *duš* (properly speaking *duž*) + *ratha*; Tq.<sup>2</sup>: *tu(i)-šratta* = Ind. *tuvis*, "strong" + *ratha*.

Sch. 270, 4: *\*duš-raddha*, "difficult to overcome."

These interpretations present various difficulties both phonetical and semasiological.

a) A combination of the final *s* (*š*) of one syllable with an initial *r* of the following (*\*duš-ratha*, *\*tuviš-ratha*) is impossible in Indian, as violating the rules of euphonic combination (Sandhi). A *s* or *š* (strictly speaking, the Aryan *z* or *ž*) is dropped before *r* with the lengthening of the preceding<sup>3</sup> short vowel (cf. *dūrādha*, "difficult to accomplish," < *duš*, Ar. *duž*).

b) Aryan *\*duž-ratha*, Iran. *\*duš-raṣa*, would mean "one who owns a bad chariot," a name of evil omen that can hardly be admitted. On the other hand the compounds of the form *duš* + a verbal noun often occur as proper names: the proposed form *\*Dušśratha* has many parallels in Indian, like *Durdama* or *Duḥśāsa(na)* "difficult to subdue."

# 5. <sup>o</sup>MATTIÚAZA, king of Mitanni.

Weidner 1, obv. 54, 56, 58, 60, 63, 64-66, 74, rev. 12-14 and pass.; 2, obv. 1, 8 and pass.: *Mat-ti-ú-a-za*.

= Ind. *\*mathi-vāja*.

While the meaning of the second part is obvious: "prize, booty," the interpretation of the first is rather difficult. It may be a derivation from the *√math* (*manth*), "to churn," then "to crush, oppress, destroy."

<sup>1</sup> Found only in a compound, *kima-śratha*, "melting of the snow."

<sup>2</sup> p. XXII: "Indian in type," but p. 72: "probably Iranian" quoting Sch. Meyer 20, 4: "quite Indian as to the sound."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Whitney, §§ 225, 172, 179; Wackernagel I, § 284 b.

*mathi* occurs in the Veda as the last member of a compound with the meaning of "destroying," so *havir-mathi*, "destroying the libation"; then the meaning of the name in question would be: "possessing a power,<sup>1</sup> destroying (the enemy?)."

The writer is aware of this interpretation being rather far-fetched, but he is not able to propose anything better.

Konow's (I, 44) explanation = Ind. *māti-vāja* is not very clear and hardly more fortunate, *māti* (*√mā*) meaning "measure" or "right knowledge."

As to the compounds with *-waza* (= Ind. *vāja*) cf. *Biriamaza*, *Namyawaza*. We have to remember the possibility of an Asianic etymology: cf. \**meti* (Sundwall 147, Gr. *Ματις*, &c.) and \**waza*, "nomen propinquitatis" (ib. 240).

6. SAUŠŠATAR, king of Ḫarri, ancestor of Dušratta (ab. 1430 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

Weidner (BSt. 8, 2—the treaty between Mattiwaza and Šubbiuliuma, p. 38) 2, obv. 8—*Sa-uš-šá-tar*.

= Ind. *saukṣatra*, a derivative (patronymic) with *vrddhi* of *su-kṣatrá*, "well-ruling," also a p. n.

The meaning would be: "a descendant of Sukṣatra."

This derivation has been proposed by Konow (I, 44), who, however, considers the latter part of the compound *šatar* to be nearer to the Iran. *χšapra* than to the Ind. *kṣatra* (cf. also Tq. XXI–XXII).<sup>3</sup>

7. ŠUTTARNA, kings of Ḫarri (father and nephew of Dušratta).

Weidner 1, p. 16, obv. l. 53 (as. v. r. ad *šw-ta-tar-ra*): *Šú-ut-tar-na* (v. s. s. v. *Šutar-na*).

= Ind. \**sudharṇa* (*√ḍh*), "very strong, well-protecting."

The double *t* = Ind. *dh* makes this etymology plausible, since the cuneiform displays a certain tendency to rendering Indian (or Aryan) aspirates by double consonants (e.g., *Dušratta* = *Dušratha*, &c.).

<sup>1</sup> The original meaning of *vāja*, that of booty or prize being out of place. [I took *māti-vāja* to mean "meting out prizes," cf. *dātivāra*. S. K.]

<sup>2</sup> Winckler, MVAG, 1913, 4, p. 63, cf. Web. 1035. Web. 1289 is inclined to complete. — *tar* Am. 194, 10 to *sa-uš-ša-tar*, a view rejected in the Addenda, p. 1599.

<sup>3</sup> Probably owing to the analogy with Assyrian forms like *šatarpanu* = *χšaprapāvan* in Sargon's list (v. Meyer, KZ, No. 10).

## b) Names of gods.

## 8. INDARA.

Weidner 2, rev. l. 41 (p. 34): *In-da-ra*; id. 1, rev. 55/6 (p. 32/3):

*In-dar* (Forrer 250/1, No. 15, reads *in-tar*, to pronounce *indar*).

= Ind. *Indra* or (with the svarabhakti) *Indara* (v. supra, s. v. *Indarūta*).

## 9. MITRA.

Weidner 1, rev. 55/6 (p. 32/3); 2, rev. 41 (p. 54): *ndat pl. Mi-it-ra-āš-ši-il*; Forrer 250, No. 13: *mi-id-ra-aš-ši-il*; suggesting p. 251 the pronunciation *\*midrassil* (or *mit<sup>o</sup>*, *mit<sup>o</sup>*).

= Ind. *Mitra*,<sup>1</sup> Av. *Mīra*, OP. *Mīra*, *Mitra*<sup>2</sup> (*\*Miça*).

Forrer 251 explains that the determinative *An[-Meš]* (Sumer., read in Babyl. *ilāni*), "the gods," always denotes a group of gods, being never used as a plur. majestatis; therefore the names so determined are to be taken as duals or plurals.

In the oldest parts of the Rig-Veda this name appears together with that of Varuṇa (the following in the list discussed) in a peculiar copulative compound (*dvandva*), both parts preserving their accent and accepting the dual ending (-a, -au): *Mitrā-Vāruṇā*.<sup>3</sup> That can explain the use of the determinative (*An-Meš*) and possibly the dual ending (or affix) -*ssiil*,<sup>4</sup> while the name of the two Nāsatyas (*Aśvins*) has a different form (*našuttiṣanna*).

<sup>1</sup> Spiegelberg, ZA, XIII, 52 has noted from an Egyptian document (XIXth dyn.?) the name *mtr-ḫm* which Burchardt (II 544, 1 and AZ, 50, 1912, 122) explains as the East-Semitic *mitra-ḫem*, "M. has heard."

<sup>2</sup> Written *mīra(a)*, *mītr*, *mītra*; the Hamadan inscription of Artaxerxes II has even *mīra* (twice, cf. F. H. Weissbach, Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden, Leipzig, 1911, p. 126). These forms are borrowed from some non-Persian dialect; the genuine Persian form ought to be *\*miça*, preserved in Elam. *mi-iš-ša* (Meillet, §§ 15, 106, 107) and possibly in the name *Vaumīça* (cf. Ind. *Vasumitra*).

<sup>3</sup> This cpd. is used even in other cases than nom., acc., voc., i.e. in instr.-dat.-abl. (*Mitrā-Vāruṇābhyām*) and in gen.-loc. (*Mitrā-Vāruṇayoḥ*), a thing quite exceptional; cf. Whitney, § 1255 a.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of this ending or affix (written -*š-ši-il*, -*š-ši-el*, to read *sil*, *el*) has been much discussed. Winckler considered it as a comitative suffix; which E. Meyer (GA, § 569) compared to Karashahrian (formerly Language I A, now

## 10. NASATYA.

Weidner 2, rev. l. 41 (p. 54): *ilāni*<sup>pl</sup> *Na-šd-at-ti-ja-an-na* (Forrer 250, No. 16: [the gods] *Na-ša-ad-ti-ia-an-na*); Weidner 1, rev. l. 55/6 (p. 32/3): *ilāni Na-šd-a[t-ti-ja-a]n-na*,

*na* being the Harri plural ending. The form is to be pronounced, according to Forrer 251: *nasattijanna*.

= Ind. *Nāsatya* (Av. *Nāohaiḥya*), an obscure word (etymologized *na-asatya*, "not untrue"),<sup>1</sup> usually in dual (*Nāsatyā*, <sup>o</sup>*tyau*), an epithet of the two Aśvins, the Indian Dioscuri; it is said to be the name of one of them, the other being called *Dasrā*.

## 11. VARUNA.

Weidner 1, rev. l. 55/6 (p. 32/3). *ilāni*<sup>pl</sup> *Ū-ru-wan-na-dš-ši-el* (Forrer 250, No. 14: *ū-ru-va-na-aš-ši-el*); Weidner 2, rev. l. 41 (p. 54): *ilāni*<sup>pl</sup> *A-ru-na-dš-ši-il* (Forrer, ib.: *a-ru-na-aš-ši-il*).

Forrer 251 shows that the name is to be pronounced \**ur(u)-vanassil*.

= Ind. *Varuṇa*, the old Vedic god of the night-sky, who early became a guardian of Truth (*rta*), later (Epos) reduced to the part of the water-god<sup>2</sup> (possibly, owing to the popular etymology connecting his name with *vār*, "water"). A curious coincidence may be noted: Forrer explains the variant form \**arunassil* by the influence of the Hittite (Kanesian) word \**arunas*, "sea, ocean." Cf.

called by German scholars Tokharian) ending *-assil* (comitative). Jensen explained it as a dual ending (SBAW, 1919, 367 sq.); Konow II, 4-5 sees in it the equivalent of Ind. dual (as did Jacobi, JRAS, 1909, p. 723). On the other hand Cuny (Rev. Etud. Anc. X, 1908, 280, n. 1) opposes *mitrassil* sg. to *Nasattianna*, pl. or du. Fossey (JA, 1910, I, 523) compares *Mitrassil* of an Assyrian list of the gods (III R 69, No. 5), which he would interpret as a designation of a Hittite deity (Sun-god). A. H. Sayce (JRAS, 1909, p. 1106-7) seems to mean the same inscription (W. A. L. III, 69) when he says: "The name of Mitra has long been known to Assyriologists, since it is given in a list of the gods."

<sup>1</sup> Uhlenbeck, p. 147, gives as the original meaning "healer," from *Vnas*, "to unite, copulate," Gr. *νέσμαι*, Goth. *ga-nisan*, "to recover."

<sup>2</sup> Böhl 16, n. 5, is inclined to recognize *Varuṇa* in the Egyptian proper name *wn* of Pap. jur. Turin 4, 12 (v. Burchardt, Altkan. Fremdworte, 312).



about the ending *-assil*, the determinative (*ilāni* = *An-Meš*) and the connexion with *Mitra* under that word.

### c) Geographical names.

12. °WASSUGGANNI, the capital of the Ḫarri and Mitanni kingdom, N. Mesopotamia.

Weidner 1, obv. l. 27 (p. 9); ib., n. 6, vv. ll.: *Wašugganni, Uaš-šukkani, Uaššukani*, Assy. (Adadnirāri I) *Uš-šú-ka-ni*.

If the name is of Aryan or Indian origin, the writer would suggest Ind. *vasuka*, from *√vas*, "to dwell" + Mitanni plur. ending *-ni*.

The identical word (*vasuka*)<sup>1</sup> is known, but only from the parallel root *vas*, "to clothe," with the active meaning "one who clothes" (= *vāsayitr*, nom. agentis).

### d) Common nouns.

13. MARJA, a warrior, nobleman, vassal.

Weidner 1, obv. l. 32 (p. 11): *mar-ja-an-nu*, obv. l. 36 (p. 12): *mar-ī[a-a]n-ni-šú-nu*, obv. l. 42 (p. 14): *mar-ja-an-ni-šu*; 2, obv. l. 16 (p. 40): *mar-ja-ni-šú*, obv. l. 48: *ma-ri-ja-an-nu*; 10, Fg. B, obv. l. 34: *ma-ri-ī[a-an-ni]*.

Mitanni letter of Dušratta (ed. Bork, p. 104, col. III 32): *mar-iannarti*, "the gifts of (or to?) the *marja*."<sup>2</sup>

The word appears in Egyptian as *mryn*, as Ranke has shown (ap. Winckler, v. infra) in the documents of the XVIIIth to XXth dynasties.<sup>3</sup>

Winckler (OLZ, 1910, coll. 289–301), assisted by F. C. Andreas, identified this word with Ved. *márya* (*mária*), "man," esp.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. concerning *vasuká* (occurring in the Taittiriya Saṃhitā) Whitney, § 1180 b.

<sup>2</sup> Bork hesitatingly translates this compound "besondere Gaben" (special gifts).

<sup>3</sup> Six instances are adduced (Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Ramses III and Papyrus Harris).

"young man," then "lover, suitor," even "stallion";<sup>1</sup> in plural: "people," used of Indra and the Maruts, "Rudra's people" or "men of Heaven" (*divo maryāḥ*).

The element *-anni* is probably the Harri (Mitanni) plural ending *-ni*.<sup>2</sup>

Gustavs (p. 58, n. 1), however, objects to the Aryan origin of the word, proposing a native "Subarean" etymology: from *mari*, "to possess," *marianni*—"proprietors" ("Besitzer").

14. °PARATITINU (Mitanni), a part of the whip(?).

Am. 22. I. 4 (a list of Dušratta's presents to Amenophis III): *pa-ra-ti-ti-na-šu*; 25. III. 53 (do. to Amenophis IV): *pa-rat-ti-ti-na-šu*.

Cf. Ind. (late Vedic—Atharva V.) *paritatnu*,<sup>3</sup> "enveloping, surrounding" (from the reduplicated root *tan* "to stretch, spread" + *pari*).

Should this identification be correct, the meaning of the word in question might be "a cover, case for a whip."

15. °ŠARMU (Mitanni) meaning?

Am. 22. I. 51; II. 6; III. 47; 25. I. 41–52, 54; 29, 184: *šar-mu*.

= Ind. *śarman* (neutr., nom. sg. *śarma*) "protection, shelter" and "armour, coat of mail" (Taittiriya Saṃhitā).

On the other hand, as the word *šarmu* is mostly preceded by *ma-ni-i-in-nu*, "rosary," it may mean "amulet." As to the final *u*,

<sup>1</sup> The sexual meaning seems to predominate in the sg. PD compares Lat. *mas*, *maritus*, while Williams presumes the original meaning to have been "mortal." Graßmann suggests *ṽmr̥*, "to shine" (*marici*, "a ray of light," Gr. *μαρμαίρω*), "a young man, young hero," but Uhlenbeck 218 compares Gr. *μῆραξ*, "boy" or "girl."

<sup>2</sup> Parallel endings are *-na*, *-ne*, cf. Forrer 226. The very name of Mitanni seems to be a pl. form of *Mita* or *Mitta*, cf. Am. 75, 38 (*mi-ti-ū-ta*, "the M. country." CAH III, 503 interpretes Mitanni = "Mita's men," Mita being the name of two kings in Assy. annals = *Midas*).

<sup>3</sup> Whitney, § 1178 c.

it may render an *u*, especially after a labial (unless it expresses the veiled pronunciation of *ā*—Engl. *u* in “but”).

16. \*URUKMĀNNU, a Mitanni word? a metal part of a shield.

Am. 22. I. 47, a leather shield with silver *ú-ru-uk-ma-a-a[n]-nu*;

22. III. 43 id. coated with silver; 22. III. 44 id. made of bronze.

The original form of the Mitanni word may be *urukma*, the initial *u* being prothetic, the element *-annu-* a mark of pl. as in *marjannu*.

Cf. Ved. *rukṃá* (m. and n.)—“a golden disc for hanging up”; as an adjective—“bright, radiant,” then “a golden ornament,” and later “gold” (and even “iron”). The Vedic meaning seems, if compared with those of the later literature and the etymology (*√ruc*, “to shine”), too specialized, the original one being, probably, “a shining object,” then “disc of metal.”

17. \*WIRAT, a ruler, governor.

Mitanni letter (Am. 24) III. 26 (Bork, p. 102): *wiratena-an*, “to the rulers”; *ibid.* II. 18. 31: *wirat-ar-ti*, “gift of the rulers,” II. 37: “gift to the rulers.”

It is tempting to compare Ind. (Ved.) *virāt*, n. sg. of *virāj*, adj. “ruling far and wide,” subst. “a ruler, chief, king,” later = *kṣatriya* (like *rājan*, &c.).

Av. has *virāz*, as p. n. (AiW 1454, with the same meaning as Ind.—“ruling far and wide”).

## Linguistic remarks.

### Introductory.

A few remarks having already been made concerning the names contained in Chh. I and II (Kassite and Hyksos), we have to consider those of the two subsequent chapters, i. e. those of the Amarna Letters which refer to the dynasts of Palestine and Syria and to the Mitanni. Our data concerning the latter are to be found

in Hittite documents too, which are about a century or so later than the correspondence of Amarna, and display not a few local peculiarities. On the other hand, the writer prefers to treat Aryan words and proper names found in Hittite documents separately, owing to the peculiarities of the Hittite script and partly to a somewhat different character of the material treated. The purpose of the following remarks is to abstract some characteristic features of the Aryan linguistic data in their cuneiform garb. The difficulty one has to be aware of is the absence of the line of demarcation between language and script: we cannot exactly tell how much is to be ascribed to the living tongue used by Aryan chiefs, and how much, again, is the fault of the defective script and, perhaps, of ignorant scribes; a rapid glance at the numerous vv. ll. almost of every name shows that the latter were quite uncertain as to the spelling. The writer, being quite incompetent in Assyriology, can but refer to works of authority, like those of Tallqvist, Böhl, &c.

## A. Vowels.

### § 1. Quantity.

The script hardly distinguishes long and short vowels,<sup>1</sup> the latter generally prevailing. There are but very few instances of long vowels: *Amāya*, *Artatāma*, *Dāsartī* (of which the last two are Mitanni names). Other cases are very doubtful, e.g., *bi-ri-da-aš-wa*, *i-ri-ma-ja-aš-ša* (for \**Vṛddhāśva*, \**Irimayāsa*), &c.

### § 2. Quality.

1. *a* (esp. final) appears as *i*, so *zi-it-ra-ja-ra—zi-it-ri*<sup>o</sup>; *šu-mi-it-ti*, *nam-ja-wa-zi*; in some cases as *um—šú-ar-da-tum = šu-wa-ar-da-ta*. Therefore names like *Tahmašši* or *Tewcatti* may be read as *T<sup>o</sup>šša*, *T<sup>o</sup>tta*.

2. *i* and *e* are not distinguished,<sup>2</sup> the same name being spelt *Endarúta* and *Intarúda*, *e-tak-ka-ma* and *i-ta-ka-ma* (even *a-ta-ka-ma*!).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ranke 65, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Böhl, p. 2, § 2.

That permits us to read *wi-id-ja* = *Vedya* and *šu-mi-it-ta* = *Sumedha*.

3. *u* alternates with *i*: *šu-ta-at-na* = *zi-ta-at-na* (even *za<sup>o</sup>*); *šu-ba-an-du* = *šu-ba-an-di*.

The long Babyl. *ú* can, according to Böhl (25, § 13 d), represent a long *ō*, so *en-dar-ú-ta* possibly = *Ind(a)rôta*.

4. The vocalic *r* (*r*) seems to be differently treated when initial and when medial: *ar* in *Artamanya*, *ar-ta-ta-a-ma*, *ar-ta-aš-šu-ma-ra*, and *ir(i)*: *bi-ri-da-aš-wa*, *bi-ri-di-ja*, *zî-ir-dam-ja-aš-da*.

(Still, we cannot be quite certain as to the first group: the words in question may have been compounds with *arta*, not *rta*.)

### § 3. Addition and loss of vowels.

#### 1. Insertion of vowels.

A few instances show the phenomenon of insertion of a vowel, possibly a device to facilitate the pronunciation of a group of consonants:<sup>1</sup> *en-dar-ú-ta* (*in-tar-ú-da*) = *Indrota*, *ar-ta-šu-ma-ra* = *rta-smara* (possibly, also *pa-ra-ti-ti-nu* = *paritatnu*).

Sometimes, if the penultima is liable to the insertion, the final *a* is dropped, as if a metathesis took place (cf. the similar process in modern Indian languages): *In-dar* = *Indra*, *Sauššatar* = *saukšatra*, *zu-ra-šar* = *surāštra*.

In Mitanni we find a prothetic vowel: *ú-ru-uk-ma-a-a(n)-nu* = *rukma*.<sup>2</sup>

#### 2. Syncope.

Mostly the vowel *a* is dropped, so *šu-ta-at-na* = *\*šūtātana* (?), *yāšdata* (*ja-aš-da-ta*) = *yajadata* (unless *yazatadāta*?), possibly, also *turbazu* = *turabāzu*.

*i*: *ru-uš-ma-an-ja* < *rucimanya*.

<sup>1</sup> Tq., p. XXIII (Babyl.) *-šatar* = OP. *χtāpra*.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. *Aḫšaršu* = *χtayarša*.

## § 4. Haplology.

Sometimes a whole syllable (cons. and vow.) especially if identical with or similar to the next, is dropped: *nam-ia-za* = *nam-ia-wa-za*, and even *bi-ri-ia-ma-za* = *bi-ru-a-za*.

## B. Consonants.

## § 5. Sonants and surds.

The Babylonian script seems liable to confound these two fundamental groups; so we find the same word *Ind(a)rota* written *en-dar-û-ta* and *in-tar-û-da*.

1. **Aryan sonants** = **Babyl. surds**. *te-û-wa-at-ti* = Ind. \**dya-vāta* (?), *Pirizzi* = Iran. \**byzi* (Av. *berēzi*), *i-ta-ka-ma*, &c. vv. ll. *ad-e-ta-ga-ma* = Ind. *etagama*; then *ar-ta-ta-a-ma* = *Artadhāmā* (or *Rta°*), *tu-uš-rat-ta*. The two last names are Mitannian, i.e. belong to a language that had no sonants; that seems to corroborate the opinion of Böhl,<sup>1</sup> who explains the process in Babylonian by the influence of Mitanni.

2. **Aryan surds** = **Babyl. sonants**. The inverse process is also met with, but it may, after all, have been purely graphic. In addition to the doubtful instance of *Bišitanu* = *Pešōtanū*, the said process is displayed in the rather numerous instances of Ar. *su* = Bab. *zu*, like *zu-ra-ta*, *zu-ra-šar*, *za-ta-at-na* = vv. ll. *šu-ta-at-na*, *tu-ur-ba-zu* = *Turvasu* (?).

Böhl (p. 22, § 10 b) explains such cases by the simple confusion of the two similar cuneiform signs.

## § 6. Sibilants and affricates.

1. The only surd sibilant in the cuneiform, used to transliterate different Aryan sibilants (*ś*, *s*, *š* or *ṣ*), is *š*.<sup>2</sup>

2. **Affricates**. *c* (= Engl. *ch*) is rendered by *š*: *ru-uš-ma-an-ia* = *rucimanya*, and by *z*: *zi-it-ra-ia-ra* = \**ciṣṣrayāra* (v. supra about *s* and *z*).

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 16, § 7 and 17, § 8 a.

<sup>2</sup> The only instance of *s* in *Sauššatar* = *saukšatra* is found in a Hittite document.

The sonant affricate *j* and the sibilant *z* fall together in Bab. *z* (which makes in many instances the discrimination between Iranian and Indian forms impossible):

*j*—*Arzawiya*, *Biriamaza*, *Namyawaza*, *Mattidaza*;

*z* in *Mayarzana*, and (the single instance)

*š*—*yašdata* (*ja-aš-da-ta*). *š* can render even an Iran. *z*: *zi-ir-da-m-ja-aš-da* = *omyazda*.

### § 7. Semivowels.

*v* is regularly rendered by *w*: *wi-id-ia* = *\*vedya*, *ar-za-wi-ja*, *nam-ja-wa-za*, *šu-wa-ar-da-ta*, *wirat*<sup>o</sup>.

Sometimes *v* (near to Engl. *w*) is written *ú*: *mat-ti-ú-a-za*, *šu-ar-da-tum*; also *ú-ru-wan-na* = *Varuṇa*.

It is exceptionally confounded with *m*:<sup>1</sup> *bi-ri-ja-ma-za* (v. l. *bi-ru-a-ze*) and *y*: *ma-ja-ar-za-na*.

In some instances *v* seems to be rendered by *b*, so *Biriamaza*, *Biridašwa* and possibly *Turbazu* = *Turvasu*.

### § 8. Aspirates, &c.

1. Aryan aspirates are rendered partly by corresponding simple and partly by double consonants.

1) **Simple consonants**: *bi-ri-da-aš-wa* = *\*Vṛddhāśva*, *šu-ba-an-du* = *Subandhu*, *zu-ra-ta* = *\*Suratha*, *ar-ta-ta-a-ma* = *\*Rta-dhāmā*.

2) **Double consonants** are, possibly, slightly more common: *du-uš-rat-ta* = *\*Duśratha*, *mat-ti-ú-a-za* = *\*Mathivōja*, *su-mi-it-ta* = *\*Sumedha*, *šu-ut-tar-na* = *\*Sudharṇa* (the last name recurs, though, as *šu-tar-na*).<sup>2</sup>

2. **Spirants**. Iranian spirants are rare; so Iran. *χ* appears as *h* in *Taḥ-ma-aš-ši* = *Taxmās(s)a*, but *þ* (*th*) in *\*Cīprayāra* is written *t*: *zi-it-ra-ja-ra*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tq. XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the double consonant in *Abirattaš* = *Abhiratha* (Kassite).



## § 9. Consonantic groups.

Such groups are usually preserved: *Biridašwa*, *Šubandu*, &c., but there are a few instances of assimilation or simplification of the group as in later Babylonian (cf. Tq. XXI-XXII).

*kš* is reduced to *šš*: *Sauššatar* = *Saukšatra*.

*št* > *š*: *zurašar* = *surāšra*.

The cases of insertion of a vowel between consonants of a group have already been mentioned (v. s., § 3. 1).

## C. Morphology.

## § 10.

The Amarna documents give but detached proper or common names lost in a Babylonian or Mitanni context. The morphological data are for us non-existent; we are in the dark even as to the endings of those names which seem to be used—as one should expect—in nom. sg.

So the name *Artatāma* = \**rtadhāmā*, i.e. nom. sg. of *rtadhāman*, is the only instance of *n*-stems. The vocalic stems (in *-a*, *-i*, *-u*) appear without any ending. Have we to suppose that a name, like *Artamanya* ended in *a* or in a slight aspirate, like Indian *visarga* (*h*)?<sup>1</sup>

Linguistic position of the Amarna and Mitanni names.

## A. Historical.

F. Hommel (Heth.-Sk. and Grundriß, 1898 and 1904 respectively) was the first to recognize in the names of the Mitanni kings and of other chiefs mentioned in the Amarna Letters Indo-European elements, which he believed to be Iranian.

The next was I. Scheftelowitz who devoted the second half of his paper on the language of the Kassites to the names of Amarna.

<sup>1</sup> The vocalic stems did not form their nom. sg. with the ending *s*, which must have been that of the "Aryan" (i.e. common Indo-Iran.), as well as of Kassite (*šuriaš*, &c.), where it seems to belong to the tongue of the non-Aryan bulk of the people.

Bloomfield, in his review of this paper,<sup>1</sup> suggested that "the Mitanni and other W. Asiatic Iranoid proper names came from a dialect closely allied to Iranian" (a view based on the presence of the *s* that does not change to *h*, as in Iranian). This view of the late American scholar may be said to have remained dominant up to the present.

The interest in the question was greatly stimulated by the discovery of the names of 4 (or 5) Aryan gods in the Hittite-Mitannian treaty, at Boghazkeui in 1907; this list of gods became the chief matter of discussion.

Ed. Meyer declared it at first (KZ, SBA 1908) to go back to the "Aryan" language of the undivided people of the ancestors of Indians and Iranians; later (SBA 1925) he altered his opinion, the names being not "Aryan" (in the above sense), but Indian, and a few Iranian.

The discovery of Winckler and the papers of Ed. Meyer provoked a lively controversy, the names of the gods of the Boghazkeui list being treated separately from those of the Mitanni kings and of the Amarna Letters in general.

The list seemed to shed light upon the chronology of the Veda, and was, therefore, treated chiefly by Indianists.

Jacobi declared the gods to be Vedic, while the Mitanni names appeared to him as Iranian: an Iranian tribe must have been under Indian influence.

Oldenberg considered the gods as the common property both of pre-Avestan Iran and of Vedic India, the Boghazkeui document preceding the Iranian change of Ar. *s* to *h*. As to the Amarna names, Oldenberg shared the view of Bloomfield on the Iranoid dialect they are to be traced to.

Konow devoted his first paper (1911) to the demonstration of Bloomfield's thesis: the language of the Amarna names was an Iranian dialect preserving the Aryan *s*, like the Bashgalt, a language

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<sup>1</sup> Amer. Journ. of Philology, XXVI, 1904, pp. 1 sqq.

of Northern Kafiristan. His second paper (1921) proves the Indian character of the gods of Mitanni, but the Amarna names cannot be with confidence classed as Indian or as belonging to an Iranoid dialect.

Lastly L. de La Vallée Poussin<sup>1</sup> suggested that the king of Mitanni spoke not Iranian, but Aryan (Ar. *s* instead of Iran. *h*,—the view of E. Meyer in 1908), though some names (like *Artamanya*) have an Iranian aspect, and an Iranian dialect could have preserved the *s*. The problem concerning the language of the Boghazkeui list—whether it was Iranian or Proto-Iranian—is insoluble.

The present writer is going, in the following paragraph, to try to weigh the possibilities of solving the problem, using the foregoing linguistic (chiefly phonetical) data.

## B. Aryan, Proto-Iranian, Indian?

### 1) Ar. (and Ind.) *s* > Iran. *h*.

The classified list of names shows 12 (or 14) Amarna and Mitanni names containing *s* in an open position, initial before a vowel, like *šubandu*, or intervocalic, like *dāšartē* or *našatya*. Such an *s*, preserved in Indian (Vedic and Skt.), becomes *h* in all Iranian languages and dialects. This alternation has always been considered as the most certain characteristic of Iranian; the fact is so well known that it would be idle to quote authorities.

Bloomfield's remark as to the *s* being preserved in Median seems to be founded on the doubtful reading *šutirna* in Sargon's list of Median chiefs<sup>2</sup> (713 B.C.). This language, so far as we can judge by Old-Persian and Greek documents, shared the general Iranian law: so the name of the Median king OP. *Uvaṣšatara* (i.e. *hwa*<sup>2</sup>) = Gr. *Kvaṣšarēs*.

Prof. Konow's arguments concerning the character of the Bashgali would prove more, if the Iranian and Indian dialects of this frontier area did not often interact one upon the other: the *s* in the Bashgali may

<sup>1</sup> Indo-Iraniens, &c., pp. 79 sqq. (Histoire du Monde, réd. Cavaignac, t. III, Paris 1924).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meyer, KZ, v. 42, pp. 1–27; Delitzsch, p. 48.

have originated under Indian influence, like the cerebrals (*t*, *ḍ*, &c.) in the Iranian Afghan (Pushtu).—One should wait for other facts that might<sup>1</sup> vitiate the generally admitted idea of the change—*s* > *h* in Iranian. But, on the other hand, the language the names in question go back to, is said to have been not Iranian, but Iranoid, i.e. at a stage of transition between Aryan and Iranian (a form of speech, however, very near to old Indian and, in all probability, well intelligible to Vedic Indians). Whatever the writer's personal opinion may be, let us drop this argument (*s* > *h*) altogether.

## 2) Iranian forms.

Our list shows at least 5 certain and 3 more or less questionable Iranian forms. Names like *Biridiya*, *Mayarzana*, *Zirdamyašda*, *Zitrayara* can be nothing else than Iranian. The most important fact is the differentiation of the two groups of dialects—the "Persian" (or Western) and the "non-Persian" (or Eastern); the Aryan \**gh* (Ind. *h*) being rendered in the first by *d* (*Biridiya*) and by *z* (*Zirdamyašda*) in the latter.<sup>2</sup>

This differentiation seems to dispose of the Aryan hypothesis (proposed by E. Meyer in 1908 and partly shared by La Vallée Poussin): the splitting of Iranian forms of speech into two groups must have been later than the epoch of the Proto-Iranian, and still more of the Aryan unity.

## 3) "Aryan" forms.

Eight names (*Artamanya*, *Arzavya*, *Rušmánya*, *Turbazu*, *Yašdata* for Palestine and Syria, *Artāšumara*, *Artatāma* and *Mitra* for Mitanni) are grouped by the writer as "Aryan," i.e. Indo-Iranian; they do

<sup>1</sup> Still, in order to be fair, we must mention the notice of Stephanus Byzantinus (*Ethnica*, ed. Meinecke, p. 216): *Αἰῶν, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος ... λέγονται καὶ Αἰῶνι μετὰ τοῦ σ*. (Prof. V. Minorsky was kind enough to draw the writer's attention to this passage.)

<sup>2</sup> If the writer's interpretation of *Tahmašši* and *Irimayašši* is correct, the "Persian" peculiarity *s*(*š*) < *sp* should be added.—Prof. La Vallée Poussin mentions the W.-Iran. character of the names in *aria* (*Artamanya*) as opposed to Av. *aša*. One should bear in mind that this alternation has no constancy in the Avesta, *arata* (i.e. *rita*) being also met with.

not display any specific character that might compel us to classify them either as Iranian or Indian.

#### 4) Indian.

The change  $s > h$  being eliminated, there remain a few doubtful (chiefly owing to the imperfect cuneiform transliteration) points of distinction between Indian and Iranian.

a) Ind. monophthongs  $e, o$  = Ar. and Ir. diphthongs  $ai, au$  (Av.  $aē, aō$ ), e.g. *widyā* = Ind. *Vedyā*, *šumitta* = Ind. *Sumedha*, though the script does not distinguish them (v. supra). Besides, there are names, where the diphthong alternates with the monophthong: *aiṭugama* = *etagama*. It is likely that the process of monophthongization was not yet completed, as it was the case in the Vedic language.<sup>1</sup>

b) Ind. palatals = Iran. sibilants.

The script, which does not differentiate them, gives us no means of judging whether we have before us *\*ārjavīja* or *arzawya*, &c. (For the same reason we cannot distinguish between Ind.  $\acute{s}$  ( $\acute{s}$ ) and  $s$  (Ind. and Ir.), e.g. *Dāśartī* may be *Dāša*<sup>o</sup> and *Dāsa*<sup>o</sup>.)

c) Ind. aspirates = Iran. spirants.

The same remark holds true. The double consonants may (as we have seen) represent aspirates (*Šumitta*, *Duśratta*, &c.); on the other hand, Iranian spirants are rendered by simple consonants (*Zitrayara* = *ciṭra*<sup>o</sup>).

d) Certain groups of consonants, such as *šv* = Ind. *śv* = Iran. *sp*,  $s$  (e.g. in *Biridaśīca*), may go back to Indian, as well as to Aryan forms.—Still, *šucar* (or *šūar*) in *šucardata* looks decidedly more Indian than Aryan, the group *sv* being reflected by *hv* in Avesta, and by *f* in Old-Persian.

e) Certain Indian features.

These are necessarily very limited in number: the archaic Indian features being more or less identical with Aryan, the conclusive argument would be constituted by Indian innovations. Such innovations, in the writer's opinion, may be the following:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. infra, p. 207, *aika* = *eka*.

α) Ind.  $e < Ar.$ , Ir. az: *Šumitta* = *Sumedha*, where Ind. *medha*(s) corresponds to Iran. *mazda*;

β) cerebrals: the only instance, known up to the present is Mitān. *wirat* = Ind. *wirāt* (n. sg. of the stem *virāj*).

The writer is perfectly aware that both instances are based on hypothetical interpretations made by him, which may not meet general assent.

### Lexicological arguments.

a) Several names (*Indarūta* = *Ind(a)rota*, *Subandhu*, *Satya*, *Sumedha* = *Šumitta*, *Surāṣṭra* = *Zurašar*, *Suratha* = *Zurata*) actually occur in India as proper names (as well as the word *marya*).

b) Many other names can be most easily explained as Indian words; thus the names ending in *-vāja* (*-waza*), *Dāśartī*, *Duśratta*, *Etagama*, *Widya* = *Vedya*, &c.

c) Analogy with the Hittite documents.

The well-known treatise on horse training written in Hittite (Kanesian), but originating from the Mitanni country, contains distinctly Indian numerals and technical terms,—a fact that points to the existence of an Indian element in that land. This circumstance permits us to presume a similar state of things in Palestine and Syria and to interpret some Mitanni and Syrian names as Indian.<sup>1</sup>

### Conclusions.

The above data justify, in the writer's opinion, the assumption—as a matter of great probability—of the presence in Palestine, Syria and still farther, up to the Euphrates, between 1400–1200 B.C., of a rather strong Indian element in the ruling class, which furnished a dynasty to the Ḫarri and Mitanni kingdoms, as well as a considerable number of petty chiefs.

Side by side with the Indian, there was a less numerous Iranian element, split, at least, into two tribes ("Western" and "Eastern").

<sup>1</sup> Another argument is the older occurrence (among the Kassites?) of the Indian word *hiṣu* as designating the horse.

The state of things the writer arrives at, from purely linguistic premises, is the same as assumed by Ed. Meyer.

It is very likely that the ethnical relations within the hordes of invaders were similar to those we meet with in the great movement of Teutonic nations in the Roman empire in the IVth and Vth centt. and during the Crusades in the Near East.

## V. The Hittites.

(1400-1200 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>

### Preliminary note.

The remarks of this chapter concern some proper names and common nouns found in the Hittite documents, but one should bear in mind that not a few of them do not belong to the Hittite language, the forms in question being loan-words, chiefly from Mitanni.

Though the proper names are not so numerous and more doubtful than those of the preceding chapters, the writer thought it advisable to stick to the same arrangement of the material.

### a) Proper names.

1. ENDARVA, a court-dignitary of king Hattušil.

Forrer 251: Bo. 2048, rev. 32: *en-tar-va*; U. 50, 5: *en-da-ar-va*.

According to Forrer's explanation, = *Endar* (i.e. the god *Indar* = *Indra*) + the Harri genitive ending *-wa* meaning "Endar's man"<sup>2</sup> (cf. *Nabarva*, a god, &c.). Thus this name is a hybrid formation like \**Mitrašemi* (*mtr-šm*, v. p. 190, n. 1).

2. °LUPAKA, a Hittite general.

Am. 170, 15: *lu-pa-ak-ku*; probably the same name ap. Weidner, BSt. 8, p. 88/9 (the treaty between Muršili II or Muwatalli and Rimišarma, rev. 21) *Lupakki* (*lu-pa-ak-ki*), a court-dignitary.

<sup>1</sup> The epoch of the New Hatti Kingdom, which the most Hittite documents belong to.

<sup>2</sup> The Indian equivalent would be *Indradāsa*.



If the name be Aryan, it might be compared with Ind. *lopāka*, "a kind of jackal" and *lopāśa*,<sup>1</sup> "a jackal, fox" (cf. Gr. *ἀλώπηξ*), the latter word occurring in RV.

In Iranian it is found (with a prothetic *u*) as *urupi*, "an animal of the canine class," also a p. n. of a mythical king (*Taxmo Urupi*, Phlv. *Taxmūraf*, *°mūras*).

On the other hand, the name *Lupaka* may be Asianic; cf. \**luba*, *lub(a)-ija*, Carian *λοβιος* (Sundwall 136).

### 3. SUMMITTARAŠ, king of Kargamish.

Hrozný, BSt, 3, 130 and n. 2. (This scholar gives this name with a query, asking whether it may be identified with *Šumitta* (*°tti*) of Am. 57, 13, q. v.)

= Ind. *su-mitrā*, "a good friend," p. n. Vedic<sup>2</sup> and postvedic.

The second part of the compound (*mitra*) appears with an inserted vowel (*svarabhakti*),<sup>3</sup> like *Indar* = *Ind(a)ra*, while the name of the god in the Boghazkeui list has the form without it (*Mi-it-ra*).<sup>4</sup>

This Aryan (unless Indian) name of a Hittite prince (probably a member of a collateral line of the Hatti royal house) deserves notice, as no similar instances have been known up to the present, the names being usually native, i. e. neither Aryan, nor Indo-European. The nearest relatives of Summittaraš bear purely Hittite names such as *Hūyaš* and *Dudḫaliyaš*.

### 4. °SUWARA, a mountain.

Hrozný, BSt, 3, No. 1 (a description of the temple of Tešup):<sup>5</sup> p. 8 (obv. I, 32), p. 20 (rev. III, 34), p. 24 (rev. IV, 17) *Šar-as Šu-wa-ra*, i. e. "Suwara<sup>6</sup> mountain."

May we compare Indian *svar* (Ved. *suār*, *sūvar*, v. s., s. v. *śuwar-data*)?

<sup>1</sup> *Lopāśaka*, a p. n. in later (Buddhist) literature.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., a *ṛṣi*. RV X, 69, 3. 5.      <sup>3</sup> Wackernagel I, § 49.

<sup>4</sup> Still the Hamadan inscr. of Artaxerxes II twice reads *mitara* (cf. supra, p. 190, n. 2).

<sup>5</sup> Mitanni, the native name of the Hittite god being unknown (Sommer-Eholf, BSt 10, pp. 48-49).

<sup>6</sup> *s* in Hittite, which has no *sh*-sound, = *s*, cf. Forrer 204.

The postvedic literature (Ēpos—Rāmāyaṇa, Harivamśa) mentions a mountain *asta*, i.e. "home," behind which Sun (and Moon) set (*astam gam*).

We are unfortunately in the dark as to the Hittite names of "sun" (as well as of "god," "father," &c.) which are written only ideographically.

### Supplement.

5. °*ABIMARDAŠ*, king of Amurru.

Hrozný, BSt. 3, p. 130: *Abimard/taš*, son of *Aziraš* (= *Aziru*, so often mentioned in the Amarna Letters).<sup>1</sup>

This scholar reads the name as *Abimartu*, without explanation. Can it be identified with Ind. (epic) *abhimarda*, "oppression, devastation," also "battle" (cf. *abhimardana*, adj. "oppressing," subst. "oppression")?<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, a Semitic etymology seems possible: *abi*, "father" + *martu*, "daughter." The names of the Amurru kings are partly Semitic (*Abdaširta* = *Abdašrat*, *Aziraš* = *Aziru*), partly Mitannian (*Ir-Tešup*, *Abbi-Tešup*).

### b) Common nouns.

#### α) Numerals.

6. Five Indian numerals were recognized in the Boghazkeui treatise on horse training (partly published by Forrer) by Jensen (SBA 1919, pp. 367 sqq.) and independently by Hrozný. These are the numbers 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9, usually in composition with the word *vartanna* (a "round"), i.e. mostly as pure stems.

1: *AIKA*. Forrer 260, KBO III, 5, vs. 17 = Ind. *eka*.

Jensen (p. 371) remarks that the Hittite (or Mitanni) form points to the diphthongal pronunciation of *e* which was possible in the Vedic period, *e* being considered by native grammarians as a diphthong (*āi*), though it had become a monophthong already at the

<sup>1</sup> Not named in Winckler's list (Vorderasien im 2. Jahrtausend etc., MVAG., 1913, 4, pp. 99–100).

<sup>2</sup> From *√mr̥d* + *abhi*, "to oppress, devastate, destroy."

time of Pāṇini (5th cent. B.C.) and earlier, for the authors of the treatises on Vedic phonology (Prātisākhya). Still the euphonic treatment of *e* (and of *o*) shows that there was a time when *e* was a real diphthong.<sup>1</sup> While other numerals are almost identical in Indian and Iranian, the word for "1" *eka* (*aika*) is specifically Indian, the Iranian forms being *aiva* (OP.) and *aēva* (Av.).

3: TĒRA in *tēravartanna* or *tērōrtan(na)* (*ti-e-ra-u-ur-ta-an-na*, Forrer 256, KBo III, 5, III, 17).

= Ind. *tri* and *tr* (in *trtá*, "third," as a p. n. in AV., for the common *trtiya*).

The present writer is inclined to explain the above forms by Ind. *\*trvartana*, the vowel *e* (*ə*) of the first syllable being easier to explain as a vocalic *r* (*r* or *ṛ*) than as a corruption of *tri*.<sup>2</sup>

5: PANZA<sup>o</sup> (i.e. *pantsa*) in *panzavartanna* (Forrer 254, VAT 6693).

= Ind. (and Ir.) *pañca*.

7: SATTA, in *sattavartanna* (*ša-ad-ta*, Forrer 259, KBo III, 2, obv. 61-62).

= Ind. *sapta* (Av. *hafta*).

Jensen (l. c.) rightly remarks that the above form is nearer to Pali and Prakrit *satta* than to Skt. *sapta*. This Middle Indian consonantism, compared to the archaic vocalism of *aika*, is curious.

9: \*NAVA in *navartanni* (haplogy for *navavar<sup>o</sup>*, unless a clerical error, Forrer 262, KBo III, 2, obv. 24-27).

= Ind. and Iran. *nava*.

2: This numeral must be concealed in the queer forms *stinisell* (*āuzamēwa*, Forrer 257, KBo III, I 46) and (*auzamēsa*) *siyesa* (Forrer 267, KBo III, 2) "to drive twice." The writer believes that *auzamēsa* is but a clerical error for *auzamēwa* (v. infra), i.e. that the scribe has confounded *w* and *š*. Then one might read for *stinisell(a)* (*ši-i-ni-ši-el-la*)—*\*winisell(a)* and for *siyesa* (*ši-i-e-ša*)—*\*wiyes(a)*.

<sup>1</sup> So *\*nagare iha* becomes *nagara iha* (through *\*nagaray iha*), cf. Whitney, §§ 28, 133; Wackernagel I, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> The Hittite word for "3" was *terī*, as shown by Ehelolf, OLZ, 1929, col. 323 (quoted RB, 1930, p. 144).

The first word might consist of \**winī*,—cf. Pkt. *bēni*, *binni*,<sup>1</sup> "2," going back to \**dvini*, from Skt. *dvi* (*dva*) "2" with the neutral plural ending *ni* and the Mitanni dual ending *-sel*, *-sil*<sup>2</sup> that is met with in *u-ru-wan-na-aš-ši-el*, *mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il*.

\**wiyesa* is possibly to read \**wiyes*, the final *a* being sometimes silent in Hittite;<sup>3</sup> this form might be related to Ind. *avis* (Av. *biš*, Latin *bis*, Gr. *δῖς*) "twice."

### β) Other nouns.

#### 7. AUZAMĒWA (*omēsa*), "to drive" ("jagen").

*auzamēwa* (*a-a-ū-za-mi-e-wa*, Forrer 258, KBo III, 2), *auzumēwa* (or *avza*<sup>4</sup>, *-a-ū-zu-mi-e-wa*, Forrer 258/9) but *auzamēsa* (*a-ū-za-mi-e-sa*, id. 267, KBo III, 2) (about this alternation of *wa* and *sa* v. s., s. v. *smisella*).

= Ind. (Vedic) *āvājam eva*, i.e. the root infinitive<sup>4</sup> (accusative) of *√āj*, "to drive" + the prefix *ava*, "down"<sup>5</sup> + the expletive *eva*: "to drive down indeed."

Here we meet with an instance of the contraction (*āva* > *au*) in \**aujam eva*, called by Indian grammarians *samprasāraṇa* (v. infra, s. v. *vartanna*), possibly under the influence of the accent on the prefix, though one should have expected to see the root stressed.<sup>6</sup>

The root gerund in *-am*<sup>7</sup> seems to the writer less likely.

#### 8. \*GANZA, some horse fodder.

Forrer 253 and 255, VAT 6693, rev. 57–66: "3 handfuls of *gan-za*."

Forrer questioningly suggests: "*ganza* = wheat."

The writer is inclined, should the word be an Indian loan-word, to identify it with Ind. *gañja* (*guñja*), *Abrus precatorius*, a leguminous plant with small, hard, round grains or berries used for

<sup>1</sup> Pischel, *Prakrit-Grammatik*, §§ 436–7.

<sup>2</sup> This explanation of *sil* has been proposed by Jensen (op. cit.).—Forrer 252 declares not to venture any explanation.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Delaporte, § 23 (*ete-za* to read *etca*).

<sup>4</sup> Concerning this infinitive formed chiefly from consonantic roots, cf. Whitney, § 971; Macdonell, § 586 a.

<sup>5</sup> *avājati* RV I, 161, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Whitney, § 1085.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, § 995.

making rosaries. These berries are bitter, which renders the proposed identification questionable.<sup>1</sup>

9. \*NISUWANNI . . . ?

Forrer 261, KBo III, 2 = VAT 6693, obv. 45: *ni-šu-va-(a)n-ni-wa-ti-du-u* (b.)—a word, or group of words, of unknown meaning in a sentence translated by Forrer: "they take *nisuwanni* . . . They put (i.e. the horses) to. Then he drives . . ."

The writer is inclined to consider *nisuwanni* as = Ind. \**niṣuṇa*, vbl. noun from *√sn*, "to urge, impel" + pref. *ni* (the root with this prefix is not met with in Ind., except in p. p. *niṣuta*). The parallel root *su*, "to bear, procreate" forms the verbal noun from the weak stem (*-suvana*,<sup>2</sup> in compounds like *pumsuvana*).

10. \*SITANNA, "to drive."

Forrer 260, VAT 13059, II, 43: *sattavartanna ṣi-id-ta-an-na*, "to drive 7 times," cf. Ind. *√sidh* (2), pres. *śédhati*, "to drive off, scare away, repel." The form *sittanna* may go back to \**sidhana*,<sup>3</sup> or rather *sedhana*,<sup>4</sup> vbl. noun from the above root; there is such a noun from *√sidh*, "to succeed."

11. TAPASSAŠ (to read *tapassas*), "plague, fever(?)."

Hrozný, BSt. 3, p. 30, KBo II 2, II 18; according to Sommer and Ehelolf, BSt. 10, p. 13, an Indian loan-word. The Indian original must have been *tapas*<sup>5</sup> (n.), "heat, pain, suffering" (as well as "penance, religious austerity") with the Hittite nominative ending *-as* (*-aš*).

<sup>1</sup> The word *memal*, meaning, according to Forrer 253, "millet," has no parallel in Indian; it might be a Hittite (Kanesian) word of Indo-Eur. origin: *√m(v)ol*, "to grind," cf. Gr. *μύλη*, Lat. *mola*, *mōile*, Goth. *malan*, &c. The reduplication points to a perfective formation. The meaning might be "flour."

<sup>2</sup> Whitney, § 1150 c; Macdonell, § 120, 4.

<sup>3</sup> The double consonant (*tt*) in the cuneiform may render an Indian aspirate (*dh*).

<sup>4</sup> The verbal nouns in *-ana* mostly have the middle (*guṇa*) form of the root (cf. Whitney, § 1150).

<sup>5</sup> Indian derivatives *tapasa*, "sun" or "moon," and *tūpasa*, "ascetic" are late and cannot be taken into consideration owing to the semasiological difficulties.

12. VARTANNA, (according to Forrer) "a round."

= Ind. *varṭana*, vbl. noun from the root *vṛt* (*vart*), "to roll, &c."

Forrer, pointing to this etymology, translates the word, in consideration of the corresponding Hittite term—"a round, made by the horse on the track" ("stadion," hippodrome). Though the word *varṭanī*<sup>1</sup> has this meaning in the Veda, the lexicographers give a similar sense to the word *varṭana*, at least at the end of a compound,—“a place where a horse rolls.”

The Hittite word in question appears almost exclusively in compounds with a numeral as the first member (*aikavart*<sup>2</sup>, *tērav*<sup>3</sup>, &c.); such compounds (called *dvigu* in Skt.) are common in all periods of the Indian language with the meaning of an aggregate of so many things (*triyojana*, *pañcayojana*, "space of 3,5 yojanas or leagues"), &c.

The forms *tērōrtanna*, *tēraōrtan* deserve special notice:

1) They seem to point to a diphthongal pronunciation of *o* as *āu*, analogous to that of (Ind.) *e* as *āi* (v.s.), unless the spelling be due to the peculiarities of Hittite phonology.<sup>2</sup>

2) The obvious etymology > *tēravartanna* indicates the process of contraction of *ava* to *ō* (*au*), analogous to that called in Indian grammars *samprasāraṇa*. Instances of this kind of contraction are rare in Skt. (especially in the Veda),<sup>3</sup> but very frequent in MInd. (Pāli, Prakrit) like *olokana* = *avalokana*, &c.

13. VASANNA, a track, hippodrome, stadion.

Forrer 262, KBo III, 2, v. 26: *va-ša-an-na*; ib. VAT 13059, IV, 22: *va-ša-an-ni-ma*. Of special interest is the genitive form (*navartanni*) *va-san-na-sa-ya* F. 262, VAT 6693, v.s.).<sup>4</sup> Forrer identifies

<sup>1</sup> Noted by E. Meyer, SBA 1925, p. 252, n. 4.—Does *navartanni* (v.s., s.v. *nava*) represent this word? Forrer 263 assumes it to represent Ind. loc. sg. (= *varṭane*).

<sup>2</sup> Delaporte, §§ 1, 2, admits only *u*, but no *o* in Hittite.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *śroyā* = *śrāvāṇa*, "lame," Wackernagel I, 161, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Forrer considers this form to be the older form of Ind. gen. sg. of *a*-stems; in the writer's opinion, it can be explained as *\*vasanasya* with a merely graphic vocalization of *sa* for *s* (v.s., s.v. *siyasa*). There is no evidence for the form sug-

this word with Ind. *vasana*, of the same meaning, without naming his authority. The present writer has not been able to find this word with the said meaning in Indian: *vasana*, a verbal noun from different roots *vas*, can mean either "dress" or "dwelling."

Still PD mentions *Vvas* 7 (med. *vaste*), "to rush, run towards"; a regular formation *vasana* may have a meaning approaching that of the Hittite word.

14. \*(u)zuḫri (and the derivate (u)zuḫriti), some horse-fodder.

Forrer 253, VAT 6693, rev. 57-66: *ū-zu-uḫ-ri-in*.

It is given germinated (*d-Du-A*) by handfuls, which makes Forrer assume it to have been some grain, but not a herb. According to this scholar, *ū* may be a determinative of herbs (though rather rare in these texts); then the form would be *zuḫri* (i.e. *\*tsuri*).

The writer would identify this *zuḫri* with Ind. *\*cukrī* = *cukrā* (fem.), *Oxalis pusilla*, a sour herb.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, *cukraḥ* (m.) means "sorrel," the neuter *cukram*, "a sour rice-gruel."

If (u)zuḫri goes back to *cukra*, it must mean some sour ingredient of horse fodder.

### Linguistic remarks.

Let us sum up the principal linguistic data furnished by the above very limited material. The Indian character of the numerals is obvious; the writer believes that it will not be denied to the terms identified by Dr. Forrer, as well as to those he has added to the list. Moreover, it seems possible to assign those forms to a certain stage of development of the Indian language. The chronology of the Hittite documents being known with a fair precision—not later than 1200 B.C., the date of the fall of the Hatti

gested by Forrer: Ind. *-asya*, Gr. *-oio* are generally supposed to reflect Indo-Eur. *\*osjo* (cf. Hirt, Griech. Laut- und Formenlehre, Heidelberg, 1902, p. 241, § 311. 2).

<sup>1</sup> A variety of *Oxalis*, *Ox. sensitiva*, is said to be considered as a medicine in India (Bonnier, Dictionnaire de Botanique, II, 482).



kingdom—we have before us the oldest dated specimens of Indian speech. The importance of such material is obvious: the principal difficulty of the study of the history of Indian civilization being the lack of firm chronological points for its older period, the chronology is—more or less arbitrarily—calculated starting from the dates of king Aśoka (3rd cent. B.C.) and Buddha's Nirvāṇa (ab. 483 B.C.).

### 1. Phonology.

a) *e* (and, possibly, *o*) have partly preserved the value of a diphthong (*āi*, resp. *āu*).

It is not easy to assign this feature to a definite epoch; as stated above, it must go back to a period before Pāṇini (5th cent. B.C.) and even before the Prātiśākhya (7th cent. ?);

b) *tr* for the usual *tri*, archaic,—say, of the late Vedic period (AV);

c) contraction (*saṃprasāraṇa*), rare in the Veda, common in MInd.;

d) assimilation of combined consonants of different classes, internal (*satta* < *sapta*) and initial (?) (*\*vīni* < *\*dvīni*, v. infra as to the morphological character),—is a decidedly late feature, characteristic of MInd.

### 2. Morphology.

The Hittite documents display a very important peculiarity in giving a few hints at the morphology. The state of things appears to the writer rather different from that assumed by Dr. Forrer: the writer cannot find neither the "very archaic" genitive in *-asaya*, nor the ancient (RV) infinitive in *-ase* (which Forrer saw in *auzamēsa* = *auzamēva*), nor the loc. sg. (*vartane*).—More or less certain forms are the following:

a) Acc. sg. of consonantic stems in *-am* (before a vowel) in *avājam eva* (*auzamēva*). Neutra in *-a* appear in nom. acc. sg. without any ending, thus *sattavartanna*, *sitanna*. We may assume that they ended in a nasalized vowel *aṃ*;<sup>1</sup>

b) Gen. sg. of *a*-stems in *-asya* (*\*vasanasya*, written *va-sa-na-sa-ya*);

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Whitney, § 71 on the *anuvāra*.

c) Nom.-acc. pl. n. *\*wīni* < *\*devīni*, a striking analogy formation (instead of the regular *dve*) of MInd. type (cf. supra as to the phonology), pointing to the substitution of the dual by the plural,—as usual in MInd.;

d) infinitive in *-am* (*\*avājam*), i.e. the acc. of a root noun, used infinitively,—common to the older stage of the language (Veda and Brāhmaṇa).

### 3. Lexicology.

a) *Sumitra*—Vedic and Postvedic;

b) *trīā*—Vedic (AV);

c) *avāj* (RV) and

d) *vartanī* (?) (RV).

### Conclusions.

The above linguistic materials are, of course, too scanty to permit any definite conclusions; still, it is possible to express—with all reserve—some impressions these data rouse in one familiar with the history of Indian language.

These forms are, no doubt, old and may be assigned to the language of the Veda, but they do not seem to be archaic, i.e. to belong to the oldest strata of the Vedic language. On the other hand, the MIndian (or Prakrit) element appears unexpectedly far-reaching: two of the six numerals (*satta*, *\*wīni-sell*) display far-going phonetical modifications.

Though the Veda is not exempt of MInd. elements<sup>1</sup> and the Brāhmaṇas attest the use of a living Prakrit speech in the East of NIndia, the evidence of the Boghazkeui documents, going back to an epoch which corresponds, according to the adopted view, to the oldest stage of Indian history (Veda, ab. 1500–1200 B.C.),<sup>2</sup> is significant.

The linguistic facts discussed above seem to corroborate the conclusion Konow draws from the (supposed) fact of the Aśvins (Nāsātya) being mentioned in the Boghazkeui treaty as groomsmen, that "the extension of Indo-Aryan civilization into Mesopotamia took place after the bulk of the RgVeda had come into existence. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wackernagel I, 163, § 140 a.

<sup>2</sup> La Vallée Poussin, v. III, pp. 218 sqq.

oldest portions of the collection would certainly have to be considered as considerably older than the Mitanni treaty."<sup>1</sup>

A discussion of these possibilities would go beyond the limits set by the writer. Still, we may say that a student of things Indian cannot any more ignore such facts. Let us hope that further discoveries will shed light not only upon the destinies of the Hatti kingdom, but upon the oldest epoch of Indian history as well.

### Abbreviations.

- AiW = Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Straßburg, 1904.  
 AZ = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache.  
 Am = Die El-Amarna Tafeln:  
     1st pt. (text), ed. J. A. Knudtzon;  
     2nd pt. Notes by O. Weber et al., Leipzig (Vorderasiat. Bibliothek), 1907-15.  
 Böhl = F. Böhl, Die Sprache der Amarna-Briefe, Leipzig (Diss.), 1909.  
 Bork = F. Bork, Die Mitanni-Sprache, MVAG, 1909.  
 BSt = Boghazköi-Studien.  
 Burchardt, Altkan, Fremdworte = M. Burchardt, Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte im Ägyptischen, Leipzig, 1910.  
 id. Rassenzugehörigkeit = id. Zur Rassenzugehörigkeit der Hyksos, AZ, v. 50, 1912, pp. 6 sqq.  
 CAH = Cambridge Ancient History.  
 CHI = Cambridge History of India.  
 Eisler = R. Eisler, Die kenitischen Inschriften der Hyksos-Zeit im Bergbaugebiete der Sinai-Halbinsel, Freiburg i./B., 1919.  
 Gauthier = H. Gauthier, Le livre des rois d'Égypte, t. II, Le Caire, 1912 (Mém. Inst. Franç. Archéol. Orient., t. 18).  
 Graßmann = H. Graßmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leipzig, 1873.  
 Gr. Ir. Phil. = Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie.  
 Hall = H. R. Hall, The Ancient History of the Near East.  
 Hommel, Heth.-Sk. = Fr. Hommel, Hethiter und Skythen, Sitzb. kgl. Böh. Ges. Wiss., Cl. f. Philosophie etc., 1898.  
 id. Grundriß = id. Grundriß der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients, München, 1904.  
 IN = F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg, 1895.  
 JA = Journal Asiatique.  
 JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.

<sup>1</sup> Konow II, p. 39.—The word *tutthaka* = Eg. *(u-ḥ(u)-ka* (v. s., Ch. II) would go back to a still remoter epoch.—Let us mention Prof. Jacobi's theory (shared by M. Winternitz), based on astronomical data, assigning the RV to a period 4500-2500 B.C.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Konow I = Sten Konow, Notes on the classification of Bashgalt, JRAS, 1911, pp. 1-47.

Konow II = id. The Aryan Gods of the Mitani people, Kristiania, 1921.

KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung = "Kuhns Ztschr."

Lieblein = J. Lieblein, Recherches sur l'histoire de la civilisation de l'Ancienne Egypte, Leipzig, 1910.

MVAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.

E. Meyer, G. d. A. = Eduard Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums.

id. SBA 1908 = id. Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte, SBA, 1908, pp. 14-19.

id. SBA, 1925 = id. Die Volksstämme Kleinasien und die Ausbreitung der Indogermanen, ib. 1925, pp. 244-261.

W. M. Müller = W. M. Müller, Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern, Leipzig, 1893.

NGGW = Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

PD = The Large Petersburg (Skt.-German) Dictionary by O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth.

pd = The Small Petersburg Dictionary by O. Böhtlingk.

Pieper = M. Pieper, Könige Ägyptens zwischen dem Mittleren und Neuen Reich, Berlin (Diss.), 1904.

Pinches = Th. Pinches, The language of the Kassites, JRAS, 1917, pp. 101-114.

PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Bible Archaeology.

RA = Revue d'Assyriologie.

RB = Revue Biblique.

SBA = Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sch. = I. Scheftelowitz, Die Sprache der Kossäer, KZ, v. XXXVIII, 1902.

Sundwall = J. Sundwall, Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier (Klio, XI. Bbft.), Leipzig, 1913.

Tallqvist (Tq) = K. L. Tallqvist, Assyrian personal names, Acta Soc. Sc. Fenn. t. 43, No. 1, Helsingfors, 1918.

Th.-D. = Thureau-Dangin, Nouvelles lettres d'El-Amarna, RA, v. 19, 1922.

Web. = O. Weber et al., Notes ad Am (2nd pt.) q. v.

Weill = R. Weill, La fin du Moyen Empire Égyptien, JA, 1915-17.

Wolf = W. Wolf, Der Stand der Hyksosfrage, ZDMG, 1929, pp. 67-79.

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

## Corrections.

p. 146, l. 26, note 12, r. note 3; p. 146, n. 2, add p. 206, n. 5; p. 147, n. 2, last line *Imta*, r. *Itta*; p. 149, l. 3 KUR, r. KÚR; p. 158, l. 1 *ʾarḥḥ*, r. *ʾarḥḥ*; p. 162, l. 12 Subareic, r. Subarean; p. 163, l. 10 *utehḥ*, r. *utehḥ*; p. 168, n. 1, add p. 206, n. 5.

T a b l e.

INDIAN		IRANIAN			
ARYAN	S		Common	Persian	Non-Persian
I (kara)	I Śrīśaś	maria (paratitinnu)	I (bugaš ?)	III Biridiya (Irimayāšša)	III Mayarazana (Pirizzi)
III Artamanya	Šumalia (Suzigaš)	(šarmu)	---	(Tabmašši)	Zirdamyāšda
Arzawya	---	(urukma)	II Baōn	---	Zitrayara
Ruṣmanya	II (Sutekh)	wirat	---	---	---
Turbazu	Semqen	---	III (Bištanu)	---	---
Yāšdata	---	V (Abimardāš)	---	---	---
IV Artāšumara	III Šatiya	Endarva	---	---	---
Artatāma	Šubandu	Lupaka	---	---	---
Mitra	(Šumitta)	---	---	---	---
---	Šutarna	alka	---	---	---
---	Šutatus	tēra	---	---	---
V pauza	Šawardata	(wini ?)	---	---	---
naya	Zurašar	suzamēwa	---	---	---
---	Zurata	ganza	---	---	---
---	Šunama	varitanna	---	---	---
---	---	(u) zūbri	---	---	---
---	IV Dāšarti	---	---	---	---
---	Sauššatar	---	---	---	---
---	Šutarna	---	---	---	---
---	Nāsatya	---	---	---	---
---	(Wāššuganni)	---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---	---	---
---	V Sumittarāš	---	---	---	---
---	(Suwara)	---	---	---	---
---	nisuwanni	---	---	---	---
---	satta	---	---	---	---
---	sittanna	---	---	---	---
---	taparšas	---	---	---	---
---	vasanna	---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---	---	---

## Einige Mitteilungen über das altjavanische Brah- māṇḍa Purāṇa.

Von

J. Gonda, Utrecht.

Im Jahre 1849 hat R. Friederich in seinem bekannten Aufsatz ‚Voorloopig Verslag van het Eiland Bali‘<sup>1</sup> auf einen ganz merkwürdigen Text aufmerksam gemacht, der nicht nur für die javanische Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, sondern auch für die Indologie im allgemeinen von sehr großer Bedeutung ist: ich meine das sogenannte altjavanische Brahmanḍa Purāṇa. Der höchst verdienstvolle holländische Gelehrte Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk hat während seines Aufenthalts auf Bali mehrere Exemplare dieses Werkes sammeln und abschreiben lassen, welche nach seinem Absterben im Jahre 1894 mit vielen anderen Handschriften der Leidener Universitätsbibliothek vermacht worden sind. Nachdem schon Dr. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud in seinem Werke ‚De Tantu Panggëlaran‘<sup>2</sup> eine ganz kurze Inhaltsangabe mitgeteilt hatte, habe ich es neuerdings unternommen, eine kritische Ausgabe dieses Textes, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen, zu bearbeiten;<sup>3</sup> eine Übersetzung wird hoffentlich in Bälde folgen.

Wie mehrere altjavanische Texte ist das Brahmanḍa Purāṇa ein Speizimen der sogenannten Übersetzungsprosa, d. h. der Text ist eine javanische Übersetzung eines indischen, in Sanskrit abgefaßten Werkes. Bekanntlich besitzen wir ziemlich viele derartige Werke,

<sup>1</sup> Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, XXII und XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Doktordissertation, Leiden, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> J. Gonda, Het Oud-Javaansche Brahmanḍa-Purāṇa, Batavia, 1932.

z. B. das erste, vierte und sechste Buch des Mahābhārata, d. h. die altjavanischen Ādi-,<sup>1</sup> Wirāṭa-,<sup>2</sup> Bhīṣma-<sup>3</sup> parwa's, die letzten vier Bücher<sup>4</sup> desselben Epos usw. Mit diesen Texten ist das altjavanische Brahmanḍa Purāṇa in mancher Hinsicht ganz gut vergleichbar. Die Erzählung schließt sich nahe an das indische Muster an, allein wir wissen nicht genau, wie dieses aussah. Niemand verbürgt uns, daß der Grundtext, der dem javanischen Übersetzer vorlag, in jeder Beziehung und in jeder Lesart den Texten, welche wir heute unter demselben Namen kennen, gleich und gleichlautend war. Es ist vielmehr schon von vornherein wahrscheinlicher, daß er eine Anzahl von Varianten und andersartigen Abweichungen aufgewiesen hat, und eine genaue Prüfung aller beweiskräftigen Indizien weist dies unwiderleglich nach, wie es sich in meinen Anmerkungen hinsichtlich des Brahmanḍa Purāṇa zeigt.<sup>5</sup>

Die Übersetzung ist in den Werken dieser Art im allgemeinen ziemlich kurzgefaßt, jedoch wird Wesentliches so gut wie nie übergangen. Überflüssige Adjektive, Epitheta, Flickwörter, welche in den indischen Śloka's in Hülle und Fülle begegnen, werden meistens ganz und gar vernachlässigt. Im Texte finden sich hier und da Śloka's oder meistens Halbśloka's und Pada's, herrührend von dem indischen Werke, das dem Übersetzer zur Vorlage diente, und meistens erläutern eine Übersetzung oder eine Erklärung die einzelnen Wörter und Ausdrücke, welche im Zitate begegnen. Nicht in allen Teilen des Brahmanḍa Purāṇa oder eines anderen derartigen Textes sind diese Zitate gleich häufig: in meiner Einleitung zu der Edition habe ich mich bemüht, eine Erklärung dieser Tatsache zu finden.<sup>6</sup> Die außerordentlich große Wichtigkeit dieser angeführten Stellen bedarf

<sup>1</sup> Herausgegeben von Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Haag, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> Herausgegeben von Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Haag, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Eine Ausgabe dieses Textes ist von mir in Angriff genommen.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Juynboll, *Drie boeken van het O. J. Mahābhārata*, Leiden, 1893; ders., *Suppl. Catal. Jav. . .* hss., Leidsche Univ. Bibl., Leiden, 1911, II, SS. 157–165.

<sup>5</sup> Vergleiche auch: K. Wulff, *Den Oldjavanske Wirāṭaparwa og dens Sanskrit-original*. København, 1916.

<sup>6</sup> L. c., SS. 21 ff.



keiner Erörterung: sie bilden Fragmente einer unabhängigen Tradition des betreffenden Werkes, welche ihren Ursprung mindestens im zehnten Jahrhundert hat. Leider sind sie oft verdorben und nicht immer sicher wiederherzustellen. Es ist aber ganz falsch, die entsprechenden Verse der (oder einer) uns bekannten indischen Rezension desselben Werkes zu substituieren, wie die Herausgeber allzuoft getan haben. Es bedarf im Gegenteil einer großen Sorgfalt und einer philologischen Akribie, hier die wahrscheinlichen Lesarten wiederzufinden. Ich bin bemüht gewesen, in meiner Edition eine möglichst genaue Wiederherstellung der Zitate zu bieten, d. h. sie in der Gestalt, in welcher sie dem javanischen Verfasser vorgelegen haben, zu geben; in den Anmerkungen habe ich von den Emendationsversuchen Rechenschaft abgelegt.

In diesem Aufsatz beabsichtige ich nun, die Zitate mit den entsprechenden Stellen der indischen Fassungen desselben Textes (oder richtiger: derselben Textstücke) zu vergleichen und in dieser Weise die Stellung der im javanischen Werke vorliegenden Fassung innerhalb der Purāṇa-Literatur zu bestimmen. Aber nicht nur das Studium dieser erhaltenen Fragmente des Grundtextes (d. h. des Sanskrittextes, der vom Übersetzer benützt wurde), sondern auch eine genaue Analyse des ganzen Werkes, eine Feststellung der in ihm vertretenen purāṇischen Texte und deren Reihenfolge, und eine Vergleichung der Ergebnisse mit den verwandten Werken sind unerlässlich. Außer einer Zusammenstellung der Zitate werde ich also eine Analyse des Inhalts mitteilen und zugleich einige Fragen der Komposition, unter Berücksichtigung der Daten, welche wir den indischen Purāṇen, die am nächsten verwandt sind, entnehmen dürfen, mehr oder weniger umständlich erörtern.

Es ist ein interessanter Umstand, daß das javanische Brahmanḍa Purāṇa in Hinsicht auf Namen und Inhalt am nächsten verwandt ist mit den zwei einander sehr ähnlichen Purāṇen, dem Brahmanḍa und dem Vāyu. Schon Pargiter hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß diese zwei Werke nicht nur die gleiche Grundeinteilung haben, sondern auch im Wortlaut des größten Teiles ihrer

Textmasse übereinstimmen.<sup>1</sup> Nach ihm hat sich Kirfel bemüht, die These zu beweisen, daß Bm̄ḍ. und Vā. ursprünglich ein Purāṇa gebildet haben, und durch eine Kapitelkonkordanz läßt er ganz klar den gemeinsamen Grundkern des von ihm ‚Bḍ.-Vā.‘ genannten Textes und die individuellen Sonderstücke überschauen.<sup>2</sup> Es ist nun ganz merkwürdig zu sehen, daß der javanische Text einerseits in mancher Hinsicht eine unleugbare Verwandtschaft mit dieser Bm̄ḍ.-Vā.-Rezension kundgibt, andererseits aber mehrere Male erhebliche Divergenzen aufweist.

Meines Erachtens bildet das javanische Purāṇa eine sehr willkommene Vermehrung des Materials zum weiteren Ausbau des bisher so sehr vernachlässigten Studiums der außerindischen, im Javanischen abgefaßten Sanskritliteratur, aber auch eine nicht unwichtige Quelle für unsere Kenntnis der Überlieferungsgeschichte der indischen Purāṇen. Es ist das große Verdienst Kirfels, das Purāṇa-Problem in Angriff genommen zu haben, und für mehrere Teile der Gesamtmasse dieser wichtigen Literaturgattung dem weiteren Studium eine sichere Grundlage bereitet zu haben; und es sei fern von mir, seine Verdienste auch im geringsten schmälern zu wollen; ich meine jedoch auf Grund der nachfolgenden Ausführungen schließen zu dürfen, daß der altjavanische Text auf einige Fragen ein anderes Licht wirft und hier und da für eine von Kirfel verfochtene Meinung oder von ihm aufgestellte Hypothese nähere Erwägung notwendig macht.

Weil aber ein zweiter, merkwürdiger altjavanischer Text, das Agastya- (oder Aṅgastya-)parwa, dessen Inhalt in mancher Hinsicht eine Ergänzung des hier behandelten Werkes bildet, noch eines eingehenden Studiums harrt,<sup>3</sup> das vielleicht die etwaigen Ergebnisse der nachfolgenden Untersuchung wieder modifizieren könnte, habe ich es gänzlich unterlassen, neue Hypothesen und Erklärungsversuche

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian historical tradition*, London, 1922, SS. 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn, 1927, SS. X ff.

<sup>3</sup> Eine Ausgabe dieses Textes wird hoffentlich Ende dieses Jahres fertig sein.

vorzuschlagen, und mich nur darauf beschränkt, einige Fragen aufzustellen, auf welche wir vielleicht später eine Antwort geben können.

I. In der Einleitung unseres Purāṇa lesen wir, wie der große König Adhismakṛṣṇa<sup>1</sup> ein Opferfest veranstaltet, wohin viele Leute zusammenkommen, unter andern auch eine Menge Brahmanen und Paṇḍit's. Auch bhagawān Romaharṣaṇa trifft ein; die Brahmanen bitten ihn, den 'Manubaśśakrama' zu erzählen. Er gewährt die Bitte, ergreift das Wort und teilt die folgenden purāṇischen Geschichten und Ausführungen mit. Im allgemeinen steht diese Einleitung dem Anfang des indischen Vāyu Purāṇa nahe,<sup>2</sup> einige Abweichungen und wahrscheinlich auch dann und wann eine interpolierte Stelle sind jedoch festzustellen.<sup>3</sup> Die meisten Zitate im altjavanischen Texte weisen völlige oder doch weitgehende Übereinstimmung mit Śloka's, Halbśloka's und Pāda's des Vāyu Purāṇa auf.

Ich stelle sie hier zusammen:<sup>4</sup>

Bmḍ. 48, 6 = Vā. (?) 1, 10; Bmḍ. 49, 3 = Vā. 1, 12 c I; Bmḍ. 49, 6 ~ Vā. 1, 13 a; Bmḍ. 49, 14; 15 ~ Vā. 1, 11; Bmḍ. 50, 1, I cf. Vā. 1, 13 a I; Bmḍ. 50, 1, II ?; 50, 4 ? usw. Vgl. weiter: Vā. 1, 13; 14; 17; 18; 19; 20; 21; 25; 26; 28. Einige Zitate kann ich nicht identifizieren. Der dieser Partie zu Grunde liegende Text stimmte also im allgemeinen überein mit Vā. 1, 10—28. Da unser Text mit dem Vā. 1, 10 entsprechenden Zitate anfängt, sind die Śloka's 1, 1—9 nicht übersetzt oder gar nicht im Grundtexte vorgefunden worden. Wie aus meiner Zusammenstellung erhellt, ist die Reihenfolge der Zitate nicht ganz dieselbe wie die der Śloka's des Vā. Außerdem sind einige Verse nicht vertreten. Das Fehlen der Zeilen 1, 12 a und b z. B.: (*ṛṣayaḥ*) | *dharmakṣetre kurukṣetre dīrghasattraṇ*

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, SS. 52, 182.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Rājendraśāla Mitra, Bibl. Ind., 2 Teile. Calcutta, 1880, 1888.

<sup>3</sup> Siehe Verf., Het Oud-Javaansche Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, SS. 227 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bmḍ. = Altjavanisches Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, nach den Seiten meiner Ausgabe; Vā. = Vāyu Purāṇa. Völlige Übereinstimmung: =; weitgehende Übereinstimmung: ±; teilweise gleichlautend: ~; vergleichbar: cf.; vgl. die Anmerkung zu der Stelle in meiner Edition.

tu ijire | nadyās tīre dṛṣadvatyāḥ puṇyāyāḥ śucirodhasaḥ möchte man auf die Abweichungen der Erzählung zurückführen. In anderen Fällen ist es schwieriger, einen Śloka, Halbśloka oder Pada, welcher weder angeführt noch übersetzt wird, gerade deswegen dem Grundtexte abzusprechen. Im übrigen verweise ich auf den Text und meine Anmerkungen.

II. Der Anfang der Erörterungen Romaharṣaṇa's bildet eine kurze Beschreibung der Schöpfung. Das erste Zitat entspricht Vā. 4, 17 und Bmḍ. 1, 3, 8; es wird übersetzt und erläutert. Man beachte die völlige Übereinstimmung von 54, 2 mit Liṅga Pur. 70, 3 b. Ich stelle hier die übrigen Zitate dieses Abschnittes zusammen und vergleiche sie mit dem Texte Kirfels, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa (= P. P.), SS. 45 ff.:

54, 8 = P. P. 45, 8 b                      54, 21 ~ P. P. 46, 10 b II

54, 12 = „ 45, 9 c                      54, 23 = „ 46, 11 b

Der Grundtext ist zweifelsohne weitläufiger gewesen als diese angeführten Stellen, wie aus den längeren javanischen Ausführungen erhellt.

Nach der Beschreibung des *Pradhāna* folgen ganz abrupt einige Mitteilungen über den Schöpfer: Rudra, Kāla, Antaka. Man vergleiche die Stellen im P. P.:

54, 26 = P. P. 56, 22 b II                      55, 2 ± P. P. 56, 24 a I

(d. h. Vā. 5, 28 b II)                      55, 5                      ?

54, 30 = P. P. 56, 23 I

„Brahmā wünschte in der Vorzeit die Welt zu erschaffen“ (S. 55, 12). Es folgt die Schöpfung von *Mahān*, *Ahaṃkāra*, *Ekādāśendriya*, *Tanmātra*, *Mahābhūta* und das Entstehen des Welteies. Inhaltlich sind einige Verse im P. P., S. 65 zu vergleichen. Es folgt das Zitat S. 55, 19 (s. meine Anm.), welches dem Pada P. P. 66, 61 b I ähnlich ist. Hiernach:

55, 24 ~ P. P. 66, 55 a; 108, 66,                      56, 7 ~ P. P. 67, 61 b I

55, 29; 32                      ?                      56, 11 = „ 67, 64 a I

Das Zitat S. 56, 7 leitet die Schöpfung der neun Devarṣi's, Marīci, Bhṛgu usw. ein (vgl. P. P. 67, 62); das letztgenannte wird von einer

längeren zitatlosen Ausführung gefolgt, worin die Geburt Rudra's und dessen Namengebung erzählt wird, eine aus anderen Purāṇen bekannte Geschichte (vgl. P. P., S. 39), welche im 27. Kap. des Vā., im 10. Kap. des Bmḍ. Pur. gefunden wird (vgl. P. P., SS. 121 ff.). Anschließend wird das Entstehen von Saṃkalpa und Dharma berichtet; vergleiche Vā. 9, 71 ff.; das Zitat S. 57, 7 ist beinahe identisch mit Bmḍ. Pur. 1, 5, 79.<sup>1</sup> Sie entstanden aus dem *manah* Brahmā's, Dakṣa aus seinem *prāṇa*, Marīci aus seinen Augen usw.; vgl. Bmḍ. 1, 5, 74 ff. (Li. 70, 186 ff.; auch Bmḍ. 1, 9, 20 ff.; vgl. Vā. 9, 99 ff.).

Es folgt die Schöpfung der Götter, Asura's, Väter, Menschen usw.; man möchte das Zitat, S. 57, 18, mit Bmḍ. 1, 8, 2 b, Vā. 9, 2 b vergleichen; es ist aber nahezu identisch mit Bmḍ. 1, 5, 84. Die Götter kamen aus seinem Munde hervor usw.; vgl. Bmḍ. 1, 8, 24 ff., Vā. 9, 23 ff. Die Stelle ist wahrscheinlich nicht abgekürzt worden; vgl. Bmḍ. 1, 8, 4 ff.; Vā. 9, 4 ff., und meine Anmerkung. Das Zitat S. 57, 26 ist verdorben; wir erkennen jedoch Bmḍ. 1, 8, 54 a I; 55 a I; Vā. 9, 52 b I; 53 b I; vergleiche auch Bmḍ. 1, 5, 88 ff. Die letztgenannte Stelle scheint mit dem Grundtexte unseres Abschnittes nahezu identisch gewesen zu sein (Bmḍ. 1, 5, 84 ff.).

III. Nachdem wir einiges über die Chronologie der Schöpfung, über die Herkunft der vier Stände und über Śucā und Pratiḡha, Adharma und Ahimsā (sic!) vernommen, erfahren wir, daß Brahmā aus seinem Leibe zwei Wesen entstehen ließ, Svāyambhuva Manu und Śatarūpā, welche die Ehe eingingen. Vgl. Bmḍ. 1, 9, 32 ff., Vā. 10, 8 ff. u. a. Ihre Kinder sind Ratih,<sup>2</sup> Priyavrata und Uttānapāda, Ākūti und Prasūti. Prasūti wird die Gattin Dakṣa's; Ākūti verheiratet sich mit Ruci; die Erzählung geht parallel mit dem Bmḍ. Pur., Vā. u. a. Es folgt die Aufführung der vierundzwanzig Töchter Dakṣa's und Prasūti's; vergleiche meine Anmerkung. Diese Töchter verheirateten sich: Śraddhā wird die Gattin Dharma's; ihr Kind ist Kāma usw. Es lohnt sich, diese ganze Stelle eingehend mit dem

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. auch Bmḍ. 1, 5, 73; 1, 9, 20; Vāyu 9, 71.

<sup>2</sup> Siehe die Anm., Ausgabe, S. 239.

Wortlaut der indischen Texte zu vergleichen, um eine Einsicht in das Verfahren des Übersetzers zu gewinnen.

Brahmā erschafft aus seinem Leibe einen Mann und ein Weib: altj. Text (S. 58, 9): *maparwa tekāwak nira: sawaneh laki-laki. sira ta Svāyambhuwa Manu naran ira. ikañ i kincānakbi. sira ta bhāṭṭārī Śatarūpā naran ira*, 'sein Leib teilte sich in zwei Teile, die erste Hälfte wurde ein Mann. Dieser hieß Svāyambhuwa Manu. Die linke Seite wurde ein Weib. Die hieß Frau Śatarūpā'. Vgl. P. P. 114, 7 (= Bmđ. 1, 9, 32; Vā. 10, 7; Kā. 8, 6 b, 7 a; Li. 70, 266 b, 267 a): *dvidhā kṛtvā svakaṃ deham ardhena puruṣo 'bhavat | ardhena nārī, sā tasya Śatarūpā vyajāyata* (vgl. P. P. 114, 10 a II). Den Namen *Svāyambhuwaḥ* finden wir P. P. 115, 11, also ist die Reihenfolge der Mitteilungen eine andere; außerdem ist die javanische Fassung kürzer. Fand nun der Übersetzer diese Fassung vor, oder hat er selbst die Geschichte abgekürzt? Der Wortlaut des javanischen Textes fährt fort: *aṭṭemu pwa sira kalih an pakanak bhāṭṭārī Ratih*, 'sie vereinigten sich, folglich bekamen sie ein Kind, Ratih'. Vgl. P. P. 115, 12 b, 13 a: *labdhva tu Puruṣaḥ patnīm Śatarūpām ayonijām | tayā sa ramate sārdaṃ, tasmāt sā Ratir ucyate* (über Rati s. meine Anm.). Im P. P. folgen nun einige Mitteilungen, welche im javanischen Purāṇa fehlen, wo die Fortsetzung lautet: *muwaḥ manak laki-laki kambar paḍa-paḍa, sañ Priyabrata lawan sañ Uttānapāda naranya*, 'wiederum erzeugten sie sich Kinder, (nun) Zwillinge, alle beide männlichen Geschlechts, mit Namen P. und U.'. Vgl. P. P. 115, 16 a: *Priyavrat-Uttānapādaḥ putrau putravatām varau*. Es folgt: *muwaḥ manak kambar stri atah, sañ Ākūti lawan sañ Prasūti*, 'wiederum bekamen sie Kinder, nun Mädchen, A. und P.'. Vgl. P. P. 115, 16 b: *kanye dve ca mahābhāge, yābhyām jāta imāḥ prajāḥ* und 17 a: *devī nāmnā tath-Ākūtiḥ Prasūtiḥ caiva te śubhe*. Der javanische Text schließt sich also nahe an den Text des P. P. an, unterläßt jedoch Überflüssiges, wie *mahābhāge* usw., *śubhe*.

Der folgende Satz ist geradezu eine Übersetzung von P. P. 115, 17 b: *Svāyambhuwaḥ Prasūtiṃ tu Dakṣāya vyasṛjat prabhukḥ*: jav. *sañ Prasūti sira ta winehakēn in bhāṭṭāra Svāyambhuwa Manu*

*sira ta bhagawan Dakṣa*, ‚P. wurde von S. M. Dakṣa (als Gattin) gegeben‘. Ebenso stimmen die folgenden Sätze: ‚Ākūti verheiratete sich mit Ruci und gebar einen Sohn Yajña und eine Tochter Dakṣiṇā‘ genau überein mit P. P. 115, 18 b; 19; allein überflüssige Epitheta usw. sind fortgelassen. *Sira ta makalaki sañ Yajña. manak ta sira ricawēlas*, ‚sie (D.) verheiratete sich mit Y., sie hatte (oder: bekam) zwölf Kinder‘ stimmt überein mit P. P. 115, 20 a: *Yajñasya Dakṣiṇāyām tu putrā dvādaśa jajñire*.

Es folgt im javanischen Purāṇa: *dwādaśa Yama naranya*, ‚mit Namen die zwölf Yama‘; vgl. P. P. 116, 20 b: *Yāmā iti samākhyatā*, der letzte Pāda: *devāḥ Svāyambhuve 'ntare* steht S. 58, 20. — P. P. 116, 21: *yamasya putrā Yajñasya tasmād Yāmās tu te smṛtāḥ | Ajitāś caiva Śukrāś ca gaṇau dvau Brahmanāḥ smṛtau* oder ein ähnlicher Śloka ist der Grundtext gewesen der Wörter: *apan anak niñ kambar. Ajita lawan Śukra naran ikañ gaṇa (ri Svāyambhuwa Manu*, s. oben), ‚denn sie waren Kinder eines Zwillingspaares. Ajita und Śukra waren die Namen des Gaṇa zur Zeit des S. M.‘ Bei P. P. 116, 22 a fehlt eine Parallele.

Nun folgt im javanischen Purāṇa: *sañ Prasūti an pakalaki ri bhagawān Dakṣa manak ta sira padlikur. pratyeka ni naran ira: sañ Sati ... sañ Khyati* usw., ‚P. gebar während ihrer Ehe mit Dakṣa vierundzwanzig Kinder, deren Namen, einzeln angeführt, sind: S., K. usw.‘. Beachten wir nun die kürzere Fassung dieser Stelle, welche das Kūrma Purāṇa bietet (8, 15): *Prasūtyāṇ ca tathā Dakṣaś catasro viṃsatim tathā | susarja kanyā nāmāni tāsāṃ samyag nibodhata*, welche Stelle wir auch anderswo finden (Ga. 5, 24 a; Märk. 50, 19 b; 20 a; Padma P. Venk. I, 3, 182; Padma P. Ānand. V. 3, 174; Viṣṇu I, 7, 20; über den Wortlaut P. P. 37, 20), so möchten wir glauben, daß das javanische Purāṇa im Einklang stehe mit den genannten Stellen und von der weitläufigeren Fassung des Bṛm. (1, 9, 47 b—49 a), des Vāyu (10, 23—24) und des Liṅga (70, 282 b—284 a) abweiche. Allein diese Texte haben hier nur Epitheta und überflüssige Mitteilungen, z. B.: *sarvāḥ kamalalocanāḥ* usw.; meines Erachtens ist absichtliche Fortlassung seitens des Übersetzers in



gleichem Maße wahrscheinlich. Hier, wie auch öfters anderswo, ist der genaue Umfang des Grundtextes nicht zu bestimmen und in unserem Falle ebensowenig die Zugehörigkeit desselben zu der einen oder anderen Rezension.

Dreizehn Töchter Dakṣa's verheiraten sich mit Dharma; sie bekommen Kinder. Unser Text ist nicht ganz deutlich; jedenfalls kürzer gefaßt als P. P. 116, 24 ff.; vergleiche meine Anmerkung. Ich überlasse es dem Leser, selbst weitere Einzelheiten zu beachten, und stelle nun die Zitate dieses Abschnittes zusammen:

59, 5	=	P. P. 117, 36 b II	59, 27; 30	~	P. P. 119, 53 b
59, 14	=	" 118, 41 b I	60, 1	=	Bmḍ. 1, 9, 80 a I
59, 16	=	" 118, 41 b II	60, 4	=	P. P. 119, 55 b I
59, 18	=	" 118, 42 b	60, 6 I	~	" 119, 55 b II
59, 20	=	" 118, 43 a I	60, 6 II	=	" 119, 55 a I
59, 23	=	" 118, 43 b II	60, 11	cf.	" 120, 62 b II

Es wird von den Weibern und Kindern Dharma's erzählt, von Ahimṣā (sic!) und Adharma und ihrem Geschlecht und von Nīlāhita, der Satī heiratete und die Sahasra-rudra zeugte. Auch hier sind die indischen Parallelen umständlicher: die ganze Unmenge von Adjektiven (P. P. 118, 44—119, 53) fehlt im javanischen Purāṇa, und auch im übrigen ist dieses kürzer.

Nachdem wir vernommen, daß die Sahasra-rudra keine Kinder zeugten und sich dem Brahmācārya widmeten, lernen wir die Nachkommen der anderen Töchter Dakṣa's kennen. Man beachte, daß nach der Geschichte der Sahasra-rudra im indischen Bmḍ. Pur. das neunte Kapitel endet, und daß (nach 10, 67) im Vāyu das Paśu-patayoganirūpaṇam und mehrere andere Textteile folgen. Das Bmḍ. Pur. fährt im 10. Kap., das Vāyu Pur. im 27. Kap. fort; es folgt die Schilderung der acht Namen und Körper, die Rudra von Brahmā erhielt. Diese Geschichte hat das javanische Purāṇa schon vorher kurz erwähnt (s. oben, S. 224). Im 11. Kap. des Bmḍ. und im 28. des Vāyu folgen nun die Geschlechter der neun Ṛṣi's; das javanische

Purāṇa schließt sich hier wieder an die indischen Texte an (S. 60, 17). Die Zitate sind zu identifizieren:

60, 22 = Vā. 28, 3 a I; 61, 3 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 11, 10 a; 61, 5 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 11, 10 b I.

Die in diesem Abschnitte erwähnten Namen sind in meinen Anmerkungen ganz kurz erörtert worden. Nachdem die Schilderung der Geschlechter bis zu der Erwähnung Agni's fortgeschritten ist (Bmḍ. 1, 11, 44 a; Vā. 28, 38), lautet der javanische Text: *tan tu-  
capa sah Agni riñ Swāyambhuwa Mamu*, 'von Agni zur Zeit des S. M. sei nicht die Rede'. Das Agnivampśavarṇanam (die Schilderung des Geschlechts Agni's), im Bmḍ. das 12., im Vāyu das 29. Kap., wird hier also, wie ich schon in den Anmerkungen erörtert habe, fortgelassen. Ist diese Streichung vom Übersetzer vorgenommen? Man möchte es glauben. Es lohnt sich doch, andere Stellen zu vergleichen.

Im Märk. Pur. (52, 27—29) ist diese Schilderung des Agni-geschlechtes sehr kurz abgetan worden, gleichfalls im Viṣṇu Pur. (1, 10, 14 ff.), vgl. Agni Pur. 20, 16. Auch der Grundtext des javanischen Buches mag also weniger umständlich gewesen sein. Die Koinzidenz ist jedenfalls zu beachten.

Auch die Erwähnung der Pitaras, gleichfalls anderswo in Kürze geschildert, ist in unserem Texte fortgelassen (vgl. Bmḍ. Pur. 1, 13, 1 ff.; Vāyu 30, 1 ff.); er geht hinüber zum Geschlechte der Velā und Dhārṇi (Bmḍ. Pur. 1, 13, 30 ff.; Vāyu 30, 28 ff.).

IV. Darauf folgt das Dakṣaśāpavarṇanam, die Beschreibung des Fluches Dakṣa's, in Einzelheiten hier und da abweichend erzählt; vgl. Bmḍ. Pur. 1, 13, 44 usw.; Vāyu 30, 69 usw. Die Zitate sind:

63, 15 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 13, 48, Vā. om.; 63, 22 und 27 ?; 63, 31 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 13, 51 a II, Vā. 30, 45 b II; 64, 3 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 13, 51 b, Vā. 30, 46 a; 64, 9 ?; 64, 13 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 13, 52 a I, Vā. 30, 46 b II; 64, 15 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 13, 54 b I, cf. Vā. 30, 49 a; 64, 19 ± Bmḍ. 1, 13, 54 b II \*; 64, 21 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 13, 55 a II \*, ~ Vā. 30, 49 b II; 65, 2 —, —; 65, 24; 25 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 13, 66 b, 67 a, ~ Vā. 30, 57 b, 58 a; 65, 29 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 13, 66 a II, cf. Vā. 30, 57 a II; 66, 1 cf. Bmḍ.

1, 13, 66 a I \*, cf. Vā. 30, 57 a I \*; 66, 8 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 66 a II, = Vā. 30, 59 a II; 66, 14 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 69 b I, = Vā. 30, 60 b I; 66, 17 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 69 b II,  $\pm$  Vā. 30, 60 b II; 66, 19  $\pm$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 70 a I,  $\sim$  Vā. 30, 61 a I; 66, 22  $\sim$  (?) Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 70 a II \*, cf. Vā. 30, 61 a II; 66, 25  $\sim$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 72 a,  $\pm$  Vā. 30, 63 a; 66, 26 I = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 72 b I, = Vā. 30, 63 b I; 66, 26 II ?, ?; 67, 4 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 77 a, = Vā. 30, 70 a; 67, 7  $\sim$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 77 b I,  $\sim$  Vā. 30, 70 b I; 67, 9 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 77 b II, Vā. 30, 70 b II; 67, 11  $\sim$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 78 a,  $\sim$  Vā. 30, 71 a; 67, 13  $\sim$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 78 b I, = Vā. 30, 71 b I; 67, 19  $\sim$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 81 b,  $\sim$  Vā. 30, 74 a; 67, 22 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 13, 83 b II,  $\pm$  Vā. 30, 76 b II.

Es ist merkwürdig, daß im Vāyu Pur. 30, 79 ff. einige Sonderstücke folgen (Dakṣa's Geburt und Opfer, Virabhadra's Geburt usw.), welche im indischen wie auch im javanischen Brahmap̄ḍa Purāṇa fehlen. Vāyu Pur. 31 und Bm̄ḍ. Pur. 1, 13, 87—151 enthalten dann das Devavāṃśavarṇanam, gleichfalls nicht im javanischen Texte stehend. Das 32. Kap. des Vāyu Purāṇa beschreibt darauf die Zustände in den Yuga's (*Yugadharmāḥ*), ein weder im indischen noch im javanischen Bm̄ḍ. Pur. enthaltener Abschnitt. Wir sehen also, daß das indische Bm̄ḍ. Pur. nur 1, 13, 87—151, das Vāyu Pur. 30, 79—321; 31; 32 mehr hat als der javanische Text.

V. Es folgt, wie der javanische Autor sagt, der Kṣatriyasarga (S. 68, 2 ff.), d. h. das Geschlecht des Manu Svāyambhuva, Bm̄ḍ. Pur. 1, 14; Vāyu Pur. 33. Die Zitate sind:

67, 29 cf. Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 3 a, cf. Vā. 33, 3 a; 68, 1 cf. (?) Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 3 b, cf. (?) Vā. 33, 3 b; 68, 4  $\sim$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 4 a,  $\sim$  Vā. 33, 4 a; 68, 11  $\sim$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 10 a,  $\sim$  Vā. 33, 10 a.

Hiernach steht ein längeres zitatloses Stück mit vielen Namen; Einzelheiten sind in meinen Anmerkungen berücksichtigt.

69, 11 vgl. die Anm.; 69, 14 ?; 69, 16  $\pm$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 44 a,  $\pm$  Vā. 33, 37 a; 69, 23 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 47 b II, = Vā. 33, 40 b II; 69, 26 cf. Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 48 a, cf. Vā. 33, 41 a; 70, 1 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 48 b, cf. Vā. 33, 41 b; 70, 3  $\pm$  Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 49 a, = Vā. 33, 42 a; 70, 6 I = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 14, 49 b I, = Vā. 33, 42 b I; 70, 6 II; 8 —, —; 70, 10

= Bmđ. 1, 14, 50 a, = Vā. 33, 43 a; 70, 13 ~ Bmđ. 1, 14, 50 b I \*, ~ Vā. 33, 43 b I \*; 70, 16 ± Bmđ. 1, 14, 50 a I, = Vā. 33, 44 a I; 70, 18 ~ Bmđ. 1, 14, 51 b, ~ Vā. 33, 44 b; 70, 20 cf. Bmđ. 1, 14, 52 a, cf. Vā. 33, 45 a; 70, 25 = Bmđ. 1, 14, 57 a I, = Vā. 33, 48 b I; 70, 30 = Bmđ. 1, 14, 59 b I, Vā. 33, 50 b I; 71, 6 cf. Bmđ. 1, 14, 62 a I, cf. Vā. 33, 53 a I.

Mit Bmđ. 1, 14, 71, Vā. 33, 60 stimmt überein S. 71, 21: *sah Raja makanak satus*, 'Raja hatte hundert Kinder'.

Hiernach finden wir in den zwei genannten indischen Texten die Beschreibung des Jambūdvīpa (Bmđ. 1, 15; Vā. 34, 1—57; 43, 1—9; 45, 1—20 a)<sup>1</sup> und anschließend die Einrichtung der Welt (Bmđ. 1, 16—19; Vā. 45, 67—137; 46—49), den Lauf der Himmelskörper usw. Der geographische Abschnitt folgt also sofort auf den 'Kṣatriyasarga', d. h. auf das Geschlecht des Manu Svāyambhuva, dessen sieben Enkel, Agnidhra, Agnibahu, Medhatithi usw., von ihm als Könige der sieben Dvīpa's, Jambūdvīpa, Śākadvīpa usw., eingesetzt wurden. Die neun Teile Jambūdvīpa's wurden unter die neun Söhne Agnidhra's verteilt. Daß sich hieran eine Beschreibung des Jambūdvīpa anschließt, ist rationell und stimmt zu dem von Kirtel<sup>2</sup> festgestellten chronologischen Prinzip, nach welchem das Material des Bmđ.-Vāyu-Textes geordnet ist.

Im javanischen Texte folgt jedoch etwas ganz anderes. Wir lesen da (S. 71, 22): *maṅkana krama nikaṅ kṣatriyasarga tambe niṅ tretā ri adēg nira bhāṭṭāra Svāyambhuva Manu. kunaṅ ikaṅ ekādaśa-Rudra, dvādaśāditya, aṣṭa-Basu, dvādaśa-Sādhyā, daśa-Wiśwadewa, daśāṅgira, dvādaśa-Bhārgawa, ekonapañcāsat-Maruddewa masili-silihan krama nikaṅ sa-Manu-Manu*, 'auf diese Weise ging vor sich die Schöpfung der Kṣatriya's im Anfang der Tretā zur Zeit des S. M. Die 11 Rudra nun, und die 12 Ā., die 8 V., die 12 S., die 10 V., die 10 A., die 12 B., die 49 M. treten miteinander abwechselnd auf'.

<sup>1</sup> Über die Sonderstücke des Vāyu 34, 58—42 usw. vgl. Kirtel, P. P., S. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> Kirtel, P. P., S. XVII.

Diese Namen göttlicher Wesen begegnen öfters in mehreren purānischen Texten; vgl. z. B. P. P. 275, 29; Märk. 79, 1 usw.<sup>1</sup>

Der Text fährt fort: *hurip nikaṇ dewāsura, gandharica, piśaca, yakṣa, rākṣasa yatikājarakēna*, 'die Lebensdauer der Götter, Asura's, G.'s, P.'s, Y.'s, R.'s wird nun erzählt werden'; hierauf folgt ein Zitat, das nicht unversehrt erhalten ist, aber in mancher Hinsicht dem Halbśloka Bmḍ. 1, 32, 1 a, Vā. 59, 1 a ähnlich ist.<sup>2</sup> Die nachstehende Beschreibung geht nun im allgemeinen parallel mit Bmḍ. 1, 32, Vā. 59. Die Kapitel 15—31 des Bmḍ., 34—58 des Vā. sind also im javanischen Texte an dieser Stelle nicht da.

Die letzten Verse des 33. Kap. des Vā. und des 14. Kap. des Bmḍ. sind nun: *eṣa Svāyambhuvaḥ sargo yenedaṃ pūritam jagat | ṛṣibhir daivatais cāpi pitṛgandharvarākṣasaiḥ || yakṣabhūtapiśacais ca manuṣyamṛgapakṣibhiḥ | teṣāṃ sṛṣṭir iyaṃ loke yugaiḥ saha vivartate ||* Nachdem im 57. Kap., 1—85 des Vā. und im 29. Kap. des Bmḍ. die Yuga's beschrieben worden sind und im 58. Kap. des Vā., d. h. im 31. Kap. des Bmḍ., eine Beschreibung eines Caturyuga gegeben ist, lesen wir im Anfang des 59., bzw. 32. Kapitels: *yugeṣu yās tu jāyante prajāś ta vai<sup>3</sup> nibodhata | āsurī sarpaḡopakṣipaiśāci<sup>4</sup> yakṣarākṣasā | yāsmiṇ yuge ca sambhūtiś tasāṃ yāvat tu<sup>5</sup> jivitaṃ || piśācāsuraḡandharvā yakṣarākṣasapaṇṇagāḥ | yugamātraṃ<sup>6</sup> tu jivanti ṛte mṛtyumbadhena te || mānuṣāṇāṃ paśūnāṃ ca pakṣiṇāṃ sthāvaraiḥ saha | teṣāṃ āyuhḥ parikrāntaṃ yugadharmeṣu sarvaśaḥ*. Meines Erachtens ist eine gewisse Übereinstimmung zwischen dieser Stelle und dem vorher angeführten Schlußteil des 33., bzw. 14. Kapitels unleugbar. Jedenfalls möchte man sich einen Text denken, worin manches vorhergehende Kapitel übergangen wäre und diese zwei Stellen nahe aneinander ständen. Die Beschreibung des Jambūdvīpa usw. aber, welche sich im Bmḍ. und Vāyu dem Svāyambhuvavamśavarṇanam anschließt, bildet auch anderswo mit diesem Textstücke ein Ganzes; vgl. Viṣṇu Pur. 2,

<sup>1</sup> Siehe auch Wilson-Hall, The Viṣṇu Purāṇa, III, SS. 14 f.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. meine Anmerkung. <sup>3</sup> So Vāyu: *me* Bmḍ.

<sup>4</sup> So Vā.: *sarpaḡandharvā* Bmḍ. <sup>5</sup> So Vā.: *°e ca* Bmḍ.

<sup>6</sup> Bmḍ. weicht ab.

Adhy. 1; 2 usw.; Agni Pur. 107; 108; Märk. Pur. 53; 54<sup>1</sup> u. a. In unserem Texte steht jedoch die geographische Beschreibung in einem anderen Zusammenhang; ich werde unten auf diesen Punkt zurückkommen. Wie dem auch sei, wir können an dieser Stelle eine erhebliche Abweichung unseres javanischen Textes feststellen.

VI. Gehen wir nun zum nachfolgenden Abschnitt über, so sind diese Zitate zu identifizieren:

72, 1 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 1a, cf. Vā. 59, 1a; 72, 5; 8?, ?; 72, 11?, cf. Vā. 59, 4a; 72, 15 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 3a, ?; 72, 19 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 32, 6a, ~ Vā. 59, 5b; 73, 10 = Bmḍ. 1, 32, 4b I; 73, 13?, ?; 73, 16 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 7b I, cf. Vā. 59, 7a I; 73, 18 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 9a, cf. Vā. 59, 8b; 73, 20 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 9b II, cf. Vā. 59, 9a II; 73, 23 ± Bmḍ. 1, 32, 10a II, ± Vā. 59, 9b II; 73, 31 ± Bmḍ. 1, 32, 11b I, ± Vā. 59, 11a I.

Die Zitate S. 74, 1; 5, 7; 9; 26; 32 habe ich nicht identifizieren können.

75, 22 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 33b I, Vā. ?; 75, 23 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 34a I; 75, 30 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 40a, cf. Vā. 59, 36a; 76, 7 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 44b, cf. Vā. 59, 39c; 76, 24?, ?; 76, 27 ± Bmḍ. 1, 32, 61b, ± Vā. 59, 56a; 77, 9 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 32, 71b, 72a, —; 77, 10 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 32, 72a, ~ Vā. 59, 65a usw.

Zu beachten sind: 80, 14 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 32, 119a, cf. Ma. 114, 114a; 80, 24 = Bmḍ. 1, 32, 122a, ~ Ma. 114, 117b; 80, 27 cf. (?) Bmḍ. 1, 32, 122b, cf. (?) Ma. 114, 118a.

Im allgemeinen schließt sich der Inhalt des javanischen Textes dem Rṣilakṣaṇam genannten 59. Kap. des Vāyu Pur. und dem 32. Kap. des Bmḍ. Pur. (I), dem 'Yugaprajālakṣaṇam rṣipravaravarṇanam', an. Die Lebensdauer der Götter, göttlicher Wesen, Dämonen, Menschen usw., die Größe der Menschen, der Mahāpralaya, die Śiṣṭa's, der Dharma (*śrauta* und *smārta*), die Āśrama's, Saptarṣi's, die vier Veden, Stotra's, die vier Antlitze Brahmā's, die Maharṣi's, Satyarṣi's, Śrutarṣi's, die zehn Īśvara's (Bṛgu, Marīci, Atri usw.), ihre Kinder,

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Kirfel, Bhāratavarṣa, SS. 3, 10 u. a.

die Taparṣi's, die Satyarṣi's, die Mantrakṛt's werden mehr oder weniger eingehend erörtert. Es ließen sich viele Einzelheiten hervorheben; mit Hilfe der obigen Zitate kann sich aber jeder in die Texte leicht hineinfinden.

VII. Nun folgt im Brahmanḍa Purāṇa das 33. Kap., dessen Inhalt von Kirfel mit dem des 32. Kap. als Rṣilakṣaṇam zusammengefaßt,<sup>1</sup> in der Edition als *Brāhmaṇapṛavaktṛṇām rṣiṇām nāmāni, mantralakṣaṇam mantrāṇām navavidhatvam, punas teṣāṃ caturviṃśatibhedāḥ, vidhiśābdanirvacanam* angezeigt wird. Der javanische Text geht aber ohne weiteres zu den im 34. Kap. des indischen Brahmanḍa Purāṇa erörterten Gegenständen über: der zweite Teil des zuletzt erwähnten Zitates *Svāyambhuvāntare vedāḥ* entspricht wahrscheinlich Bmḍ. 1, 34, 2a II. Man beachte nun, daß an dieser Stelle das Ānandaśrama-Vāyu Purāṇa<sup>2</sup> eine erheblich längere Fassung aufweist als das in der Bibliotheca Indica edierte;<sup>3</sup> dort finden wir 106 dem 32. Kap. des Bmḍ. Pur. entsprechende Verse und 36 Verse = 142 Verse, hier nur 117.<sup>4</sup> Obgleich der Schluß des 59. B. I.-Vāyu-Kapitels von der Fassung des indischen Bmḍ. Pur. abweicht, ist es eine merkwürdige Tatsache, daß auch dieser Text sofort zu den Gegenständen des 34. Bmḍ.-Kapitels übergeht. Die im 33. Bmḍ.-Kapitel erörterten Sachen folgen im javanischen aber später (S. 93, 14; s. unten). Der Inhalt des 34. Kap. ist folgenderweise: *pravṛtte dvāpare śrīmān Vyāsaś caturdhā vedavyāsaṃ kṛtvā purāṇasaṃhitāś cakre punaś ca vedasaṃhitāḥ kṛtvā śiṣyebhyo dadau te śiṣyāḥ śiṣyapraśiṣyadvārā vedam vistārayām āsuh vedavistāraprakrame Janakasyaśvamedhe dhanārtham vivadamānena Yājñavalkyena mṛtyupaṇam kṛtvā Śākalyaḥ parastāḥ tena Śākalyasya nidhanam*. Hiermit steht der javanische Text im großen und ganzen im Einklang, nur in Einzelheiten weist er an sich jedenfalls sehr beachtenswerte Divergenzen auf. Wie schon aus einer eingehenden

<sup>1</sup> Kirfel, P. P., S. XVI.

<sup>2</sup> Ein Exemplar dieses Werkes steht mir leider nicht zur Verfügung.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Kirfel, P. P., S. XII.

<sup>4</sup> Bmḍ. Adhy. 32 + 33 = 180 Verse.



Durchmusterung der unten zusammengestellten Zitate deutlich erhellt, gehen sowohl der javanische und der Brahman̄ḍa-Text, wie die zwei indischen Texte unter sich, öfters auseinander. Diese Zitate sind:

80, 28 corr.; 81, 6 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 34, 3 a I,  $\pm$  Vā. 60, 3 a I; 81, 9 ~ Bm̄ḍ. 1, 34, 3 b I, ~ Vā. 60, 3 b I; 81, 14 ~ Bm̄ḍ. 1, 34, 4 b, ~ Vā. 60, 4 b; 81, 18; 19 ~ Bm̄ḍ. 1, 34, 7, ~ Vā. 60, 7; 82, 4 ~ Bm̄ḍ. 1, 34, 10 a, ~ Vā. 60, 10 a usw., vgl. auch Bm̄ḍ. 1, 34, 10 b; 11 a; 12 a; 17 a I; 18 a; 31 b II; 32 b II; 33; 36 b; 40 a; 41 b; 42 b; 44 a I; 44 b; 45 a; 46 b; 57 a; 56 a II; 49 b; 55 b I; 55 b II; 62 b; 63 b; 68 b; 68 c, vgl. Vā. Pur. 60, 10 b usw.

VIII. An die vorhergehende Geschichte schließt sich die Erwähnung der Schüler Devamitra Śākalya's und Śakapūrṇi's<sup>1</sup> (jav. Text S. 88, 22—89, 5; Bm̄ḍ. Pur. 35, 1—4; Vā. Pur. 60, 63—66 a).<sup>2</sup> Das Textstück Vāyu 66 b—75, das wir im Brahman̄ḍa Purāṇa nicht finden, fehlt gleichfalls im javanischen Texte. Die Zitate sind:

88, 22 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 35, 1 a, ~ Vā. 60, 63 a; 88, 26 = Bm̄ḍ. 1, 35, 1 b I, = Vā. 60, 63 b I.

Der nachfolgende Abschnitt handelt von der Verteilung des Yajurveda, schildert die Geschichte von Vaiśampāyana's Brahmahatyā (*Merupr̥ṣṭhe sarve ṛṣaya āmantritās tatra Vaiśampāyano nāgatas tasya brahmahatyā jātā tāṃ vyapanetum śiṣyāḥ ājñaptāḥ* usw.) und das dünnelhaftige Verfahren Yājñavalkya's; dieser speit den Veda, den er gelernt, wieder aus und gibt ihn auf diese Weise seinem Lehrer Vaiśampāyana wieder zurück. Er bekommt aber einen neuen Veda von Āditya. Es wird erzählt von den sechsundachtzig anderen Schülern Vaiśampāyana's, von den Schülern Yājñavalkya's, Sumantu's (Atharvaveda) und Romaharṣaṇa's (bis S. 93, 12). Es lohnt sich sehr, diesen Abschnitt mit Hilfe meiner Ausgabe und Übersetzung in den Einzelheiten mit den indischen Texten zu vergleichen; viele Namen weisen eine abweichende Gestalt auf. Ich möchte hier nur auf eine merkwürdige Divergenz in der Erzählung aufmerksam machen: im

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. hist. trad.*, S. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Kirfel, *P. P.*, S. XII.

indischen Brahmanḍa- und im Vāyu Purāṇa sagt Yājñavalkya, wenn Vaiṣampāyana seine Schüler auffordert, ihm gefällig zu sein (*brahma-hatyām caradhvaṃ vai matkṛte*, Bmḍ. 1, 35, 19): *aham ekaś carīṣ-yāmi tiṣṭhantu munayas tv ime | balenotthāpayiṣyāmi tapasā svena bhāvitaḥ* (Bmḍ. 1, 35, 20, bzw. Vā. 61, 17), im javanischen Texte lesen wir dagegen (S. 90, 11): *kunaḥ bhagawān Y. ta sira tar aiga ...*, d. h. ‚der ehrwürdige Y. aber lehnte ab ... , er weigerte sich, dem Befehl seines Guru's zu gehorchen‘. Man vergleiche nun die Fas-sung dieser Geschichte im Viṣṇu Purāṇa (3, 5), wo (Vers 7) diese Stelle folgendermaßen lautet: *athāha Yājñavalkyas taṃ kim ebhīr bhagavan dvijaḥ | ... carīṣye 'ham idaṃ vratam*. Auch der nach-folgende Teil der Erzählung divergiert. Ich beschränke mich auf die angeführten Stellen:

89, 8 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 35, 7 b, ~ Vā. 61, 4 b; 89, 12 ± Bmḍ. 1, 35, 9 b, ~ Vā. 61, 6 b; 89, 15 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 35, 10 b, ~ Vā. 61, 7 a; 89, 20 = Bmḍ. 1, 35, 13 b, = Vā. 61, 10 a; 89, 26 = Bmḍ. 1, 35, 16 b I, = Vā. 61, 13 b I; 90, 4 \* = Bmḍ. 1, 35, 18 a II, ~ Vā. 61, 16 a I; 90, 7 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 35, 18 b I, ~ Vā. 61, 16 b I; 90, 32 = Bmḍ. 1, 35, 26 b I, = Vā. 61, 23 a I.

IX. Nach einem zitatlosen Stücke sind wir S. 93, 12 bei Bmḍ. 1, 35, 66, Vā. 61, 58 angelangt. An dieser Stelle können wir nun eine schon oben beobachtete Umstellung erkennen. Der javanische Text geht hier über zur Beschreibung der Ṛṣi's der vier Veden, der Brahmanī's, die die Veden kannten, der Maharṣi's und deren Mantrasiddhi, der Mantra's, Miśrarṣi's, der Arten von Mantra's und deren Anwendung und der ‚zehn Anwendungen des Brāhmaṇa‘. Diese Gegenstände sind, allerdings mit bedeutsamen Abweichungen im einzelnen, im indischen Bmḍ. Pur. im 33. Kap. behandelt worden, während, wie wir schon oben sahen, das Vāyu Pur. seine eigenen Wege geht, ein Umstand, den man vielleicht für ein Anzeichen des indischen (und nicht javanischen) Ursprungs der Divergenz halten möchte. Ich stelle die Zitate dieses Kapitels zusammen:

93, 20 = Bmḍ. 1, 33, 5 a I	94, 3; 4 cf. 9	94, 22 = 22 b
93, 24 = 6 b	94, 9 ?	94, 23 ~ 23 a

95, 1 cf. 23 b I	96, 10 * ~ (?) 30 a II	97, 12 $\pm$ 37 b
95, 10 cf. 25 a II	96, 15 ~ 32 b	97, 16; 17 ~ 38
95, 12 ~ 25 b	96, 20 * ~ (?) 33 b	97, 20 corr. ?
95, 17 —	96, 23 ~ 34 b	97, 24 cf. 39 a
95, 19 = 26 b	96, 26 ~ 35 a	98, 5 = 41 b
95, 23 ~ 27 b	96, 31 ?	98, 13 * cf. 48 b
95, 26; 28 = 28 a	97, 6 corr. * cf. 36 a	98, 16 cf. 49 b I
96, 5 = 29 b	97, 7 ~ 36 b	99, 1 corr. * cf. 56 b
96, 7 = 30 b II	97, 11 = 37 a	

Man beachte in diesem Abschnitt, z. B. S. 97, 6 ff., die Häufigkeit der angeführten Śloka's, welche ins Javanische übersetzt werden und sich unmittelbar aneinander anreihen, ein in schwierigeren Textteilen häufiges Verfahren, das nicht immer — wie einige Gelehrte gemeint haben — auf ein höheres Alter der betreffenden Stelle hindeutet, wohl aber ein altertümliches Übersetzungsverfahren zu bilden scheint.<sup>1</sup> S. 97, 27 ff. finden wir einige Sanskritwörter, das eine nach dem andern, ins Javanische übersetzt oder erklärt; auch dieses Verfahren begegnet öfters. Wieder etwas anderes ist die Erklärung mit Hilfe des Wortes *naranya* oder eines Synonyms (nämlich, das heißt'), deren sich der javanische Autor, z. B. S. 98, 17 ff., bedient.

X. Wie wir oben festgestellt haben, ist die Erzählung des 35. Bmḍ.-, bzw. 61. Vā.-Kap. im javanischen Texte unterbrochen worden (letzter Vers 66 bzw. 58); nun aber wird sie wieder fortgeführt (erster Vers 70, bzw. 61). Es wird gehandelt von der Anzahl der Ṛk's, der Sāmans usw., von der Größe des Rgveda, von den 'Śākhābheda's' des Veda, von den fünf Geschlechtern der Brahmarṣi's,<sup>2</sup> von den Devarṣi's und Rajarṣi's und den Welten, welche sie erreichen (Brahmarṣiloka usw.), von ihren Eigentümlichkeiten und Vorzügen. Sie erteilen im Tretāyuga Unterricht im Caturvarṇakrama, sie gelangen zur Wiedergeburt in ihrem Sohne usw. Während der Āra des Vaivasvata Manu beschäftigten sich in

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Verf., Oad-Jav. Bmḍ.-Pur., Einl., S. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Pargiter, Anc. Ind. hist. trad., S. 185.

jedem Dvāpara achtundzwanzig Brahmarṣi's mit der Verteilung und Überlieferung des Veda; ihre Namen werden aufgeführt. Im Kṛta-yuga wird kein Studium des Veda getrieben; im Tretāyuga fängt der Unterricht Svāyambhuva's an; im Dvāpara gebietet Brahmā den Ṛṣi's, den Veda zu verteilen und zu unterrichten. Die Manu's usw. werden von ihren Nachfolgern abgelöst und begeben sich nach ‚Mahāloka‘, wo sie Askese üben; von dieser Welt gehen sie weiter nach Brahmaloaka. Nach vierzehn Manu-Ären findet der Samhāra statt, d. h. die Nacht Brahmā's kommt, welche wieder von einem Tage Brahmā's, d. h. einer neuen Schöpfung abgelöst wird. Der Text handelt darauf von der Dauer der Manu-Ären, aufs neue von der Ablösung der Manu's und ihrer Reise nach ‚Mahāloka‘ usw. Die Begebenheiten während der Periode der Weltzerstörung am Ende des Kaliyuga werden geschildert, und schließlich erfahren wir Näheres über die ausgeschiedenen Manu's. Die ersten Zitate dieses Abschnittes sind:

- 99, 3  $\pm$  Bmđ. 1, 35, 70 a I, = Vā. 61, 61 b I;  
99, 7  $\sim$  Bmđ. 1, 35, 71 b, = Vā. 61, 63 a I;  
99, 11 = Bmđ. 1, 35, 72 b, = Vā. 61, 64 a;  
99, 20  $\pm$  Bmđ. 1, 35, 75 b,  $\pm$  Vā. 61, 66 c;  
99, 23 = Bmđ. 1, 35, 76 a I, = Vā. 61, 67 a I;  
99, 25  $\sim$  Bmđ. 1, 35, 76 b,  $\sim$  Vā. 61, 67 b;  
99, 28; 29 corr. \* cf. Bmđ. 1, 35, 78 b; 79 a,  
cf. Vā. 61, 69 b, c;  
100, 1; 3 = Bmđ. 1, 35, 79 b, = Vā. 61, 70 a;  
100, 5 ? ?  
100, 8  $\sim$  Bmđ. 1, 35, 81 a I,  $\pm$  Vā. 61, 71 b I;  
100, 10 \*  $\pm$  Bmđ. 1, 35, 81 a II, = Vā. 61, 71 b II;  
100, 12 = Bmđ. 1, 35, 81 b,  $\sim$  Vā. 61, 72 a;  
= Vā. (Variante) 61, 72 a,<sup>1</sup> usw.

Ich möchte dieses Verzeichnis hier beenden und hinsichtlich der vielen anderen Verse und Pada's auf meine Edition und An-

<sup>1</sup> Die Variante wird also von zwei anderen Texten gestützt.

merkungen verweisen. Nur auf die Stelle S. 104, 20 ff. mache ich aufmerksam. Hier steht *nānāśāstrakṛtārṣi* im Einklang mit Bmḍ. Pur. 1, 35, 114 b II *nānāśāstrakṛtaś ca ye*; Vāyu Pur. 61, 103 b II weist *n<sup>o</sup> kṣaye* auf. Im indischen Bmḍ. schließt sich der vorhergehenden Erzählung an die Aufführung der achtundzwanzig Vedavyāsa's (— 1, 35, 125 a). Im javanischen Texte geht dieser Namenreihe ein kleines Textstück voraus (S. 104, 20—28), welches (S. 104, 26) ein von mir hier nicht identifiziertes Zitat enthält; die Fortsetzung bildet die Namenliste der Vedavyāsa's. Nun ist es aber auffallend, daß auch hier wieder das Vāyu Pur. eine Abweichung aufweist: die Namen sind übergangen, und der nachfolgende Vers (61, 104 a) entspricht dem Verse 1, 35, 125 b des Bmḍ. Pur.<sup>1</sup>

Etwa in der Mitte des javanischen Werkes, S. 112, 30, treffen wir eine interessante Stelle: *maṅkana ta kacaritan ikaṅ prakriyā-pāda kagawayakṇ riṅ Brahmāṇḍasaṃhitā, pawarah bhagawān Vyāsa*, also lautet die Erzählung im Prakriyā-pāda, in der Brahmāṇḍasaṃhitā, vom ehrwürdigen Vyāsa mitgeteilt. Der Ausdruck *Prakriyā-pāda* hat nur aus den Bmḍ.- und Vā.-Purāṇen belegt werden können, wie es scheint.<sup>2</sup> Die Erzählung im javanischen Texte ist hier angelangt bei 1, 35, 201 des Bmḍ.- und 61, 172 des Vā.-Pur. An dieser Stelle endet aber in diesen zwei Texten der *Prakriyāpāda* nicht: bekanntlich werden im Bmḍ. die Kapitel I, 1—5 so bezeichnet (vgl. die Unterschrift des 5. Kap.: *iti śrī-Brahmaṇḍe mahā-purāṇe Vāyuprokte pūrvabhāge prathame prakriyāpāde lokakalpanam nāma pañcamo 'dhyāyaḥ*) und im Vāyu Pur. die Kapitel 1—6 (Unterschrift: *saṃpṛtaḥ prakriyāpādaḥ*). Außerdem lehrt der Vāyu-Text selbst, daß der *Prakriyāpāda* den Anfang des Werkes bildet: *purāṇaṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi mārutaṃ vedasaṃmitam | ... | prakriyā prathamāḥ pādaḥ kathyavastuparigrahaḥ* (4, 11; 12<sup>b</sup>), und an einigen anderen Stellen lesen wir, daß die Purāṇasaṃhitā Romaharṣaṇa's und die seiner Schüler Kāśyapa, Śaṅkarṇi und Śaṃśapāyana, die *mūlasaṃ-*

<sup>1</sup> Die 28 Vyāsa's im Vāyu Pur.: 23, 111 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. hist. trad.*, SS. 23 f.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Vā. 103, 44.

*hitā's*, vierteilig waren: *sarvās tā hi catuṣpādāḥ sarvās caikārtha-vācīkāḥ*<sup>1</sup>; *catuṣpādaṃ Purāṇaṃ tu Brahmanā vikitam purā*.<sup>2</sup> Da wir nun auch im javanischen Werke den Ausdruck *Prakriyāpāda* finden, können wir nicht umhin zu vermuten, an dieser Stelle sei in unserem Texte der erste Teil zu Ende.<sup>3</sup> Es ist aber ganz auffallend, daß die Verse Bmḍ. 1, 35, 67 ~ Vā. 61, 59, welche ich oben zum Teil angeführt habe, in dem javanischen Texte nicht vertreten sind: wie wir oben gesehen, entspricht S. 93, 12 Bmḍ. 1, 35, 66 usw. und S. 99, 3 Bmḍ. 1, 35, 70 usw. Von einer Vierteilung wird also im javanischen Purāṇa gar nicht gesprochen. Zufälligerweise, und durch Ausfall einiger Verse im Zusammenhang mit der Umstellung (oder der Vertauschung) des folgenden Abschnittes zu erklären? Oder kannte der indische Grundtext unseres javanischen Werkes diese Vierteilung nicht, wenigstens nicht auf dieselbe Weise als die heutigen indischen Bmḍ- und Vāyu-Texte? Würde es dann vielleicht daraus zu erklären sein, daß wir hier den erwähnten Ausdruck an einer ganz anderen Stelle finden?

Diese Fragen sind nicht ohne Bedeutung, da bekanntlich die zwei verdienstvollsten Purāṇaforscher der Neuzeit, Pargiter<sup>4</sup> und Kirtel,<sup>5</sup> dieser Vierteilung große Bedeutung beigelegt haben. Pargiter meinte, sie sei ein altes, nur im Bmḍ. und Vā. bewahrtes Einteilungsprinzip, der deutsche Gelehrte urteilt: 'es ergibt sich vielmehr, daß der Bearbeiter des Bḍ.-Vā. dasselbe erst auf das vorhandene Material übertragen hat.' Gehörte folglich der Grundtext des javanischen Pur. nicht zu der vom Diaskeuasten Kirtels bearbeiteten Rezension? War er in diesem Falle älter als der Diaskeuast, dessen Zeit von Kirtel zwischen  $\pm 335$  und  $\pm 620$  angesetzt wird? Oder gab es Rezensionen, welche nicht von dem genannten Bearbeiter betroffen worden waren? In meiner Einleitung habe ich Gründe dafür anzuführen versucht, daß die javanische Übersetzung aus dem 10. Jahrh.

<sup>1</sup> Bmḍ. 1, 35, 67; Vā. 61, 59.      <sup>2</sup> Vā. 32, 64.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. meine Anmerkung, S. 281.

<sup>4</sup> Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. hist. trad.*, SS. 23 f.

<sup>5</sup> Kirtel, *P. P.*, S. XIX.

stamme.<sup>1</sup> Wir möchten nun die Frage stellen: Wann entstand der Grundtext?

XI. Hiernach folgt ein langer Abschnitt, worin (in Kürze) gehandelt wird von den übrigen Manu's, von den „gaṇa's“ des zweiten, dritten, vierten, fünften und sechsten, von den Nachkommen Svāyambhuva's, deren einer Dhruva war, der Bhūmi heiratete. Aus diesem Geschlechte sproß auch Vena, welcher der Ungerechtigkeit fröbnte. Seine Geschichte und die seines Sohnes Prthu werden umständlich erzählt (bis S. 128, 21). Von den folgenden Versen des Bmḍ. (bzw. Vā.) sind Teile ganz oder zum Teil gleichlautend zitiert: Bmḍ. 1, 36, 3 (Vā. 62, 3), 4 (3), 5 (5), 7 (7), 21 (19), 41 (36), 94 (81), 95 (81),<sup>2</sup> 109 (92), 134 (114), 137 (116), 138 (117), 139 (118), 141 (120), 142 (121), 146 (125), 148 (126), 151 (130), 152 (fehlt), \* 155 (?), 131 (?), 155 (132), 156 (132), 156 (133), 157 (133), 157 (134), 158 \* (134 \*),<sup>3</sup> 158 (135),<sup>3</sup> 180 (153), 181 (153), 181 (154), 182 (154), 184 (156),<sup>3</sup> 187 (?), 159), 188 (160), 187 (159), 193 (165), 200 (171), 198 (170). Da der Text von Śl. 83 des Bmḍ. (Śl. 71 des Vā.) an von Kirfel, P. P. aufgenommen ist, kann man mit leichter Mühe die angeführten Stellen vergleichen. Es stellt sich dabei heraus, daß der javanische Text auch in diesem Abschnitte sich bald dem einen, bald dem anderen Texte anschließt, aber gleichfalls öfters alleinstehende Lesarten aufweist. Vgl. z. B. S. 116, 21—24: P. P. 143, 8, 9a, wo von zwei Śloka's der erste Pāda leider verdorben ist, der zweite nur im Vā. aufgefunden wird (auch Bmḍ. steht für sich), der dritte Bmḍ. nähersteht als den übrigen Texten, der vierte Vā., allen anderen gegenüber, gleich ist, der dritte Halbvers sich nur im Bmḍ.-Vā., allerdings nicht ganz gleichlautend, vorfindet, die letzte Zeile, wie es scheint, nur im javanischen Texte steht. P. P. 235, 18a I = Vā. 62, 114a I, id. II = Bmḍ. 134a II. P. P. 236, 22 schließt sich der javanische Text, Einzelheiten ausgenommen, dem Bmḍ.-Vā.-Texte an, P. P. 236, 25b dem Brahma Pur.-Hariv.-Texte.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. meine Edition, S. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Hiernach ein alleinstehendes Zitat.

<sup>3</sup> Hiernach einige alleinstehende Zitate; vgl. die Anmerkung.



Es stellt sich heraus, daß unser Text ziemlich viele abweichende Lesarten aufweist, welche in den anderen Texten nicht vorgefunden werden. Man beachte aber, daß die Erzählung im allgemeinen parallel geht mit der des Bmḍ.-Vā.-Textes. Diese Tatsache ist von großer Wichtigkeit, denn, falls die Ausführungen Kirfels richtig sind, verrät gerade die Fassung des Bmḍ.-Vā., derjenigen des Brahma-Hariv.-Śiva Dharmas. gegenüber, die Hand eines Diaskeuasten.<sup>1</sup> Im zweiten Abschnitte des P. P. sind die Texte leicht nachzuschlagen: ich unterlasse es darum, weiteres anzuführen. Somit steht auch die in zwei Fassungen vorliegende Vena-Prthu-Geschichte nicht, wie in der Purāṇa-Gruppe: Brahma Pur., Harivamśa und Śiva-Dharmasamhitā, an zwei verschiedenen Stellen, sondern diese Erzählungen folgen unmittelbar aufeinander wie im Bmḍ.-Vā.-Texte. Wir können folglich nicht umhin, an dieser Stelle auch im Grundtexte des javanischen Werkes die Hand des Diaskeuasten, falls es einen solchen gegeben hat, zu erkennen.

Betrachten wir aber den Schluß dieses Abschnittes, so lesen wir (S. 128, 20) nach der Schilderung der melkenden Bäume: *maṅkana tañ pēhan sañ hyaṅ Lēmah de mahārāja Pṛthu, pañrēhū sañhulun carita riñ rāma rahadyan sañhulun bhagawān Byāsa*, also war das Melken der Erde, vom Großfürsten Pṛthu betrieben, wie ich es Ihren Vater, den ehrwürdigen Vyāsa, erzählen hörte. Hier ist also dieses Kapitel zu Ende, wie auch im Bmḍ.-Vā.-Texte. Aber dort wird die Erzählung fortgesetzt, und zwar sogleich (vgl. P. P. 248, 106—107); im Brahma Purāṇa endet hier das 4. Kap. nicht. Bmḍ. 37, 22 a, Vā. 63, 21 ist diese Erzählung vollendet; es folgt das Pṛthuvamśānukīrtanam. Hier weist also der javanische Text eine kürzere Fassung auf. Aber ganz überraschend folgt nun an dieser Stelle der geographische Abschnitt, welcher im Bmḍ. Pur. das 15. Kap. des 1. Teiles usw., im Vā. Pur. das 34. Kap. usw. bildet, d. h. das Jambūdvīpavarṇanam, der Bhuvanavinyāsaḥ und ein Teil des Jyotiḥpracāraḥ.

<sup>1</sup> Kierfel, P. P., S. XXXIV.

Wie ist nun diese ganz merkwürdige Umstellung zu erklären? Wie verträgt sich dieser tiefgehende Unterschied mit der Annahme eines Diaskeuasten, der den ganzen Purāṇa-Stoff geordnet und überarbeitet, den Bmḍ.-Vāyu-Text gebildet habe?

Wie man schon aus der Kapitelkonkordanz Kirfels<sup>1</sup> entnehmen kann, bilden die Adh. I, 15—24 im Bmḍ., 34—54 im Vāyu- und nun auch 112—128 im Matsya-Purāṇa einen großen, zusammenhängenden Abschnitt geographischen und kosmographischen Inhalts. Und zwar enthält das Vā. dem Bmḍ. gegenüber größere Sonderstücke (34, 58—42, 81; 43, 10—44, 25; 48, 1—43), und weisen Bmḍ. und Vā. dem Mt. gegenüber wieder Sonderteile auf. Neuerdings hat der Bonner Gelehrte einem Teile dieses Abschnittes eine Abhandlung gewidmet, und er hat versprochen, mehr zu geben.<sup>2</sup> Ich möchte nun in Kürze den Text des javanischen Werkes mit dem des genannten Abschnittes vergleichen.

XII. Der erste Teil des geographischen Abschnittes wird von einer kurzen Ankündigung eingeleitet, die sich auf den ganzen Abschnitt bezieht: *nahan tikanah dwipa samudra pariwata, apramāṇa kwehnya, mahābhūtapramāṇa, ruhur sañ hyaṇ candrāditya mwañ lwa niñ teja nira, ya ta pajara ni ṅhulun ri rahadyan sañhulun, pañrēñō ni ṅhulun carita ri bhāṭṭara Bāyu* (S. 128, 22—25), „nun werde ich Ihnen, meine Herren, die Kontinente, Ozeane, Gebirge — ihre Menge ist zahllos —, die Größe der Elemente, die Höhe der Sonne und des Mondes und die Ausdehnung ihres Lichts erzählen, wie ich es Vāyu mitteilen hörte“. Man vergleiche den Eingang von Bmḍ. I, 15; Vā. 34; Mt. 112. Hiernach beschäftigt sich die Erzählung mit Jambūdvīpa, dessen Gebirgen, insbesondere mit dem Meru, mit dem Gebiete Ilāvṛta, mit den *saptavarṣa* Jambūdvīpa's usw. Den Schluß dieses Abschnittes bildet eine Schilderung Kuruvārṣa's; über eine kleine Interpolation vgl. die Anmerkung (— S. 136, 29). Die Beschreibung stimmt im allgemeinen zu derjenigen der genannten Purāṇa-Texte.

<sup>1</sup> P. P., S. XII.

<sup>2</sup> Kirfel, *Bhāratavarṣa*, Einleitung (Stuttgart, 1931).

Ich stelle die Zitate dieses Abschnittes zusammen:

- 128, 26; 29 = Bmḍ. 1, 15, 5 b I; = Vā. 34, 6 a I; = Mt. 112, 4 a I;  
 corr. \* = (?) Bmḍ. 1, 15, 6 b; ~ (?) Vā. 34, 7 a; ~ (?) Mt. 112, 5 a;  
 129, 5 völlig abweichend; = Mt. 112, 8 a;  
 129, 11 ? ? ?  
 129, 16 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 15, 14 a I; ~ Vā. 34, 13 b I; ~ Mt. 112, 10 b I;  
 129, 23; 25 = Bmḍ. 1, 15, 17 a; ~ Vā. 34, 15 b; ~ Mt. 112, 13 a;  
 129, 29 = Bmḍ. 1, 15, 17 b II; ~ Vā. 34, 16 a II; = Mt. 112, 13 b II;  
 129, 31 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 15, 18 a; ~ Vā. 34, 16 b; ~ Mt. 112, 14 a;  
 130, 5 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 15, 18 b I; ~ Vā. 34, 17 a I; ~ Mt. 112, 14 b I;  
 130, 19 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 15, 22 b I; ~ Vā. 34, 20 b I; ~ Mt. 112, 17 b I;  
 130, 21; 23 = Bmḍ. 1, 15, 23 a; = Vā. 34, 21 a; = Mt. 112, 18 a;  
 130, 25 = Bmḍ. 1, 15, 23 b II; = Vā. 34, 21 b II; = Mt. 112, 18 b II;  
 130, 30 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 15, 25 a II; cf. Vā. 34, 22 b II; cf. Mt. 112, 20 b II;  
 131, 1; 4 corr. \* — — —  
 131, 7; 9 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 15, 26 a; ± Vā. 34, 23 b; ± Mt. 112, 21 a;  
 131, 11 cf. Bmḍ. 1, 15, 26 b; cf. Vā. 34, 23 c; ± Mt. 112, 21 b.

Das nachfolgende Zitat, S. 132, 6, ist in diesen drei Texten nicht an dieser Stelle gefunden worden; vgl. aber Bmḍ. 1, 17, 23 (angeführt in den Anm.); Vā. 46, 23; Mt. 113, 73. Hiernach sind ganz oder teilweise zitiert Bmḍ. 1, 15, 39 (Vā. 34, 34, Mt. 112, 36);<sup>1</sup> 43 (—; 40); 43 (50; 40); 47 (53; —); 47 (54; 41); 49 (56; 43); 53 (43, 2;<sup>2</sup> 49); 54 (43, 3; 49); 55 (4; 50); 57 (6; 52); 59 (7; 53); 59 (8; 54); 60 (8; 54); 61 (9; 55); 60 (9; 55);<sup>1</sup> 63 (45, 3;<sup>2</sup> 61); 64 (45, 4; 62); 66 (45, 7; 65); 67 (—; —); 68 (8; 66); 68 (9; 67); 70 (10; 68); 72 (12; —); 77 (17; 74); 80 (20; 77). Hier endigen auch Bmḍ. 15 und Mt. 112.

XIII. Wie auch in den drei anderen Texten folgt nun die Schilderung Bhāratavarṣa's (Indiens) (S. 136, 30—143, 4); nur im Vayu finden wir ein Sonderstück (45, 20 b—66). In diesem Teile können wir wieder einige merkwürdige Tatsachen feststellen.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hiernach ein Zitat, worüber man die Anmerkung vergleiche.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Kirtel, P. P., SS. XII, XIV.

<sup>3</sup> Die angeführten Stellen sind Kirtels Bhāratavarṣa (K. B.), II entnommen.

Die Beschreibung Indiens fängt im Texte des Bmḍ., Vā. und Mt. (K. B., II, 1, ff.) an mit einer Frage der Rṣi's und einer Antwort Lomaharṣaṇa's; der javanische Text unterläßt diese Mitteilungen; er fängt an mit einem Zitate; K. B. 1, b. Das folgende Zitat ist nicht ganz sicher, ist aber K. B. 1, a ähnlich. Es folgen hiernach:

137, 7 ~ K. B. 1, b II	137, 19 = K. B. 2 a I
137, 10 = " 1, a II	137, 23 * cf. " 2 a II
137, 13 = " 1, a I	137, 26 = " 2 b
137, 16 = " 1, b	137, 29 ~ " 3 a

S. 137, 19 ist *itaḥ* (iti hss.) zu beachten: *tataḥ* Vā., *yataḥ* Mt. Die Reihenfolge der Verse im Bmḍ. und im Vā. ist auch im javanischen Purāṇa ununterbrochen erhalten, die Halbverse und Pāda's werden angeführt und ins Javanische übersetzt oder erklärt. Nach der Erklärung von K. B. 3 a (S. 137, 29: *Bhāratasya tu varṣasya nava bheda nibodhitāḥ*) folgen die Namen der neun Teile: *Indradyumna* (sic) usw.<sup>1</sup> Von großer Wichtigkeit ist nun, daß vom Halbverse K. B. 3 b: *samudrāntarītā jñeyās te tv agamyaḥ parasparam*, 'durch Meere sind sie getrennt und für einander unzugänglich', welcher somit eine Auffassung kundgibt, die mit der purāṇischen Theorie von der Kreisform *Jambūdvīpa*'s und dessen Einteilung in Parallelzonen, nach der Ansicht Kurfels,<sup>2</sup> kaum vereinbar wäre, da sie zu der Segmentgestalt *Bhāratavarṣa*'s wohl nicht stimmt — daß von diesem Halbverse im javanischen Texte nicht die geringste Spur zu finden ist. Es ist nicht wahrscheinlich, daß er sich da einmal vorgefunden hat, denn die übrigen Verse dieser Stelle sind ausnahmslos vertreten; außerdem gibt es einen zweiten Text ohne diese Zeile, das *Matsya Purāṇa*. Ob er in diesem nun von Anfang an gefehlt oder, was mir das Wahrscheinlichere zu sein scheint, bei der Übernahme des Textes mit Absicht ausgemerzt worden ist, um ihn der den ganzen Traktat beherrschenden Auffassung von der Kreisform des *Jambūdvīpa*s und der Segmentgestalt *Bhāratavarṣa*s

<sup>1</sup> Einzelheiten: vgl. Kurfel, *Kosmogr. d. Ind.*, S. 61, und meine Anmerkung.

<sup>2</sup> Kurfel, *Bhāratavarṣa*, S. 12.

anzupassen, muß dahingestellt bleiben.<sup>1</sup> Es ist ganz merkwürdig, daß das javanische Brahmanḍa Purāṇa hier wieder an einer Stelle, wo wir die Tätigkeit eines Diaskeuasten spüren möchten, von seinem indischen Namensbruder abweicht, und auch, daß abermals in einem anderen Texte eine Parallele vorgefunden wird. Nun folgen diese Zitate:

138, 4 ~ K. B. 5 a II; 138, 6 = K. B. 5 b I; 138, 9 ~ K. B. 5<sub>1</sub> a I; 138, 11 ~ K. B. 5<sub>1</sub> b; 138, 14 ± K. B. 6 a; 138, 20 ~ K. B. 7 b I (= Bd. L.); 138, 24 cf. K. B. 7<sub>1</sub> b I; 7<sub>1</sub> a I; 139, 3 ~ K. B. 8<sub>1</sub> a II (= Va. ?); 139, 6 ~ K. B. 8<sub>1</sub> b I (± Mt.).

In der nachfolgenden Beschreibung der Gebirge Bhāratavarṣa's finden wir wieder eine merkwürdige Koinzidenz. Zitate sind hier (S. 139, 11—18) nicht angeführt, die Übersetzung ist aber ziemlich genau vergleichbar mit den indischen Texten. Die folgenden Stellen sind nun übersetzt worden: K. B. 9, etwas von 10 (lückenhaft?), 13 b, 14, 15 usw., also nicht 11, 12, 13 a. Genau dieselben Verse fehlen auch in der Beschreibung, die das Mahābhārata (6, 9) und das Padma Purāṇa (3, 6) bieten.

Nun werden die Flüsse behandelt, im allgemeinen im Einklang mit dem zweiten Text Kirfels. S. 141, 11 finden wir die von Rājasekhara in der Kāvya-mīmāṃsā 17 (± 900 n. C.) angeführte Stelle, welche Kirfel dazu führt, für diesen (d. h. den längeren geographischen) Text einen gewissen 'terminus ante quem' aufzustellen;<sup>2</sup> leider ist der javanische Text hier verdorben. Weiteres (Zitate, Namen) kann man leicht in meiner Edition nachschlagen.

Das letzte Zitat in diesem Abschnitte ist S. 142, 29, vgl. K. B. 53 a.

XIV. Hiernach werden die anderen Varṣa's Jambūdvīpa's, Kimpuruṣavarṣa, Harivarṣa usw., geschildert; die Geschichten von der Askese Bhagīratha's und dem Hinabsteigen der Gaṅgā werden erzählt, der Lauf und die Mündungen dieses Flusses beschrieben. Kuvera, der Fürst des Hiraṇyākṣṛga, und seine Anführer, eine Anzahl von Flüssen und Seen, der Vajrabamukha (Aurvāgni) werden

<sup>1</sup> Ders., o. c., S. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ders., o. c., S. 19.

erwähnt (S. 143, 5—153, 20). Die folgenden Stellen sind angeführt worden:

- 143, 6 cf. Bmđ. 1, 17, 2 b; cf. Vā. 46, 4 b; cf. Mt. 113,<sup>1</sup> 62 b;  
 143, 13 = Bmđ. 1, 17, 3 a I; = Vā. 46, 5 a I; = Mt. 113, 63 a I;  
 143, 15 ~ Bmđ. 1, 17, 3 b; ~ Vā. 46, 5 b; ~ Mt. 113, 65 b;  
 143, 20 cf. Bmđ. 1, 17, 4 a II; = Vā. 46, 6 a II; cf. Mt. 113, 65 a II  
 143, 22 ? ? ?  
 143, 26 = Bmđ. 1, 17, 6 b I; = Vā. 46, 8 b I; = Mt. 113, 66 b I;  
 144, 3 — — = Mt. 113, 68 a II;  
 144, 6 = Bmđ. 1, 17, 10 a I; = Vā. 46, 11 b I; = Mt. 113, 69 b I;  
 144, 13 ~ Bmđ. 1, 17, 13 a I; = Vā. 46, 14 a I; = Mt. 113, 72 a I;  
 144, 16 = Bmđ. 1, 17, 15 b; ± Vā. 46, 16 b; — <sup>2</sup>  
 144, 19 corr. \* = ? ? ? <sup>2</sup>  
 145, 14 = Bmđ. 1, 17, 27 b II; ± Vā. 46, 27 b II; = Mt. 113, 76 b II<sup>2</sup>;  
 145, 17 ~ Bmđ. 1, 17, 28 a I; ~ Vā. 46, 28 a I; ~ Mt. 113, 77 a I;  
 145, 20 = Bmđ. 1, 17, 28 b I; = Vā. 46, 28 b I; = Mt. 113, 77 b I;  
 145, 22 = Bmđ. 1, 17, 29 a II; cf. Vā. 46, 29 a II; ± Mt. 113, 78 a II;  
 145, 26 (cf. Bmđ. 1, 17, 31 a II); cf. Vā. 46, 31 a II; cf. Mt. 113, 80 a II;  
 146, 8 corr. \* cf. Bmđ. 1, 17, 34 b; cf. Vā. 46, 34 b; cf. Mt. 113, 83 a.

Hier (S. 146, 13) endet das Kapitel in den indischen Texten. Aber auch im javanischen Werke sind, wie öfter,<sup>3</sup> die Spuren eines solchen Einschnittes deutlich zu erkennen in den Wörtern: *kunah pajara ni ihulun ri rahadyan sahukulun*, d. h. 'nun werde ich Ihnen, meine Herren, etwas (anderes) mitteilen'. Das Matsya Purāṇa geht nun seine eigenen Wege. Ich stelle die Zitate des folgenden Kapitels zusammen (gänzlich oder teilweise angeführt, Pada's und Halbverse): Bmđ. 1, 18, 4 (Vā. 47, 4); 9 (9); ? (?); 19 (18); 32 (31); 33 (32); 34 (33); 35 (34); 36 (34); ? (?);<sup>4</sup> 52 (50); 66 (63); 68 (65); 69 (66). Das Matsya Purāṇa bietet dieselbe Schilderung im 120. (121.) Kapitel. Merkwürdigerweise stimmt nun das Zitat S. 152, 12 ziemlich

<sup>1</sup> Oder 114.

<sup>2</sup> Mt. hat eine kürzere Fassung.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Verf., Einl., S. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Matsya Pur. 120, 40 b I.

zu Mt. 120, 67, b II; Bmḍ. 1, 18, 69 a II und Vā. 47, 66 b II weichen ab. Weiter 69 (66, Mt. 68) u. a., worüber die Anmerkungen Auskunft geben.

XV. Dieser Abschnitt handelt von den übrigen Dvīpa's: Śākadvīpa, Kuṣadvīpa, Krauñcadvīpa, Śālmādvīpa, Gomēadvīpa, Puṣkaradvīpa, und deren Eigentümlichkeiten, von den Ozeanen, welche die Dvīpa's einschließen, vom ringförmigen Lokāloka-Gebirge, das das Ende der Welt abschließt, von den Weltschichten, welche konzentrisch umeinander die Welt umgeben usw. (— S. 167, 14). Im allgemeinen finden wir dieselbe Schilderung in mehreren anderen purānischen Texten, nur muß man beachten, daß, wie Kirtel<sup>1</sup> umständlich dargelegt hat, die uns vorliegenden Purāṇa's sich hinsichtlich der Anordnung der Dvīpa's (Kontinente<sup>2</sup>) und Meere in drei Gruppen teilen. Die erste Gruppe bildet eine größere Anzahl von Purāṇa's, von welchen uns hier nur das Brahmanḍa- und das Vāyu-Pur. interessieren (Vā. Pur. allerdings einigermaßen abweichend); zur zweiten gehören das Bhaviṣya(I<sup>2</sup>)-Pur., Matsya- und Varāha-Pur., zur dritten nur das Padma Pur. und das Mahābhārata.

Nun ist es höchst merkwürdig, daß das javanische Brahmanḍa Purāṇa sich nicht zur ersten Gruppe, sondern zur zweiten gesellt. Im Bmḍ. Pur. 1, 19 und Vā. Pur. 49 ist die Reihenfolge der Kontinente: Plakṣa-, Śālmāla-, Kuṣa-, Krauñca-, Śāka-, Puṣkaradvīpa, in unserem Texte, wie auch im Matsya Pur. usw.: Śākadvīpa usw., wie oben aufgeführt.

Ist diese Tatsache an sich schon sehr interessant, so kommen noch einige merkwürdige Umstände hinzu. Auch die Namen der Meere, welche die Kontinente einschließen, sind im javanischen Texte dieselben wie im Matsya Purāṇa; ebenso ihre Reihenfolge. Jeder Kontinent, außer dem letzten, Puṣkaradvīpa, besitzt in den zur ersten Gruppe gehörenden Texten sieben strahlenförmige Gebirgsstreifen, welche sein Gebiet in sieben Landschaften (Varṣa's) einteilen, die von sieben großen Strömen durchflossen werden. In

<sup>1</sup> Kirtel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, SS. 56 ff.; 112 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ders., Kosm., S. 56, 1.



den Texten aber, welche die zweite Gruppe bilden, weisen nur die ersten drei Kontinente die sieben Gebirgsstreifen, sieben Landschaften und sieben Hauptflüsse auf, der vierte hat nur drei Gebirge und drei Varṣa's. Auch durch die Ähnlichkeit in diesen Einzelheiten erweist sich der javanische Text als ein Mitglied der zweiten Gruppe.

Die Namen der Gebirge, der Landschaften und Ströme werden in den Texten aufgeführt; abgesehen davon, daß sich in den einzelnen Purāṇa's dann und wann Varianten vorfinden, ist fast stets für jedes Gebirge, jedes Gebiet und jeden Fluß ein eigener Name festzustellen; allein wir können einen merkwürdigen Umstand beobachten. In den zur zweiten Gruppe gehörigen Texten sind nämlich die Namen des ersten Dvīpa ganz überwiegend mit denen des ersten Kontinentes in der ersten Gruppe identisch oder doch ähnlich: von den 21 in Betracht kommenden Wörtern sind 13 ganz gleichlautend, 2 nur wenig abweichend, 2 Synonyme oder teilweise verschieden, 4 ganz verschieden; man beachte jedoch, daß die zwei Texte, welche hier die zweite Gruppe bilden,<sup>1</sup> unter sich einige Varianten aufweisen. Ebenso sind die Namen des zweiten Kontinentes in beiden Gruppen einander vielfach ähnlich oder eher identisch: die Zahlen sind 13, 1, 1, 6. Aber die Namen des dritten Kontinentes in der zweiten Gruppe stehen denjenigen des vierten Dvīpa in der anderen Gruppe am nächsten. Beachtet man nun, daß die zweite Gruppe hier nur von zwei Texten gebildet wird und daß die Texte der ersten Gruppe unter sich vielfach Varianten aufweisen, so dürfen uns m. E. die, relativ wenigen, verschiedenen Wörter nicht davon abhalten, die Identität der Namenreihen (als ein Ganzes) des ersten und zweiten Kontinentes in den zwei Textgruppen festzustellen.

Dazu kommt, daß das Matsya Purāṇa allen Gebirgen, Landschaften und Flüssen des ersten und zweiten Kontinentes je zwei Namen beilegt. Das Varāha Purāṇa ebenfalls im Falle des zweiten Kontinentes, nur einige Male im ersten Kontinent; aber dieser Text

<sup>1</sup> Der dritte Text, das Bhaviṣya Pur., kommt hier nicht in Betracht. Vgl. Kirfel, Kosm., S. 122.

befolgt dasselbe Verfahren auch im dritten Kontinent (außer den Namen der Flüsse).

Man bekommt unwillkürlich den Eindruck, daß in der einen Textgruppe eine Verwechslung der *Dvīpa*-Namen stattgefunden hat. Stellt man *Śakadvīpa* von Gruppe II gleich *Plakṣadvīpa* von Gruppe I, *Kuśadv.* von Gr. II gleich *Śālmadv.* von Gr. I, *Krauñcadv.* von Gr. II gleich *Krauñcadv.* von Gr. I, so macht der nächste Kontinent Schwierigkeiten; in der ersten Gruppe finden wir hier die Siebenteilung, in der zweiten nur die Einteilung in drei Gebirge und drei Landschaften. Nun stellt es sich aber heraus, daß die Namen des fünften Kontinentes der ersten Gruppe, d. h. des dortigen *Śakadvīpa*, größtenteils den Namen der zweiten Reihe des *Śakadvīpa* der zweiten Gruppe, d. h. des dortigen ersten *Dvīpa*, gleich sind, und gleicherweise, daß die Namen des oben übergangenen dritten *Dvīpa* meistens dieselben sind als die der zweiten Reihe des zweiten Kontinentes in der anderen Gruppe (hier wie dort *Kuśadvīpa*).

Lassen wir das *Varāha Purāṇa* beiseite und fassen wir nur die Daten des *Matsya Purāṇa*'s ins Auge, so sehen wir, daß dieser Text denen der ersten Gruppe, d. h. der Mehrzahl, gegenüber die folgenden Namenreihen aufweist:

- |                            |  |  |
|----------------------------|--|--|
| I. <i>Śakadvīpa</i>        | :  | Namen des 1. Dv. der Gruppe I (dort: <i>Plakṣadv.</i> ), |
| "                          | :  | " " 5. " " " " ( " <i>Śakadv.</i> );                     |
| II. <i>Kuśadvīpa</i>       | :  | " " 2. " " " " ( " <i>Śālmadv.</i> ),                    |
| "                          | :  | " " 3. " " " " ( " <i>Kuśadv.</i> );                     |
| III. <i>Krauñcadvīpa</i> : | "  | " 4. " " " " ( " <i>Krauñcadv.</i> );                    |
| IV. <i>Śālmadvīpa</i>      |  |  |
| V. <i>Gomedadvīpa</i>      |  |  |
| VI. <i>Puṣkaradvīpa</i> :  | vgl. das 6. Dv. der Gruppe I (dort: <i>Puṣkaradv.</i> ). |  |

Den Namen *Śālmadvīpa* kennen beide Gruppen, *Gomedadvīpa* ist nur der zweiten eigen. *Gomeda* (var. *Gomedha*) ist aber in der ersten Gruppe der Name des ersten Berges des *Plakṣadvīpa*. Wie nun *Krauñcadvīpa* den Namen hat nach dem *Krauñca-Berge*,<sup>1</sup> so

<sup>1</sup> Kirfel, *Kosm.*, S. 119.

kann Gomedadvipa seinen Namen nach dem Berge Gomeda des Plakṣadvipa haben und ein Synonym für Plakṣadvipa gewesen sein.<sup>1</sup> Man beachte nun, daß Śālmaladvipa in der zweiten Textgruppe drei, Gomedadvipa zwei, Puṣkaradvipa ein Gebirge besitzt — also eine gewisse Regelmäßigkeit. Es ist m. E. möglich, daß in dem Texte, der in der zweiten Gruppe vorliegt, eine Verwechslung der Namen stattgefunden hat und daß ein späterer Redaktor die seines Erachtens richtigen Namen, d. h. die, welche in der ersten Gruppe den Gebirgen usw. des gleichnamigen Kontinentes beigelegt waren, neben die erste Namenreihe in den Text hineingesetzt hat. In diesem Falle würde die Fassung des Matsya Pur. die jüngere sein.

Wir wollen nun die betreffenden Stellen des Matsya Pur. eingehender mit dem entsprechenden Passus im Brahmāṇḍa-Texte vergleichen. Es stellt sich dabei heraus, daß: Mt. 121 (122), 1 a cf. Bmḍ. 1, 19, 1 a; 80 a; Mt. 121, 1 b = — (II cf. Bmḍ. 1, 19, 1 b II); Mt. 2 a = Bmḍ. 2 a; Mt. 2 b = Bmḍ. 2 b (nur: *triguṇās cāpi : dviguṇās cāśya*), 81 a; Mt. 3 a ~ Bmḍ. 3 a; Mt. 3 b ± Bmḍ. 3 b; ± 82 a; Mt. 4 a cf. Bmḍ. 4 a; 82 b; Mt. 4 b ~ Bmḍ. 4 b; 83 a; Mt. 5 a cf. Bmḍ. 5 b; Mt. 5 b ~ Bmḍ. 6 a; Mt. 6 a cf. Bmḍ. 5 a; 83 b; Mt. 6 b cf. Bmḍ. 6 a; Mt. 7 a —. Die folgende Stelle erwähnt die Namen der Gebirge usw.: Mt. 7 b cf. Bmḍ. 6 b; Mt. 8 a = Bmḍ. 84 a; Mt. 8 b ± Bmḍ. 84 b; Mt. 9 a ~ Bmḍ. 85 a; Mt. 9 b = Bmḍ. 85 b; Mt. 10 a cf. Bmḍ. 8 a; Mt. 10 b ± Bmḍ. 86 a; Mt. 11 a ~ Bmḍ. 9 a; Mt. 11 b = Bmḍ. 9 b; Mt. 12 a = Bmḍ. 88 a; Mt. 12 b ± Bmḍ. 88 b; Mt. 13 a cf. Bmḍ. 10 a; Mt. 13 b ~ Bmḍ. 10 b; Mt. 14 a cf. Bmḍ. 11 a; Mt. 14 b ~ Bmḍ. 89 a; Mt. 15 a ~ Bmḍ. 11 b; Mt. 15 b ± Bmḍ. 12 a; Mt. 16 a ~ Bmḍ. 89 b (vgl. 12 b); Mt. 16 b = Bmḍ. 13 a; Mt. 17 a ~ Bmḍ. 90 a; Mt. 17 b cf. Bmḍ. 13 b; Mt. 18 a cf. Bmḍ. 14 a; Mt. 18 b cf. Bmḍ. 90 b usw. Aus dieser Zusammenstellung ergibt sich m. E. klar, daß der Redaktor des Matsya-Textes nicht nur den Brahmāṇḍa-Text oder wenigstens den in diesem Werke vorliegenden kosmographischen Sondertext

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. ders., S. 113. Wir finden tatsächlich Bmḍ. Pur. 1, 19, 7: *Gomedako 'tra* (d. h. *Plakṣadvīpe*) *prathamāḥ parvato meghasamnilāḥ | khyāyate yasya nāmnā tu varṣam Gomedaśamjñikam ||*.

kannte, sondern ihn auch bei der Überarbeitung und Erweiterung seines Werkes benützt hat. Wie dem auch sei, die im Matsya-Texte vorliegende Fassung dieses Texttheiles ist jünger als die des Bmḍ.- und des Vāyu Purāṇa's (denn dieses Werk hat auch hier wieder denselben Text). Aber — und dies ist ganz merkwürdig — das javanische Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa folgt der im Matsya vorliegenden Fassung. Hat es nun einen Diaskeuasten des Vāyu-Bmḍ.-Textes gegeben, von dessen Rezension alle Bmḍ.- und Vāyu-Texte abhängig sind — wie ist dann diese Divergenz zu erklären? Muß man nicht eher glauben, daß der javanische Text nicht zu der vom Diaskeuasten überarbeiteten Rezension gehört? Aber, wäre dies der Fall, wie sollten wir uns dann das Verhältnis zwischen dem javanischen Werke und der Rezension des Diaskeuasten denken?

Wir gehen nun über zu einer näheren Betrachtung dieses Abschnittes im javanischen Werke. S. 153, 21 *lcir in warṣa* usw.<sup>1</sup> stimmt ungefähr zu Mt. 121, 1. Die folgenden Sätze erhalten mehr als Mt., doch vgl. 3a. S. 153, 23 *lwanya* usw. vgl. Mt. 2a. *Yatika* usw. vgl. 4b; *subhikṣa* usw. vgl. 3b, 4a; *kṣamātejāwita* bildet doch eine Variante; *ikanan gunuṇ* und *kalyan* usw. vgl. 4b, die Wörter *dudug in T. a.* usw. scheinen aber eine Erweiterung zu bilden. Der wichtige Halbvers *Śakadvīpādīṣu tv eṣu sapta sapta nagās triṣu* (Mt. 5a), vgl. Bmḍ. 5b *Plakṣadvīpādīṣu tv eṣu sapta sapta tu pañcasu*, begegnet im javanischen Texte nicht. Es wird andererseits erwähnt, daß die Gebirge je zwei Namen haben. Der erste Name in der Aufführung fehlt;<sup>2</sup> *prāgāyata* vgl. Mt. 8b; *Udaya*, ebenda; der Halbvers *tatra meghās tu vṛṣṭyartham prabhavanty apayānti ca* (Mt. 9a; vgl. Bmḍ. 85a) begegnet hier in einer erweiterten Fassung: dort ist die Gegend, wo Gott Indra die Wolken holt, wenn er es im Bhāratavarṣa regnen läßt.<sup>4</sup> Der Name Jaladha (S. 154, 2) stimmt zu 9b; *Candrasama* ist vielleicht ein Mißverständnis; sonst finden wir überall *Candra*, Mt. 10a bietet jedoch: *sa vai Candrah samākhyātaḥ*. Die Wörter *paḍa gönnya* usw. sind im Mt. nicht

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. die Edition.<sup>2</sup> Vgl. die Anmerkungen.

vertreten; *kakicehan iñ oṣadhi* stimmt aber zu *sarvaṇṣadhisamanvitaḥ* (Mt. 10a); der folgende Halbvers: *tasmān nityam upādatte Vāsavaḥ paramaṃ jalām* ist wieder erweitert worden; vgl. doch Bmđ. 86b. Das dritte Gebirge weist auch hier zwei Namen auf, allein der erste *Reva(ta)ka*<sup>1</sup> begegnet nicht im Mt., vgl. doch Bmđ. 87 *tas-yottare Raivatako yatra nityam pratiṣṭhitam | Revati divi nakṣatraṃ pitāma-hakṛto vidhiḥ*. Der zweite Name Nārada findet sich Mt. 11 und (etwas abweichend) Bmđ. 9, vgl. auch Vā. 9: *Nārado nāma caivokto Durgasailo mahācitaḥ | tatrācalau samutpannau pūrvam Nārada-parvatau*; so Mt., wo mit Kirfel<sup>2</sup> *durgasailaḥ* als Eigenname aufzufassen ist; im Bmđ. (*tṛtiyo Nārado nāma durgasailo mahocayaḥ*) jedoch nicht.

Es scheint also, daß der ursprüngliche (zweite) Name im Mt. nicht da ist. Und da wir oben feststellen konnten, daß Bmđ. 87 im Mt. nicht vertreten ist, so glaube ich, der Mt.-Text sei an dieser Stelle weniger gut als der javanische, der, abgesehen von der Ursache, eine klarere Erzählung bietet und einen näheren Anschluß an die beiden Grundtextstücke aufweist. Er bietet sogar mehr, und ich habe keinen Grund zu glauben, der javanische Bearbeiter habe etwas hinzugefügt. S. 154, 13 ff. behandelt den vierten Berg: *Śyama*, vgl. Mt. 12a; dieser Name wird erklärt, vgl. Mt. 12b; er heißt auch *Dundubhi*: Mt. 13a, denn (13b): *Śabdāmṛtyuḥ purā tasmin Dundubhis tāditaḥ suraiḥ*, vgl. Bmđ. 10b: *Chandāmṛtyuḥ p° t° D° sāditaḥ s°*, Vā. = Mt. Der javanische Text bietet jedoch vier Namen, mit welchen Mt. 14a nur zum Teil zu vergleichen ist.<sup>3</sup> Die Schilderung des fünften Berges stimmt, außer dem Namen *Upta*,<sup>4</sup> im allgemeinen zu der des Mt.; die des sechsten weicht jedoch wieder ab.<sup>4</sup> Der siebente ist der *Vibhrāja* oder *Kalika* (doch unten *Keśara*), ziemlich übereinstimmend mit Mt.

Wir dürfen hier also einen unleugbaren Anschluß an den im Mt. vorliegenden Text feststellen, allein im einzelnen hat der java-

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. meine Anmerkung, S. 331.      <sup>2</sup> Kosm., S. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. die Anmerkung; siehe auch Bmđ. 11 a; Vā. 9 b.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. die Anmerkung, S. 334.

nische Text dann und wann andere Lesarten und sogar mitunter eine weitläufigere Beschreibung. Es folgt eine, im Mt. und im javanischen Texte kürzere, Schilderung der Landschaften und Flüsse Śakadvīpa's, worin zwei Zitate: S. 154, 30 = Mt. 121, 20 b I und S. 155, 11 ~ Mt. 121, 30 a I. Der Schluß dieses Abschnittes, S. 155, 20—24, stimmt ziemlich zu Mt. 34; 35. Hiernach bietet der javanische Text eine Schilderung (bis S. 156, 24) der Tugenden, der Glückseligkeit usw. der dort wohnhaften Menschen; Mt. hat (bis 48 a), abgesehen von Einzelheiten, dieselbe Beschreibung. Der Bmḍ. (und Vā)-Text läuft parallel bis Mt. 42, Bmḍ. 25, weicht aber im weiteren Teile ab (bis Mt. 48; vgl. Bmḍ. 29 a; bis Bmḍ. 32). Die folgenden Stellen sind angeführt worden:

155, 25 ± Mt. 121, 39 a I <sup>1</sup>	156, 5 = Mt. 121, 40 a I
155, 27 ~ Mt. 121, 39 a II	156, 7 corr. cf. (?) Mt. 121, 40 b I
155, 29 ± Mt. 121, 39 b I	156, 18 ~ Mt. 121, 47 a I
156, 1 ~ Mt. 121, 39 b II	

Nun geht die Erzählung hinüber zu der Schilderung von Kuśadvīpa. Von S. 156, 25 an bis S. 157, 28 ist Mt. 48—64 zu vergleichen; im Mt.-Texte sind die meisten Verse von Bmḍ. 32—43 ganz gut zu erkennen. Die Verse Bmḍ. 54sq. (Kuśadvīpa im Bḍ.-Texte) vertreten aber eine kürzere Fassung. Eine Eigentümlichkeit des javanischen Purāṇa bilden, soweit ich sehe, die den Namen der Gebirge hinzugefügten Mitteilungen über den Himmelstrich, in welchem sie, einander gegenüber, liegen. Die Beschreibung der Landschaften und Flüsse stimmt zum Mt. Die Zitate sind:

156, 26 cf. Mt. 121, 49 b, ab-	157, 20 ± Mt. 121, 61 b I
weichend	157, 29 cf. Mt. 121, 65 a I
156, 30 = Mt. 121, 50 b I	158, 13 ~ Mt. 121, 74 b I

S. 158, 17 setzt die Schilderung von Krauñcadvīpa ein. Man beachte, daß Mt. 121, 79 ff. die Reihenfolge der Gebirge nicht einhält; zweitens, daß das javanische Werk, S. 158, 27, die merkwürdige Mitteilung aufweist: „alle diese Gebirge haben je zwei Namen, allein

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. die Anmerkung, S. 334.

nur ein Name wird erwähnt, infolge der Ermüdung des Mitteilens.<sup>1</sup> Im Mt. finden sich diese Wörter nicht. Auch da wird jedem Berge nur ein Name beigelegt, wie wir oben feststellen konnten; das Varāha Purāṇa hat jedoch hier zwei Namen. Woher stammt nun diese Mitteilung im javanischen Werke? Interessant ist jedoch, daß S. 159, 1 der javanische Text, wie hier auch Mt. (83), einen zweiten Bergnamen anführt.<sup>1</sup> Die Schilderung von Krauñcadvīpa ist S. 159, 21, Mt. 90 a zu Ende. Die Zitate dieser Stelle sind:

158, 21 cf. Mt. 121, 79 a I (?); = Bmḍ. 1, 19, 66 b I; = Vā. 49, 60 a I;  
159, 10 ~ Bmḍ. 1, 19, 74 b I; ~ Vā. 49, 68 a I; Mt. 121, 86 b I abw.;  
159, 19 corr. cf. Bmḍ. 1, 19, 77 a; ~ Vā. 49, 70 a; (Mt. 121, 91 a).

Also wieder Varianten!

Der nächstfolgende Passus handelt von Śālmālidvīpa usw., im allgemeinen wieder im Anschluß an den im Mt. vorliegenden Text. In den Anmerkungen werden Einzelheiten erörtert, ich stelle hier nur die Zitate zusammen:

159, 23 ± Mt. 121, 93 a	160, 13 ~ Mt. 121, 97 b
159, 27 ~ Mt. 121, 93 b	160, 14 ~ Mt. 121, 98 a
160, 1 ± Mt. 121, 94 b	160, 24 * ~ Mt. 122 (123), 3 a
160, 8 ± Mt. 121, 96 b	161, 12 ?
160, 9 ~ Mt. 121, 97 a	

Der letzte Dvīpa, Puṣkara, wird hiernach geschildert: Puṣkaradvīpa umgibt den *Tasik kilañ*, d. h. den Ikṣurasa-Ozean und wird vom Svādūdaka-Ozean eingeschlossen; also auch Mt. usw., der Sv<sup>o</sup>-O. auch in der ersten Textgruppe. An der Küste dieses Meeres befindet sich auf Puṣkaradvīpa das ringförmige Mānasottara-Gebirge, der einzige Berg dieses Kontinentes; es hat aber zwei Gipfel: im Osten liegt der Citrasānu-, im Westen der Mahāsānu-Gipfel. König des ersten Gipfels ist Savana, Fürst des zweiten sein Sohn Māhaviṭa. Die Menschen da sind glücklich usw. Die zur zweiten Gruppe gehörigen Texte scheinen hier unter sich eine Meinungsverschiedenheit aufzuweisen.<sup>2</sup> Der javanische Text stimmt vielleicht im allgemeinen zum

<sup>1</sup> Diese Stelle habe ich in einer Anmerkung erörtert, S. 339.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Kirfel, Kosm., S. 126.



Mt.; dieser ist aber weniger gut erhalten und ziemlich verdorben. Der Name Manasottara begegnet im Mt. nicht, wohl aber in den Texten der ersten Gruppe.<sup>1</sup> Dort hat Savana zwei Söhne. Im Mt. folgt nun gleichfalls die Schilderung der Lebensumstände, welche hier, wie auch auf Šālmali- und Gomedadvīpa, herrschen, weiterhin Erläuterungen zu den Wörtern *samudra*, *varṣa*, *dvīpa*, *udadhi* usw.

Also auch im javanischen Texte, der hiernach von den Bäumen auf den Dvīpa's (*Gomedha'* usw.), von dem Puṣkara-Baum auf Puṣkaradvīpa, in welchem Brahmā wohnt, handelt. Weiterhin wird Lokāloka geschildert. In der ersten Gruppe (z. B. Bmđ. 1, 19, 149 ff., Vā. 49, 143 ff.) liegt jenseits des Svādūdaka-Ozeans ein goldenes Land, das Ende der Welt; nach außen hin wird dieses Land abgeschlossen durch das Lokāloka-Gebirge, das ringförmig ist und von der Schale des Brahma-Eies umgeben wird. Weder im javanischen Text noch im Mt. wird von dem goldenen Lande etwas gesagt. Lokāloka wird hier wie dort umschlossen von einem Wasser-Ozean, dieser von einem Feuer-Meere, dieser von einem Wind-Meere, dieser vom Ākāśa, dieser vom Sūkṣma Bhutādi, dieser vom Ahaṅkāra, dieser vom Mahān, dieser vom Pradhāna, der von allen Kārya's' zehnfach übertroffen und getragen wird. Auf die Einzelheiten lasse ich mich nicht ein: es genüge, darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß Bmđ. und Vā. im letzten Teile wieder ihre eigenen Wege gehen. Die Zitate sind:

- 161, 23 Mt. ? ; ~ Bmđ. 1, 19, 114b; ~ Va. 49, 110a;  
162, 1 \*(cf. Mt. 122, 20b I; cf. Bmđ. 1, 19, 118b I; cf. Va. 49, 113b I);  
162, 3 = Mt. 122, 20b II; = Bmđ. 1, 19, 118b II; = Va. 49, 113b II;  
162, 9 cf. Mt. 122, 25a; ~ Bmđ. 1, 19, 123a; ± Va. 49, 118b;  
162, 12 \* ? — —  
162, 14 ± Mt. 122, 27b; = (?) Bmđ. 1, 19, 127b; ~ Va. 49, 122b;  
162, 17 = Mt. 122, 28b; = Bmđ. 1, 19, 128b; ± Va. 49, 123b;  
162, 27 ~ Mt. 122, 30a; cf. Bmđ. 1, 19, 131a; cf. Va. 49, 126a;  
163, 1 = Mt. 122, 30b I; = Bmđ. 1, 19, 131b I; = Va. 49, 126b I;

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Kirfel, Kosm., S. 121.

- 163, 6 cf. Mt. 122, 34 b; cf. Bmđ. 1, 19, 135 b; cf. Vā. 49, 130 a;  
 163, 8  $\pm$  Mt. 122, 35 b I; = Bmđ. 1, 19, 136 b I; = Vā. 49, 131 a I;  
 163, 11 (cf. ibid.); ~ Bmđ. 1, 19, 137 a; ~ Vā. 49, 131 b;  
 163, 14 cf. Mt. 122, 36 a I; = Bmđ. 1, 19, 137 b I; = Vā. 49, 132 a I;  
 163, 16 cf. Mt. 122, 36 a II; = Bmđ. 1, 19, 137 b II; = Vā. 49, 132 a II;  
 163, 19 ~ Mt. 122, 36 b I; ~ Bmđ. 1, 19, 140 a I; ~ Vā. 49, 134 b I.

An dieser Stelle werden im Bmđ. und Vā. nacheinander die Namen von Plakṣa-, Śālmali-, Kuśa-, Krauñca-, Śaka-, Puṣkara-dvīpa erläutert, im Mt. ist die Reihenfolge: Śaka-, Kuśa-, Krauñca-, Śālmali-, Gomedaka-, Puṣkara-dvīpa, im javanischen Texte begegnen nur Śaka-, Kuśa-, Gomedha-, Puṣkara-dvīpa.

- 163, 22  $\pm$  Mt. 122, 37 a I; = Bmđ. 1, 19, 139 a I; = Vā. 49, 133 b I;  
 163, 25 \* = Mt. 122, 38 b I; — —  
 163, 28 = Mt. 122, 39 a I; = Bmđ. 1, 19, 140 b I; = Vā. 49, 135 a I;  
 163, 31 cf. Mt. 122, 39 b; cf. Bmđ. 1, 19, 141 a; (cf. Vā. 49, 135 b);  
 164, 6 ~ Mt. 122, 41 b; ~ Bmđ. 1, 19, 143 a; ~ Vā. 49, 137 a;  
 164, 15 — — —  
 164, 16 ~ Mt. 122, 44 a; ~ Bmđ. 1, 19, 145 b; ~ Vā. 49, 139 b;  
 164, 22  $\pm$  Mt. 122, 46 b; — —  
 164, 23 ~ Mt. 122, 47 a; ~ Bmđ. 1, 19, 150 b; ~ Vā. 49, 144 b;  
 164, 28 — = Bmđ. 1, 19, 151 b; = Vā. 49, 145 b;  
 165, 1 = Mt. 122, 49 b I; — —  
 165, 3 = Mt. 122, 50 a I; — —  
 165, 6 ? — —  
 165, 9 (cf. Mt. 122, 51 a); — —  
 165, 13 (cf. Mt. 122, 52 a; cf. Bmđ. 1, 19, 164 a; cf. Vā. 49, 156 a);  
 165, 16 — cf. Bmđ. 1, 19, 164 b—165 a; cf. Vā. 49, 156 b—157 a;  
 165, 19 —  $\pm$  Bmđ. 1, 19, 165 b;  $\pm$  Vā. 49, 157 b;  
 165, 25 corr. \* ? — —  
 165, 27 \* (cf. Mt. 122, 55 c; cf. Bmđ. 1, 19, 183 b; cf. Vā. 49, 174 b);  
 166, 1 ~ Mt. 122, 56 a I; cf. Bmđ. 1, 19, 184 a I; ~ Vā. 49, 174 c I;  
 166, 3 \* cf. Mt. 122, 56 a II; cf. Bmđ. 1, 19, 184 a II; cf. Vā. 49, 174 c II;  
 166, 5; 8 — = Bmđ. 1, 19, 185 a;  $\pm$  Vā. 49, 175 b;

- 166, 14 ± Mt. 122, 57b; ± Bmḍ. I, 19, 186b; ± Vā. 49, 177a;  
 166, 17 (cf. Mt. 122, 59a I); ~ Bmḍ. I, 19, 188a I; ~ Vā. 49, 178a I;  
 166, 21 ~ Mt. 122, 60a I; cf. Bmḍ. I, 19, 189a I; ~ Vā. 49, 179a I;  
 166, 24; 26 = Mt. 122, 60b; ± Bmḍ. I, 19, 189b; ~ Vā. 49, 179b;  
 166, 28 ~ Mt. 122, 61a; ~ Bmḍ. I, 19, 190a; ~ Vā. 49, 180a;  
 167, 1 cf. Mt. 122, 61b I; ~ Bmḍ. I, 19, 190b I; ~ Vā. 49, 180b I;  
 167, 5 ~ Mt. 122, 61b II; ± Bmḍ. I, 19, 190b II; ± Vā. 49, 180b II;  
 167, 12 — — —

XVI. Nun ist die Reihe an der Schilderung der astronomischen Lehren. Im Bmḍ. folgt aber das 20. Kap. des ersten Teiles, dessen Inhalt ist: *prthvim upakramya vitalasutalādinām rasātalanāṃ sādhipānām varṇanam*, oder, wie die Kapitelunterschrift lautet: *Adholokavarṇanam*. Das nachfolgende Kapitel heißt *Ādityavyūhakirtanam* und handelt von: *sūryācandramasor gatinirṇapaṇaprasaṃgena udayāstamayamāsatihipakṣartvayanasaṃvatsarāṇāṃ vyavasthā tathā saṃdhyākāle rākṣasānām sūryeṇa saha yuddhaṃ nirūpya brāhmaṇakṛtena gāyatrīmantrābhimantrītaradhyādnena teṣāṃ vadhaṃ cābhikitaḥ*. Mit diesen Kapiteln stimmt überein Vāyu Pur. Kap. 50: *Jyotiḥpracāraḥ*. Im Mt. wie auch im javanischen Texte ist das Stück Bmḍ. I, 20 = Vā. 50, 1—57a nicht da — wieder ein interessanter Umstand. Den Anfang dieses Abschnittes bildet eine Übersetzung von: *ata ūrdhvaṃ pravakṣyāmi sūryācandramasor gatim*, Mt. 123, 1a; Bmḍ. I, 20, 58b, Vā. 50, 57a. Darauf wird ein Śloka angeführt, der mit dem Vā. am meisten, mit dem Mt. am wenigsten im Einklang steht. In diesem Abschnitte begegnen zahlreiche Zitate, die nicht immer am meisten zum Mt. stimmen. Von den folgenden Versen sind Teile angeführt worden: Mt. 123, 2 (Bmḍ. I, 21, 2; Vā. 50, 58); Mt. 3 (3; 59); Mt. — (4; 60); 5 (5; 61); 6 (6; 62); 7 (7; 63); cf. 8 (cf. 8; cf. 63); 9 (9; 64); —\* (—; —); —\* (—; —); cf. 18 (cf. 17; cf. 75); — (cf. 18; 76); 13 cf. 14\* (14, 15; 69, 70); cf. 14 (cf. 14b, 15a; cf. 70); cf. 19 (19; 77); — (21, 22; 79); — (23; 80); 19 (29; 87); cf. 20 (cf. 30; cf. 87); 21 (31; 88); 25 (36; 93); 26 (37; 94); 28 (38; —); 29 (42; 99); 30 (43; 100); 33 (47; 104); 34 (47; 104); 34 (48; 105); 35 (48; 105); 36 (49; 106); 36 (50; 107); 37 (50; 107); 37 (51; 108); 38 (52; 108);

— (—; —); — (53; 110); — (54; 110); 47 (71; 126); 48\* (72; 126, 127); 40 (64; 119); —\* (—; —); —\* (—; —); 39 (63; 119); 46 (70; 125); cf. 49? (—; —); —\* (74; 128); — (75; 129); — (75; 129, cf. 121); 47 (71; 125); 52 (76; 130); cf. 54 (cf. 76; cf. 130); 59 (77; 131); — (—; —); 60 (78; 131); 61 (81; 133); 62 (80 b, 81 a; 134) usw.; ich möchte hinsichtlich der übrigen Zitate auf meine Anmerkungen verweisen. Zwei Tatsachen aber sind festzustellen: erstens fehlt mitunter das Mt., wo der javanische Text wie auch Bmđ. und Vā. Parallelstellen aufweisen; zweitens ist die Reihenfolge der indischen Texte nicht immer eingehalten. Es liegt hier somit eine Fassung vor, welche an sich dem Bmđ.-Vā. näher als dem Mt. steht, aber mitunter seine eigenen Wege geht. Zu beachten ist jedoch, daß Mt. nach 123, 84 (~ Bmđ. 1, 21, 108; Vā. 50, 161) von den anderen Texten abweicht. Das javanische Purāṇa schließt sich hier an Mt. an. Das Zitat S. 177, 18 stimmt zu Mt. 84, Bmđ. 108, Vā. 161, das nachfolgende, S. 177, 28, zu Mt. 86, Bmđ. 118, Vā. 170; vgl. auch S. 178, 5: Mt. 89, Bmđ. 121, Vā. 173 (Vā. am meisten ähnlich); S. 178, 10: Mt. 92, Bmđ. 124, Vā. 176. Hierauf folgt im Bmđ. ein Stück, 1, 21, 124 b—155 a, im Vā. 50, 176 b—204, welches sich weder im Mt. noch im javanischen Purāṇa findet: das Zitat S. 178, 16 stimmt zum Mt. 93. Merkwürdig ist aber, daß der Wortlaut des nachfolgenden Textstückes sich nicht näher an Mt. als an Bmđ. und Vā. anzuschließen scheint, vgl. meine Anm.; an einigen Stellen steht der javanische Text für sich.

S. 179, 21 finden wir eine Mitteilung, welche unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zieht. In den verwandten Purāṇa's ist hier das betreffende Kapitel zu Ende, die vorhergehenden Wörter stimmen ziemlich genau zu den Schlußversen von Mt. 123, Bmđ. 1, 21, Vā. 50. Die Inhaltsangabe des nachfolgenden Bmđ.-Kapitels lautet nun: *Dhruvam abhivartya sarvagrahanakṣatrāṇaṃ paribhramayaṃ meghānaṃ ca caryāsah tathā sūryarathasyāpi vinyāso varṇitah*. Die Bmđ.- und Vā.-Texte sind einander wieder sehr ähnlich, Mt. weist jedoch, wie öfters, Divergenzen auf. Die Wörter S. 179, 21: *tēlas kojaran ikañ Manuwaṇṣavarga ... inajarakēn i ihulun ri rahadyan sañhu-*

lun, 'ich habe Ihnen nun die Abteilung, welche vom Manuvapśa handelt, mitgeteilt', finden sich aber in keinem der drei erwähnten Texte vor. Die Beschreibung Dhruva's, welche wir nun lesen, schließt sich am nächsten an den Mt.-Text an; vgl. die in den Anmerkungen erörterten Zitate. Nach dem Halbverse S. 180, 12 aber (~ Mt. 7 b; Bmḍ. 9 a; Vā. 9 a) kommt im javanischen Texte die Stelle: *nya tañ wargā; megha, hima, rātri, sandhyā* usw., welche eine Übersetzung ist eines dem Mt. 28; Bmḍ. 11; Vā. 11 (nur daß hier *megha*, im Mt. *dharmā*, anderswo *gharmā* steht) ähnlichen Verses. Eine Divergenz, aber zugleich eine Differenz zwischen den indischen Texten unter sich. Es folgt eine Beschreibung der Wolken und deren Entstehung und andere meteorologische Mitteilungen, welche auch in den anderen Texten, aber nicht genau in derselben Reihenfolge, und an den einzelnen Stellen in verschiedener Länge und Verständlichkeit der Fassung erhalten sind. Das zuletzt angeführte Zitat stimmt zu Mt. 35, Bmḍ. 29; Vā. 27; es folgen noch einige Sätze; die letzten Wörter stimmen zu Bmḍ. 35; Vā. 32. Das Mt. Purāṇa geht seinen eigenen Weg und geht schon Vs. 37 zu der Beschreibung des Sonnenwagens über, welche im Bmḍ. Vs. 60, im Vā. Vs. 54 anfängt. In diesem ganzen Abschnitt weist also der Matsya-Text der Bmḍ.-Vā.-Fassung gegenüber Umstellungen und Differenzen auf, aber wie dem auch sei, die Erzählung wird in beiden Rezensionen fortgesetzt. Im javanischen Texte aber wird sie in der Mitte der meteorologischen Schilderungen abgebrochen. Meines Erachtens liegt in den textlichen Umständen der verwandten indischen Rezensionen keine Veranlassung zu einem derartigen abrupten Ende vor, und ich habe deswegen in meiner Einleitung<sup>1</sup> die Meinung ausgesprochen, das javanische Bmḍ. Pur. sei, wenigstens in seiner jetzigen Gestalt, nur ein Torso. Wir können nicht (oder: noch nicht) sagen, wo und wann der Schluß verlorengegangen ist, wir wissen ebensowenig, wieviel fehlt. Vielleicht dürfen wir aus eingehenderen Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der für die epischen und purāṇischen Texte so wichtigen altjavanischen Literatur irgendwelche Auskunft in Bezug auf diese Fragen erwarten.

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, S. 24.

# The Numeral 40 in Inscriptions at Mathurā during the Śaka and Kuṣana period.

By

E. J. Rapson, Cambridge.

The correct reading of the date in the inscription on the Āmohinī Votive Tablet at Mathurā (No. 59 in the List of Brāhmī Inscriptions by Prof. Lüders) is of such great importance for Indian chronology, that I gladly avail myself of the kind permission of the Editors of *Acta Orientalia* to make one more attempt to convince my friend Prof. Lüders that the decimal figure in this date is 40, and not 70 as he supposes.<sup>1</sup>

There are two numeral signs in the Mathurā inscriptions—one resembling the Brāhmī *pta*, and the other having the general appearance of a St. Andrew's Cross or the letter X; and Prof. Lüders contends that, since all the other decimal numerals are well known, one of these two must necessarily represent 40 and the other 70.

In support of my own view that the St. Andrew's Cross is simply a cursive form of the *pta*, let me refer to two inscriptions of the reign of Nahapāna—the Nāsik inscription of Rṣabhadatta dated in the year 42 (*Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* IV, p. 102; Plate LII, no. 9) and the Junnar inscription of Ayama dated in the year 46 (*Ibid.*, p. 103; Plate LIV, no. 11). In the former there is a distinct *pta*: in the latter there is an equally distinct St. Andrew's Cross, precisely similar to that which is seen in the Mathurā inscription of Āmohinī (*Ep. Ind.* II, p. 199; Plate, no. 2). Both signs—the more carefully formed *pta* and the cursive St. Andrew's Cross—unquestionably

<sup>1</sup> See *Acta Orientalia*, X, pp. 118–125.

represent 40 in the inscriptions of Nahapāna; and, as I have pointed out in my article in "Indian Studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman" (pp. 49 ff.), all the available evidence shows, in my opinion, that they have the same value in the Mathurā inscriptions.

The two examples, which I have cited from inscriptions of Nahapāna, are instructive as showing how easily and naturally a cursive form resembling a St. Andrew's Cross may be evolved from the Brahmi *p̄ta*. If the upright central stroke of this *akṣara* be made slanting as in Plate LII, it only remains to substitute angles for the curves of the *pa* and the *ta*—as may well happen accidentally when the sign is being cut in hard stone—to produce a cursive form like the St. Andrew's Cross of Plate LIV.

Inscriptions therefore appear to support the conclusions which I had drawn from the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas. But Prof. Lüders protests against any attempt to judge the forms of 40 and 70 found at Mathurā in the light of those which occur on coins of the Western Kṣatrapas, since he holds that these numerals have undergone an entirely different development in the two localities—Mathurā on the one hand and Surāṣṭra and Mālwa on the other. I can only say that I can find no evidence whatever in support of this view. And when Prof. Lüders proceeds to state: "Das Andreaskreuz kommt aber, wie Rapson versichert, auf den Münzen überhaupt niemals vor" (p. 119), he forgets that he once placed on me the ultimate responsibility for the insertion of the St. Andrew's Cross as representing 40 in Prof. Bühler's "Table of Numerals." He wrote in *Ep. Ind.* IX, pp. 245–6:

"The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins [the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas] are given in table IX, col. V, of Bühler's *Indische Paläographie* from Prof. Rapson's table in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, Plate to p. 639. Here the St. Andrew's Cross has been entered as 40 . . ."

But here a few words of explanation are advisable. It is true that the term "St. Andrew's Cross" nowhere occurs in the description of the W. Kṣatrapa coins which is given in my British Museum



Catalogue: Andhra Dynasty, &c. It was not my object in that work to deal with the development of the numerals; but their varying forms are abundantly illustrated in the Plates, from which, I think, the following conclusions may fairly be drawn.

1) On well-struck coins issued during the decade beginning with the year 140 (see Plates XII and XIII), the numeral 40 is represented by the sign, clearly derived from the Brāhmī *pta*, which is given in the table of numerals on p. ccviii (cf. Plate XII. 365); but the figure had already become conventional, and as a rule it appears as a sort of X with its sides somewhat rounded (cf. Plate XIII. 379): that is to say, the original Brāhmī *pta* had undergone a cursive development somewhat similar to that which produced the St. Andrew's Cross in Nahapāna's inscription of the year 46 and in the Āmohinī inscription of the year 42.

2) A hundred years later, in the decade beginning with the year 240, the same numeral appears as a compromise between *κ* and *η* (cf. Plate XVII. 795, 805, &c.).

The expression "St. Andrew's Cross" is therefore merely a convenient term when it is used to denote cursive forms like these: it must not be interpreted too literally. My belief that the form so designated represents the numeral 40 in the inscriptions of Ma-thurā, is now fully confirmed by a comparison of the date on the Āmohinī Votive Tablet with the dates 42 and 46 in the inscriptions of Nahapāna. I cannot see how it is possible to entertain any further doubts on the subject. So far as I am concerned, therefore, it is needless to discuss the probability or the improbability of this interpretation in any particular instance. The value of the sign appears to me to be patent and indisputable.

The signs for 40, the Brāhmī *pta*, and 70, the Brāhmī *pā*, are indistinguishable whenever the lower part of the latter is illegible, since in both cases the head, representing the Brāhmī *pa*, is identical. The chief mark of distinction between these two numerals is that 40 rests on the line of writing, while 70 has a tail which goes below the line. The difference is seen at once if the 42 of

Nahapāna's Nasik inscription (Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 82; Plate V. 12) is compared with the 72 of Rudradāman's Gīrnar inscription (Ibid., p. 42 and Plate). It is this long curved stem which supplies the criterion by which 70 may be distinguished, and not the loop at its end, as I stated inaccurately in Prof. Lanman's *Festschrift*, p. 50; for, as Prof. Lüders has shown, a cursive loop may equally well be developed from the *-ta* in the *pta* which represents 40; see his Plate VI. i in *Acta Orientalia*. The reason why, in my opinion, the date of inscription No. 47 should be read as 70, and not as 40, is that the sign has a distinct stem. The loop in this case is attached to the end of the stem, whereas the looped form of the *pta*, illustrated in Prof. Lüder's Plate, has no stem. The internal evidence which, in the opinion of Prof. Lüders, favours the reading 40 in this inscription is not, as he himself admits, by any means conclusive (Ep. Ind. IX, p. 245).

Prof. Lüders has now discovered in a Palm Leaf MS. a numeral sign in the form of a St. Andrew's Cross which unquestionably represents 70. The MS. came from Chinese Turkestan, but it probably found its way thither from North-Western India. Prof. Lüders attributes the MS. to the Kuṣāna period; but it may be questioned if the form of the numeral 100 does not rather indicate the Gupta period. In any case it would seem that the MS. is somewhat distantly removed in place, if not in time, from the Mathurā inscriptions; for, as is shown by this sign for 100, the numerals evidently belong to another line of development.

The origin of this interesting and novel sign for 70 is no doubt rightly explained by Prof. Lüders, who suggests that it has been evolved from 60 by the addition of a stroke on the right; cf. no. vii with no. iv in his Plate VI. Many years ago a similar suggestion was made by Pandit Bhagvānlal Indraji in *Ind. Ant.* VI:

"The original meaning of the signs for 60 and 70 is doubtful to me. Only this much seems certain, that 70 is derived from the former by the addition of a horizontal stroke on the right" (p. 47).

The addition of the short horizontal stroke near the base of the curved stem of 60 produced the 70 which is seen in Rudradāman's Gīrnar inscription; and the cursive form with a loop, which is seen in the Mathurā inscription No. 47 and on the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas, is a perfectly natural development from this earlier form.

The addition of an oblique stroke, drawn downwards from the centre to the right, has produced the 70 of the MS. (no. vii of the Plate) from the 60 (no. iv), and has given to the former the appearance of a St. Andrew's Cross similar to that which is found in the date 46 of Nahapāna's Junnar inscription and in the date on the Āmohinī Votive Tablet. The coincidence is certainly curious; but I imagine that it would be possible to find parallel instances among the very numerous forms which Indian numerals have assumed at various times and in various localities.

There can, then, be no possible doubt that, in the MS., 70 is represented by a St. Andrew's Cross; and there can be no doubt also that 40 is represented by a St. Andrew's Cross in Nahapāna's Junnar inscription; and—in my opinion—there is no doubt that the St. Andrew's Cross, as the cursive alternative of the more carefully formed *pta*, invariably represents 40 in the Mathurā inscriptions.

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## New books sent to the editor.

Kern Institute Leiden. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1930. Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1932.

It is very much to the credit of the energetic leader of the Kern Institute that the Bibliography for 1930 has been published without delay, in spite of the general depression, and without any lowering of the standard.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*. Madras University, 1931. 11 sh.

A serious attempt at describing the administrative methods and principles in Southern India in the Hindu period, mainly at the hand of inscriptions. A few important inscriptions are carefully analysed, and it is evident that the author is anxious to avoid a priori statements. His book is therefore really useful, though the picture he draws is not quite complete, almost nothing having been said about the burden of taxation which can be inferred from the frequent mention of numerous tolls and taxes in the records.

Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*. Oxford University Press, 1932. 15 sh.

The term esoterism in this book means Tantrism, and to its elucidation the author has devoted much study and interest. The Tantric culture is, he says, the greatest contribution made by India towards the world's civilization. European scholars will hardly accept this view, but they will be thankful to the author for his discussion of the various problems connected with Indian Tantrism, its origin, its history, its pantheon and its character. We may disagree about many details, e.g. when he tries to show that Uḍḍiyāna, which plays such a considerable rôle in the traditionary accounts, should be

located in the east, or when he wants to prove that Hindu Tantrism is almost entirely derived from Buddhist Vajrayāna. But we gratefully acknowledge his devoted zeal, which has enabled him to collect in his book a long series of interesting facts.

Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara, Commentary on the Nirukta, Chapters II–VI, critically edited by Lakshman Sarup. Published by the University of the Panjab, Lahore 1931. London: Arthur Probsthain. 10 sh.

The first instalment of this important work was published by the Lahore University some years ago, and now Professor Sarup gives us the text of about the half of the whole commentary, so that we can judge with more confidence about its value. Professor Sarup has gone to his work with great care and erudition, and though his materials are often unsatisfactory, he has usually been able to restore the text. The commentary is independent of Durga and is of considerable importance for the history of the interpretation of the Nirukta. We have therefore every reason for being thankful to the editor for his painstaking work.

Arthur Christensen, *Les Kayanides*. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser XIX, 2. København 1932.

This learned study contains a critical survey of the various sources bearing on the history of the ancient Iranian dynasty of the Kayanides, the predecessors of Zarathushtra's patron Kavi Vištāspa. With regard to the latter, the author, in accordance with Benveniste's treatise on the Persian religion, modifies his old view about his early date and is inclined to think of the first half of the seventh century B.C.

Sten Konow.

## Die Komposition des Jesajabuches Kap. 1—39.

Von

Sigmund Mowinckel, Oslo.

1. Hier soll ein Versuch skizziert werden, die Komposition, d. h. das allmähliche Werden, des vorliegenden ersten Jesajabuches Kap. 1—39 aufzuhellen. Der Kürze halber lasse ich mich auf keine Einzeluntersuchungen exegetischer oder echtheitskritischer Art ein, sondern setze die Auffassung dieser Fragen voraus, die ich in meinen Büchern ‚Profeten Jesaja‘, Oslo 1925, und ‚Jesajadisiplene‘, Oslo 1926, dargelegt habe. Ich nehme auch keine Diskussion der Ansichten anderer Gelehrter hinsichtlich der Komposition auf; mein Versuch möge durch die ihm hoffentlich innewohnende Wahrscheinlichkeit wirken. Denn jeder solche Versuch kann nur einen Wahrscheinlichkeitsgrad beanspruchen; exakte Beweise gibt es auf diesem Gebiete nicht.

Die Voraussetzung meines Versuches ist, daß es allgemein anerkannt ist, daß sämtliche Teile des Jesajabuches sowohl jesajatische wie nichtjesajatische Stücke enthalten.

Dazu rechne ich aber auch mit einer zweiten Voraussetzung, nämlich, daß die verschiedenen Ursammlungen von Aussagen eines Propheten nicht allzulange nach seinem Auftreten entstanden sind. Was Jesaja betrifft, so ist es wohl allgemein anerkannt, daß die erste Sammlung, nämlich diejenige der Aussagen aus der Zeit des syrisch-efraimitischen Krieges, auf ihn selbst zurückgeht, und aus Jes. 8<sup>16</sup> wissen wir, daß er seine Jünger sozusagen als Erben seiner Verkündigung bevollmächtigt hat. In meinem Buche ‚Jesajadisiplene‘ habe ich denn zu zeigen versucht, welche große Rolle der jesajatische Jüngerkreis bei der Entstehung der prophetischen Literatur gespielt hat, sowohl als Sammler und Redaktoren wie als Fortsetzer

der prophetischen Verkündigung, und daß recht viele der von der Kritik beanstandeten und z. T. in die nachexilische Zeit verwiesenen Aussagen im Jesaja- und Mikabuche zwar nicht von Jesaja, bzw. Mika selber stammen, wohl aber in dem jesajanischen Jüngerkreise z. T. schon vor dem Exil entstanden sind. Zu diesen rechne ich z. B. die antiassyrischen Aussagen im Jesajabuche, die ohne jede Frage voralexilisch sind — darin haben die Verteidiger der ‚Echtheit‘ recht —, die aber mit der religiösen und politischen Gesamteinstellung des Jesaja unvereinbar sind — darin hat die ältere Kritik recht; s. mein Buch ‚Profeten Jesaja‘, S. 119 ff. — Hält nun diese Voraussetzung Stich, so wird man auch annehmen müssen, daß frei kursierende — sei es in mündlicher, sei es in schriftlicher Form — Einzelaussagen eines Propheten wie Jesaja nicht allzulange zu finden gewesen seien. Was es von echten Jesaja-Aussagen gab, werden die Sammler recht früh gekannt und in größeren oder kleineren Sammlungen gebucht haben. Es liegt dabei in der Natur der Sache, daß die Sammler eher etliche nichtjesajanische Aussagen mit aufgenommen haben werden, als daß eine nennenswerte Anzahl von echten Aussagen ihnen entgangen sein sollte. So halte ich es auch für sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß eine Orakelsammlung, die etwa 250—300 Jahre nach Jesaja entstanden wäre, wirklich jesajanische Aussagen enthalten könne, die nicht einer älteren Sammlung entnommen seien und somit auch an anderem Orte erhalten wären. Umgekehrt heißt das: es ist sehr wenig wahrscheinlich, daß eine Gruppe von Aussagen innerhalb des Jesajabuches, die neben einer Mehrzahl von offenbar nachexilischen Stücken vereinzelte echte Jesajastücke enthält, jemals als eigene, selbständige ‚jesajanische‘ Orakelsammlung existiert habe.

Es ist m. a. W. nicht zu entgehen, daß bei einem so komplizierten Buche, wie das Jesajabuch es offenbar ist, die Fragen der Komposition und die der ‚höheren‘ Kritik ineinander übergreifen.

2. Der allgemeine Plan des Buches ist einfach und klar: zuerst prophetische Aussagen des Jesaja, Kap. 1—35, darnach Erzählungen über Jesaja, Kap. 36—39. Hierzu ist zu vergleichen der



Plan des älteren Jeremiabuches, d. h. Kap. 1—45 (vgl. mein „Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia“, Kristiania [Oslo] 1914).

Sieht man aber näher zu, so ist es nicht leicht, irgendwelche Planmäßigkeit nachzuweisen. Wenn wir — die Ergebnisse einer historisch-kritischen Auffassung der Einzelaussagen nicht unberücksichtigt lassend — die jetzige Textform betrachten, so fällt das Buch in vier Hauptabschnitte: 1. Kap. 1—12, prophetische Aussagen, meistens von Jesaja, über Juda und Jerusalem, daneben aber auch über Israel, Damaskus und Assyrien; der Abschnitt fängt mit Drohungen und Gerichtsworten an und schließt mit Verheißungen. — 2. Kap. 13—27, eine Sammlung von „Orakeln“ *mašša'ot* mit Unheilsweissagungen über eine Reihe von heidnischen Völkern (Kap. 13—23), von einer apokalyptisch anmutenden Aussicht über das allgemeine eschatologische Gericht über die heidnische Welt und über die Wiederherstellung Israels (Kap. 24—27) abgeschlossen. Das allermeiste ist viel jünger als Jesaja. — 3. Kap. 28—35, prophetische Drohungen und Verheißungen an Juda und Jerusalem, von einer Schilderung des allgemeinen Gerichts über die besonders von Edom repräsentierten Heiden abgeschlossen. In Kap. 28—32 ist das meiste Jesajanisch, einiges aber sicher nicht; von Kap. 33 an ist kein einziges Wort Jesajanisch. — 4. Kap. 36—39, Erzählungen über Jesaja, die sich auch in 2 Kg. 18—20 finden.

Die Grenze zwischen 2 und 3 ist im Buche selbst nicht markiert, weder durch eine Überschrift noch sonstwie. Wenn man dennoch allgemein hier eine Grenze setzt, so ist es eben, weil wir jetzt die prophetischen Aussagen historisch lesen und den tiefen sowohl inhaltlichen wie stilistischen Unterschied zwischen den meistens übergeschichtlichen eschatologischen Dichtungen in Kap. 24—27 und den zeitgeschichtlich klar bedingten Jesaja-Aussagen in Kap. 28 ff. stark empfinden; mit Kap. 28 fängt, sagen die Neueren einmütig, etwas Neues an.

3. Innerhalb der drei ersten Gruppen finden wir aber oft eine sehr große Planlosigkeit. Zwar bieten sie, in großen Zügen betrachtet, das allgemein übliche Schema dar, das die Sammler und

Redaktoren der Prophetenbücher fast immer benutzt haben, das Schema, das Gressmann, Sellin u. a. ganz grundlos sogar als das traditionelle Schema der prophetischen Verkündigung überhaupt betrachtet haben, nämlich Drohungen—Verheißungen, Unglück—Glück. In Kap. 1—12 kommt aber dieses Schema mehrere Male nacheinander zum Vorschein: Kap. 1<sup>a</sup>—2<sup>a</sup>, Kap. 2<sup>a</sup>—4<sup>a</sup>, Kap. 5<sup>a</sup>—9<sup>a</sup>, Kap. 9<sup>a</sup>—12<sup>a</sup>. Das läßt sich aber nicht dadurch erklären, daß wir es hier mit vier älteren kleineren Sammlungen zu tun hätten; die neue Überschrift in Kap. 2 steht nicht vor v. 6, sondern vor v. 1; Kap. 5<sup>a</sup>—9<sup>a</sup> kann in dieser Form nie eine selbständige Sammlung gewesen sein, dagegen muß einmal eine solche mit Kap. 6 angefangen haben (vgl. Jer. 1, Ez. 1); in Kap. 9<sup>a</sup> ff. finden sich Stücke, die offenbar mit solchen in Kap. 5 zusammengehören, u. zw. sind 5<sup>a</sup> 25—30 ohne Zweifel die ursprüngliche Fortsetzung von 9<sup>a</sup> 7—20. In Kap. 6—8 redet bald Jesaja in 1. Person, bald wird von ihm in 3. Person geredet. — Ferner: in Kap. 13—27 besteht ein wesentlicher Unterschied hinsichtlich des Inhaltes, des Stils und des Tons zwischen Kap. 13—23 und Kap. 24—27; und betrachtet man den Abschnitt als Ganzes, so sind Kap. 24—27 insofern eine Wiederholung von Kap. 13—23, als die Drohungen, die diese Kapitel gegen eine Reihe von Einzelvölkern ausstießen, in ihrer Gesamtheit eben ein Bild des allgemeinen Völkergerichts geben wollen, das auch Kap. 24—27 ohne Nennung der einzelnen Völker schildert. — Daß in Kap. 28 etwas im Verhältnis zu Kap. 24—27, ja auch im Verhältnis zu Kap. 13—23 wesentlich Neues anfängt, ist, wie gesagt, zwar unleugbar und einleuchtend, aber mit keiner Silbe ausdrücklich angedeutet.

Da nun sämtliche Gruppen eine Reihe von unzweifelhaft nichtjesajanischen Aussagen enthalten, so ist es einleuchtend, nicht nur, daß das Buch in seiner gegenwärtigen Form nicht von Jesaja stammen kann, sondern auch, daß es nicht ein planmäßiges Werk eines einzelnen Sammlers oder Redaktors ist; es bietet vielmehr ein Bild der höchsten Planlosigkeit und Unordnung dar.

Schon die verschiedenen Überschriften 1<sub>1</sub>, 2<sub>1</sub>, 6<sub>1</sub> (Datierung), 13<sub>1</sub>, von denen jedenfalls die beiden ersten nicht als Überschriften einer Einzelaussage, sondern als solche eines größeren Abschnittes gemeint sind, zeigen, daß das Buch aus mehreren Teilsammlungen entstanden ist. Dasselbe zeigt Kap. 6, das eben als Bericht über die Berufungsvision der Anfang einer Sammlung sein will (vgl. Jer. 1, Ez. 1); eben in der mit Kap. 6 anfangenden Sammlung finden sich mehrere Anzeichen davon, daß sie auf einer von Jesaja selber veranstalteten Schrift baut; s. 6<sub>1</sub>. 5. 7. 8. 11, 8<sub>1</sub> f. 3. 5. 11. 17. 18.

Andererseits deutet schon das oben über die Planlosigkeit der vier größeren Gruppen des Buches Gesagte darauf, daß die ursprünglichen Sammlungen sich nur teilweise mit jenen vier Hauptabschnitten decken. Daß Kap. 1—12 jemals ein Buch für sich gebildet hätte, kann weder bewiesen noch wahrscheinlich gemacht werden; der Abschnitt muß mehrere Sammlungen umfassen. — Auch ist es sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß Kap. 28—35 jemals eine eigene Sammlung gewesen sei; der Abschnitt hat keine Überschrift, und das erste Stück 28<sub>1</sub> ff. enthält weder inhaltlich noch stilistisch irgend etwas, was es zum Kopf einer Sammlung geeignet machen könnte; zeitgeschichtlich und sachlich hängt es am ehesten mit den anti-efraimitischen Aussagen in Kap. 7 f. zusammen. — Auch nicht Kap. 13—27 werden ein eigenes Buch gebildet haben; sowohl Inhalt wie Stil in Kap. 24—27 zeigen, daß diese Kapitel, die unzweifelhaft eine Art Einheit bilden, viel später entstanden sind, als zu der Zeit, zu der man mit Wahrscheinlichkeit sowohl die Entstehung der einzelnen Aussagen in Kap. 13—23 als ihre Zusammenstellung zu einer Gruppe ansetzen kann.

Dies alles deutet darauf hin, daß die oben namhaft gemachten vier Hauptabschnitte durch Bearbeitung, Erweiterung und vielleicht auch Umstellung eines älteren Buches herausgearbeitet sind, das seinerseits aus älteren kleineren Sammlungen zusammengefügt worden ist.

4. Wenn wir nun versuchen sollen, diese ältesten Sammlungen zu ermitteln und so einen Einblick in die Entstehung des Jesaja-

buches zu gewinnen, so bieten sich uns mehrere Anhaltspunkte dar. Erstens die Überschriften 1: 2: und das Anfangskapitel 6. Sodann die Erkenntnis des üblichen redaktionellen Sammlerschemas: Unglück — Glück (Drohung — Verheißung). Ferner die Beobachtung, daß die Einzelstücke häufig nach Stichwörtern oder gleichlautenden Anfangsformeln und -wörtern geordnet gewesen sind; s. die Gruppe der ‚Weherufe‘ in 5:—24 und die Weherufe in 10:1.5. Endlich darf man davon als sicher ausgehen, daß es nicht die mündliche Überlieferung oder der erste Sammler gewesen ist, der das einheitliche Stück 9:1—20 5:25—30 auseinandergerissen hat und die beiden Teile desselben in verkehrter Reihenfolge in zwei verschiedene Teile des Buches gesetzt hat; ein solches Unglück ist erst bei einer recht willkürlichen späteren Umordnung des Buches passiert.

5. Es empfiehlt sich, mit Kap. 6 anzufangen. Dieses muß, wie gesagt, einmal den Anfang einer eigenen Sammlung A gebildet haben. Nach dem üblichen Redaktorenschema erwartet man, daß jene mit 9: endete; s. Budde, *Jesajas Erleben*, Gotha 1928, S. 1ff., dessen Argumente ich aber nicht alle unterschreiben kann; nach den Drohungen in 6:1—8:23. kommt 8:23:—9: als die entsprechende Verheißung; diese Entsprechung ist durch die offenbar redaktionelle Glosse 8:23: — auch Buddes Scharfsinn vermag nicht Einheit und Ursprünglichkeit dieses Verses zu retten — deutlich ausgesprochen. Daß diese Abgrenzung richtig ist, wird dadurch bestätigt, daß in 9:1ff. ein Stück folgt, das mit 5:25ff. zusammenhängt; 6:1—9: ist somit in eine andere Sammlung eingeschoben worden und hat Zusammengehöriges auseinander gesprengt. Daß aber 6:1—9: jemals vor Kap. 1 gestanden habe, wie Budde meint, ist nicht mit dem Worte *hazôn* in 1: zu begründen und auch an sich sehr unwahrscheinlich; dann begriffe man schlechterdings nicht, warum der Abschnitt umgestellt worden wäre.

In dieser Sammlung A finden sich, wie gesagt, mehrere Dinge, die darauf deuten, daß eine direkt jesajanische Schrift zugrunde liegt; darauf führt die häufige Ichform und nicht weniger die Notiz in 8:15. Daß aber diese Grundschrift so unverseht vorliege und sich so

vollkommen wiederherstellen lasse, wie etwa Budde, Jesajas Erleben, meint, glaube ich nicht. Die Sammlung ist bearbeitet worden (die gelegentliche Er-Form), Legendarisches hat sich hineingedrängt (7<sup>11</sup>), die Drohung in 7<sup>18</sup> ff. ist messianisch umgearbeitet und zu einer Verheißung gemacht und die abschließende Verheißung 9<sup>1-6</sup> anderswoher redaktionell hinzugefügt worden; 8<sup>23</sup> ist typische schlechte Redaktionsglosse, der ursprüngliche Schluß ist die Drohung 8<sup>16-22</sup>; das, worauf Jesaja hier hofft, ist, daß das Strafgericht ihm bald recht geben und Jahwä als den Gerechten darstellen solle, der sich nicht spotten läßt. — A hat auch insofern ein anderes Gepräge als die anderen Sammlungen, als die einzelnen Stücke mit Einleitungsnotizen versehen sind, die über die näheren Umstände aufklären; in diesen ist Jesaja selber in der Regel der Redende; Kap. 6 ist Visionsbericht in Ichform.

Über die Zeit der Sammlung A folgendes: Das Todesjahr der Uzziya ist, wie ich anderswo zu zeigen versucht habe, wahrscheinlich das Jahr Herbst 735/4 (s. meinen Aufsatz: Die Chronologie d. isr. u. jüd. Könige, *Acta Orientalia* X, S. 229 ff.). A ist geschrieben, ehe die Krisis des syrisch-efraimitischen Krieges eintrat; es finden sich Aussagen von Jesaja sowohl über Israel wie über Damaskus, die noch nicht in A aufgenommen worden sind (Kap. 17, 28). Die Angriffe der Verbündeten auf Jerusalem wurden frühestens im Herbst 734 eröffnet; erst in 733 griff der Assyrikerkönig gegen Damaskus und Israel ein; schon damals wurde Damaskus zerniert und fiel in 732; s. meinen Aufsatz in *Acta Orientalia* X, S. 182 ff. Von dieser Wendung ist noch nichts in A zu spüren. A ist somit im Winter 734/3 oder früh im Frühling 733 geschrieben worden.

6. Von den Umgebungen, in die A hineingesprengt worden ist, hebt sich sofort Kap. 1 heraus. Diese Stücke müssen, wie man aus der neuen Überschrift in 2<sup>1</sup> sieht, eine eigene Sammlung gebildet haben. Wir nennen sie B. Zu dieser, nicht zu 1—12, ist 1<sup>1</sup> die ursprüngliche Überschrift (vgl. Buhl, *Jesaja*, Kopenhagen 1912); Kap. 1 handelt eben von Juda und Jerusalem, wie 1<sup>1</sup> sagt, während 1—12 auch eine Reihe anderer Völker und Städte behandeln. Die

Datierung in 11b ist dagegen hinzugefügt, als Kap. 1 mit anderen Sammlungen zusammengestellt worden war; der Vers sollte dadurch zur Überschrift des ganzen Buches 1—39 gestempelt werden.

Die Sammlung B besteht aus mehreren selbständigen Einzelaussagen, die alle mit der höchsten Wahrscheinlichkeit zu der Zeit unmittelbar nach der Belagerung in 701 datiert werden können; so nach allgemeiner Annahme. Die Ordnung ist die übliche: zuerst Drohungen, dann Verheißungen. Daß hier eine eigenhändige Schrift des Jesaja vorliegen sollte, ist mit nichts angedeutet. Ein Sammler hat hier die (ihm wichtigst dünkenden) Aussagen aus jener Zeit nach dem üblichen Redaktorenschema zusammengestellt. Die Stücke geben uns jedenfalls das abschließende Urteil Jesajas über den Zustand Jerusalems und über die Ursachen des Unglücks, und dies hat auch der Sammler geben wollen; der Abfall ist die Ursache, Scheinbekehrungen und Kultusreformen nützen nichts, eine tiefgehende sittlich-religiöse Bekehrung muß kommen; geschieht aber das, so ist noch Hoffnung — dieser Ton klingt nicht nur hinter der Aufforderung, sondern wird auch direkt angedeutet in v. 25 f. Das direkt verheißende Schlußstück v. 27—31 unterliegt nicht ohne Grund dem Verdacht der ‚Unechtheit‘, d. h. in Wirklichkeit: es gibt wahrscheinlich eher Worte und Gedanken des Sammlers im Anschluß an Jesaja als *ipsissima verba Jesajae*; der Gegensatz in v. 27—31 ist in der Tat ein anderer als in v. 2—25; hier ist der Abfall die Immoralität, dort falscher und abgöttischer Kultus. — B kann somit als ein in der Hauptsache mit den eigenen Worten Jesajas gegebenes Kompendium der sittlich-religiösen Seite seiner Verkündigung betrachtet werden.

Höchstwahrscheinlich ist nach allem Obigen B nicht lange nach 701 gesammelt worden, vielleicht aber erst, als Jesaja selber tot war. Sagen wir anschlagsweise um 690 oder 680. Die Formulierung in v. 27—31 scheint auf die Verhältnisse unter Manasse (H. 697/6—643/2) hinzudeuten; damals wurde die Hauptaufgabe der Propheten das Festhalten an dem Jahwäkultus gegen fremde Kulte und Einflüsse; daher wurde auch



die Prophetie damals nationalreligiös; s. mein Buch Jesajadisziplin.

7. a) Diejenige Sammlung, in welche A hineingeschoben worden ist und die wir C nennen wollen, hat, wie die Überschrift in 21 zeigt, mit diesem Verse angefangen. C umfaßte Kap. 2—5 und danach mehr oder weniger von den Stücken in 97 ff. Das ergibt sich nicht nur aus der Zusammengehörigkeit von 5<sup>25-30</sup> und 97—20, sondern auch daraus, daß die Zusammenstellung von Weherufen in 53—24 entsprechende Weherufe in 101 ff. hat.

Da nun 97—20 nicht die Fortsetzung von 5<sup>25-30</sup> ist, sondern umgekehrt, so sehen wir, daß die Einsetzung von A in C mit einer Umstellung gewisser Stücke in C verbunden gewesen ist oder diese nach sich gezogen hat. Der Grund zu dieser Umstellung ist offenbar der, daß die Drohungen in 97—20 gegen Israel-Efraim gerichtet sind; gegen dieses Volk ist aber auch ein großer Teil von 61—96 gerichtet; daher stellte man 97—20 hinter 61—96. Dies zeigt, daß auch andere Umstellungen stattgefunden haben können; da dürfen wir aber auch vermuten, daß die Weherufe in Kap. 5 und in 101—4 ursprünglich nebeneinander gestanden haben. Der Weheruf in 101—4 hat aber der Redaktor als gegen Assyrien gerichtet aufgefaßt und ihn daher vor den Weheruf über dieses Reich in 105 ff. gestellt. Die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge der ersten Teile in C dürfte daher die folgende gewesen sein: 21 (2—5). 6—22, 3, 41 (2—6), 51—7, 97—20, 5<sup>25-30</sup>, 101—4, 53—24, 105 ff.

Schon hier sehen wir, daß das Ordnungsprinzip der Redaktion in der Hauptsache das übliche gewesen ist: Drohungen—Verheißungen — denn die Drohungen gegen Assur sind sachlich Verheißungen an Juda. Eine Ausnahme bildet das auch in Mika vorkommende Stück 22—5. Daß aber eine Prophetenschrift mit einer Verheißung anfängt, ist sonst beispiellos. Man wird somit behaupten müssen, daß 22—5 später eingeschoben worden ist. Dasselbe gilt auch von 42—6, ein nach 41 ganz unpassendes prosaisches Machwerk, das auch nicht durch Buddes Streichungen (ZAW 1932, S. 44 ff.) zu retten ist, weil diese ganz willkürlich sind



und das übrige nicht um ein Haar poetischer und jesajanischer machen.

b) Eine schwierigere Frage ist, wie viele von den nach 10<sup>ff.</sup> folgenden Stücken zu der Sammlung C gehört haben, m. a. W. die Frage nach dem Schluß von C. In dem jetzigen Buche kommt ein deutlicher Absatz mit Kap. 12; in Kap. 13 mit den neuen Überschriften fängt etwas ganz Neues an. Als Ganzes haben Kap. 2—5, 9 7—12 das übliche Ordnungsschema: Drohungen—Verheißungen. So versteht man wohl, daß die Ausleger immer geneigt gewesen sind, Kap. 2—12 als eine einst selbständige Sammlung aufzufassen.

Nun ist es aber offenbar, daß Kap. 11—12 auch Stücke enthalten, die viel jünger als Jesaja sind; so ist nicht zu leugnen, daß 11<sup>10 ff.</sup> die nachexilische Diaspora voraussetzt; s. Duhm im Kommentar, Buhl ebenso. Haben wir es nun mit einer ursprünglich wirklich jesajanischen Sammlung zu tun, so können recht wohl solche Stücke in diese später hineininterpoliert und nicht schon von den Sammlern aufgenommen sein (s. § 1). Damit ist aber die Möglichkeit gegeben, daß das Gepräge von Buchabschluß, das durch Kap. 12 hervorgerufen wird, erst später entstanden sein kann; der Wunsch, nach Kap. 10 und 11<sup>1—9</sup> irgendwie einen deutlichen formalen Abschnittschluß zu markieren, könnte dann erst entstanden sein, nachdem die „Orakel“-Sammlung in Kap. 13 ff. hinzugekommen oder herausgearbeitet worden war und damit mit 13<sup>1</sup> einen deutlichen Neuanfang gesetzt hatte.

Wir werden nun sehen, daß zu der Annahme gute Gründe bestehen, daß Kap. 13—27 oder 13—23 in ihrer jetzigen Gestalt nie eine eigene jesajanisch sein wollende Sammlung gebildet haben, sondern erst innerhalb des redigierten Jesajabuches zu einer eigenen Gruppe ausgearbeitet worden sind. Wir berufen uns dabei auf den in § 1 angedeuteten Grundsatz. Kap. 13—23 — wir sehen vorläufig von Kap. 24—27 ab — enthalten einerseits Stücke, die sicher oder mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit dem Jesaja oder wenigstens seiner Zeit zugeschrieben werden können, bzw. müssen. Andererseits finden sich aber dort auch viele Stücke,

die ohne Zweifel ein paar, vielleicht gar mehr als drei Jahrhunderte jünger als Jesaja sind, und diese letzteren Stücke sind es, die dem Abschnitt sein Hauptgepräge geben und ihn zu einer Gruppe von Heidenorakeln machen. Es ist dann sehr wenig wahrscheinlich, daß ein Mann, der etwa um das Jahr 500 oder noch später eine Sammlung von solchen Orakeln zustande bringen wollte, noch auf wirkliche Jesaja-Aussagen in mündlicher Tradition treffen sollte. Solche müßte er dann in schriftlichen Quellen suchen. Dann ist es aber ebenso wenig wahrscheinlich, daß er andere Jesajabücher gekannt haben sollte, als die drei jetzt auch uns bekannten Sammlungen von echten Jesaja-Aussagen A, B und C. Hätte somit ein nachexilischer Sammler von Heidenorakeln auch einige wirkliche Jesaja-Aussagen aus den älteren Quellen übernommen, so würden wir erwarten, diese Aussagen jetzt in doppelter Fassung zu besitzen, einmal in der supponierten Sammlung von Heidenorakeln, und das zweitemal in einer der älteren, auch uns bekannten Quellen A, B oder C; denn warum sollten jene von dem supponierten Sammler der Heidenorakel auch übernommenen Jesaja-Aussagen aus den älteren Büchern wieder verschwunden sein? Die späteren Redaktoren haben ja sonst keine Angst vor Dubletten gezeigt, wenn sie tatsächlich solche in den von ihnen redigierten kleineren Sammlungen oder Büchern fanden.

Dazu kommt ein anderes. Wenn Kap. 13—23 (27) einmal wirklich eine selbständige Sammlung von Heidenorakeln gewesen wären, warum hat der Schlußredaktor sie dann mitten zwischen den Orakeln über Juda und Jerusalem in Kap. 2 ff. und Kap. 28 ff. gestellt? Ein viel natürlicherer Platz würde vor Kap. 33 sein. Auch wenn Kap. 28 ff. einmal eine selbständige Sammlung gewesen wären, sollte man erwarten, daß der Redaktor diese vor Kap. 13 ff. gestellt hätte, wenn diese letzteren eine damals vorliegende eigene Sammlung gewesen wären. — Man könnte einwenden: zuerst sei eine eigene Sammlung 13—27 (23) logischerweise nach der Sammlung 1—12 gestellt; erst später habe man eine ebenfalls selbständig existierende Sammlung 28 ff. dahinter gestellt. Ist es aber denkbar, daß derjenige, der es als erster unternahm, aus bestehenden kleineren

Sammlungen ein großes Jesajabuch (die Urform des jetzigen) zusammenzustellen, eine Sammlung 13—23 (27) als jesajanisch gekannt hätte, Kap. 28 ff. aber nicht, und daß diese letzteren Stücke erst auf einer späteren Stufe der Redaktion den Redaktoren als jesajanisches Werk bekanntgeworden sein sollten? Das ist ganz unwahrscheinlich. Unmöglich wird jene Annahme, wenn Kap. 28 ff. überhaupt nie eine eigene Sammlung gewesen sind, sondern ihrem Grundstock nach immer nur ein Teil der Sammlung, dessen erste Teile wir in Kap. 2—5, 10—11\* besitzen.

Kap. 13—23 (27) in der Gestalt, die sie jetzt in der Hauptsache haben, sind somit nie eine eigene, für sich bestehende Sammlung von (angeblichen) Jesaja-Aussagen gewesen. Daß dennoch eine einst selbständige Sammlung von Orakeln hier hineingearbeitet worden ist, werden wir unten sehen.

Ist nun dem so, so haben wir zu der weiteren Annahme allen Grund, daß die wirklich alten Bestandteile von Kap. 13—23 einst die Fortsetzung der Sammlung C bildeten. Das heißt zunächst, daß die obengenannten Weherufe in Kap. 10 in den ungefähr aus denselben Zeitverhältnissen wie diese stammenden Stücken innerhalb der Kap. 13 ff. ihre Fortsetzung hatten, die ebenfalls mit einem Weheruf einsetzen und die offenbar viel älter als ihre Umgebungen in Kap. 13—27 sind. Es handelt sich hier zunächst um 14<sup>24—27</sup> (28—32<sup>171</sup>) und Kap. 18; man beachte, wie das Orakel 14<sup>24—27</sup> sowohl inhaltlich wie hinsichtlich des Tons und des Stils mit den Aussagen gegen Assyrien in Kap. 10[—11] übereinstimmt; das macht es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß alle diese Stücke in derselben Sammlung standen und daß erst eine spätere Bearbeitung sie voneinander gerissen hat. An die Weherufe über Assyrien Kap. 10[—11] und 14 schließt sich dann der Weheruf über Äthiopien Kap. 18 (dies die einzig mögliche Deutung des Stückes; s. mein 'Profeten Jesaja', S. 46).

Von diesen wenigstens zum Teil echt jesajanischen Stücken kann man dann aber nicht die anderen wirklich alten Stücke in Kap. 13—23 trennen; es handelt sich hier um die Hauptmasse der Kapitel 17, 20 und 22.

e) Ist dies nun aber richtig, so haben wir auch zu der Annahme allen Grund, daß die Sammlung C auch den Grundstock der Kapitel 28—35 umfaßt hat. Denn daß diese Kapitel einmal eine eigene Sammlung gebildet haben könnten, ist, wie wir gesehen haben, äußerst unwahrscheinlich. Zu jenem Grundstock werden zuerst die jesajanischen und die wirklich alten Stücke dieser Kapitel zu rechnen sein, d. h. jedenfalls 28<sup>1-4</sup>. 7-22 29<sup>1-4</sup>. 9f. 12-16 30<sup>1-17</sup>. 27-33 31, 32<sup>9-14</sup>. Wie viele nichtjesajanische Aussagen C ursprünglich enthalten habe, können wir nicht sagen; wir haben selbstverständlich keine Gewähr dafür, daß die Sammler immer zwischen jesajanisch und nichtjesajanisch unterscheiden konnten. So können wir auch nicht sagen, wie viele der offenkundigen Bearbeitungen jesajanischer Aussagen, wie etwa 29<sup>5-8</sup> 32<sup>15-20</sup>, schon in der alten Sammlung C standen, bzw. schon von ihrem Redaktor vorgenommen worden seien. — Dasselbe gilt von den offenbar nichtjesajanischen, z. T. nachdeuterojesajanischen Stücken in Kap. 33—35; natürlich können aber mehrere dieser Stücke auch nach der Zusammenarbeit von A und C (und B, s. oben) hinzugekommen sein. Ob man das eine oder das andere annimmt, kommt z. T. darauf an, wie früh man die Entstehung der Sammlung C ansetzen zu müssen glaubt. Man wird aber am ehesten vermuten dürfen, daß die Hauptmasse der Sammlung echte Jesaja-Aussagen enthielt. Persönlich bin ich sehr geneigt, auch diese Sammlung schon in vorexilische Zeit anzusetzen und demnach offenbar nachexilische Stücke einer Bearbeitung entweder der Sammlung C oder des zusammengesetzten Jesajabuches ABC zuzuschreiben.

Ist es nun richtig, daß der wirklich alte Grundstock der Kap. 13—35 zu derselben Sammlung C wie Kap. 2—5, 10—11\* gehört hat, so ist es damit überwiegend wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß diejenigen Stücke in Kap. 11—12, die jetzt dem Abschnitt Kap. 1—12 das Gepräge einer abgerundeten Sammlung mit deutlichem Schlußpunktum geben, erst später hinzugekommen sind. Das ist erst geschehen, nachdem die Mittelpartie der Sammlung C, bzw. des zusammengesetzten Jesajabuches zu der jetzigen, scheinbar selb-

ständigen Gruppe der Heidenorakel Kap. 13—27 angeschwollen hatte, und als man daher fand, den neuen Absatz dadurch markieren zu müssen, daß man den Schluß von Kap. 11 und Kap. 12 als Abschluß des ersten Teiles des Gesamtbuches einschob.

Soll man nun eine Vermutung über den ungefähren Umfang von C äußern, so würde ich dazu etwa folgende Stücke rechnen: 21. 6—22, 3, 41, 51—7, 97—20, 525—30, 101—4, 58—24, 105—34, 111—9(?), 1424—27. [28—34(?)] 17, 18, 20, 22, 28 1—4. 7—13. 14—22. 23—29, 29 1—8. 9—16. [17—24(?)], 30 1—17. [18—26(?)]. 27—32, 31, 32; dazu könnte auch Kap. 33 gehören, dessen Entstehung in der spätesten vorexilischen Zeit durchaus nicht ausgeschlossen ist. — Glaubt man aber annehmen zu müssen, daß die ursprüngliche Sammlung durch einen glücklichen Zufall nur echte Jesaja-Aussagen enthalten habe, so werden von den obigen Stücken nicht unerhebliche Abzüge vorzunehmen sein; s. jedoch unten.

d) In der Hauptsache hat auch C das Schema Drohungen—Verheißungen gehabt, jedoch so, daß in dem zweiten Teil Drohungen und Verheißungen abwechseln; die einzelnen Drohungen sind oft mit einem verheißenden Schluß versehen und erst dadurch zu Verheißungen umgestempelt worden; vgl. 29 1—8, 32 9—20. Die Ordnung scheint nicht chronologisch zu sein; 28 1—4 müßte dann in der Nähe von 17 1 ff. und sicher vor Kap. 18 und 20 stehen. Zum Teil ist offenbar eine sachliche Ordnung beabsichtigt und durchgeführt. Die mit dem Verwerfungsurteil 2 6—11 und der Schilderung der verheerenden Erscheinung Jahwäs 2 12—17 einsetzenden Schelt- und Drohreden 2 12—22, 3 1—41, 5 1—7, 9 7—20, 5 25—30 kulminieren mit den Weherufen 5 8—24, 10 1—4, an die sich dann formal der Weheruf über Assur 10 6 ff. anschließt, dadurch das zweite Hauptmoment, die Verheißung, zum Ausdruck bringend; dann folgen (nach der späteren redaktionellen [s. unten] Unterbrechung in Kap. 11—12) die anderen antiassyrischen Aussagen 14 24—27 und die Aussagen gegen fremde Völker [14 28—32], 17 1—11, 17 12—14, 18, 20; an das letztere Stück gegen Äthiopien-Ägypten schließen sich, durch das Gegenstück gegen Efraim 28 1—4 eingeleitet, die Strafreden gegen Juda aus den Jahren 705 ff. wegen der Verbündung mit Ägypten 28 7—22. [23—29], 29 1—4. 9—12. 13—16,

30<sup>1-17</sup>, 31<sup>1-5</sup>, 32<sup>9-14. 19</sup>, jeweilig von entsprechenden Heilsweissagungen 29<sup>5-8</sup>, 29<sup>17-24</sup>, 30<sup>18-26. 27-33</sup>, 31<sup>6-9</sup>, 32<sup>1-8</sup>, 32<sup>15-18. 20</sup> unterbrochen; eben durch diese überall mit den jeweilig vorausgehenden Drohungen redaktionell zusammengeflochtenen Verheißungen ist der ganze letzte Teil als ein verheißender aufgefaßt worden. Nach den Drohungen in Kap. 2—5, 9<sup>7-10</sup> setzen die Verheißungen schon mit den Unglücksweissagungen gegen Assur 10<sup>5 ff.</sup> ein und laufen durch folgende, von der Redaktion gebildete künstliche Einheiten: 10<sup>5-11</sup>, 14<sup>24-27</sup>, [14<sup>28-32</sup>], 17, 18, 20, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31<sup>1-32</sup>, 32<sup>9-20</sup>, [33].

Aus der Notiz in 30<sup>8</sup> darf man nicht folgern, daß auch C auf einer eigenhändigen Schrift des Jesaja beruht; in 30<sup>8</sup> handelt es sich nicht um die Niederschreibung eines Buches, sondern um die Aufzeichnung eines einzelnen Wortes auf eine Tafel, die öffentlich aufgestellt werden sollte; vgl. 81. Vielmehr darf man aus Kap. 20, das den Jesaja in 3. Person erwähnt, folgern, daß die Sammlung nicht von Jesaja verfaßt war, sondern in seinem Jüngerkreise entstanden ist. Ebendaher kann es sehr wohl sein, daß auch mehrere nichtjesajanische Stücke mit aufgenommen worden sind, die die Stimmungen und Hoffnungen des späteren Jüngerkreises ausdrücken und etwa auf derselben geistigen und religiösen Stufe wie Naḥum, Habakkuḥ, das Moselied Dtn. 32 u. a. stehen, eben der Stufe der reformprophetisch beeinflussten Nationalreligion mit ihren von dem Mythos des in der Assyrrerzeit aufgekommenen Thronbesteigungsfestes beeinflussten phantastischen und nur zum Teil ethisch begründeten antiassyrischen Wiederherstellungshoffnungen (s. mein Buch Jesajadisplene, S. 89 ff.). Wenn diese Stücke nicht schon in dem ursprünglichen C standen, so ist C jedenfalls recht früh im Sinne dieser Jesaja-Epigonen bearbeitet worden. Auf alle Fälle liegt eine Reihe von Jesaja-Aussagen in solcher Bearbeitung vor; s. 10<sup>27b-24</sup>, 29<sup>1-8</sup>, 31<sup>4-9</sup>, 32<sup>9-20</sup>. (In Parenthese bemerke ich, daß 10<sup>27b-24</sup> immer falsch verstanden worden ist; s. unten.)

e) C ist offenbar nicht nur später als A, sondern auch später als B gesammelt worden. Nachdem Jesaja selber seine Worte



an König Aħaz in A hatte aufzeichnen lassen, und nachdem einer seiner Jünger in B mit den Aussagen nach dem verlorenen Krieg in 701 sozusagen das Testament Jesajas verewigt hatte, hat der Sammler von C alles das zusammenstellen wollen, was er noch von Jesaja-Aussagen kannte oder aufspüren konnte. So ist C die eigentliche Hauptsammlung der Jesajaworte geworden, die die längste Zeit seines Wirkens umspannt; sie enthält sowohl Aussagen spätestens aus dem Jahre 733/2, wie 17<sub>1ff.</sub>, als solche aus der ersten Zeit des Aufstandes in 705—701, wie 30<sub>1ff.</sub>, 31<sub>1ff.</sub>

Zur näheren Bestimmung der Entstehungszeit ist zu beachten, daß sich in der ganzen C, auch so wie sie, nach Abzug der offenbar späteren Einschübe in Kap. 13—27, in ihrer jetzigen Textform vorliegt, nicht viele Stücke finden, die unbedingt nach 587 geschrieben sein müssen. Die wichtigsten Stellen sind: 2<sub>2-5</sub>, 4<sub>2-5</sub>, 10<sub>20-25</sub>, 11<sub>1-2</sub>(?), 11<sub>10-16</sub>, 18<sub>7</sub>, 28<sub>5f.</sub>, 30<sub>18-26</sub>. Die meisten von diesen sind aber offenbare Einschübe in das fertige Buch; über 2<sub>2-5</sub> und 4<sub>2-5</sub> s. oben § 7a; 10<sub>20-25</sub> unterbrechen den Zusammenhang, der von dem Untergang Assurs, nicht von der Bekehrung Israels redet, s. Duhm und Buhl; Kap. 11—12 unterbrechen den Tenor der antiassyrischen Aussagen (s. oben § 7d) und sind von der späteren Ausarbeitung des Abschnittes Kap. 13—27 mit veranlaßt (s. oben § 7c); 18<sub>7</sub> ist Glosse in Prosa, 28<sub>5f.</sub> ebenso; auch das Prosastück 30<sub>18-26</sub> läßt sich so erklären. — Umgekehrt muß die Entstehung der antiassyrischen Aussagen aus der vorexilischen Zeit erklärt werden, wie ich in meinem Buche 'Jesajadisiplene' zu zeigen versucht habe. Nun ist ferner zu beachten, daß auch die echtjesajanischen antiägyptischen Drohungen wider Juda in Kap. 28 ff. fast regelmäßig den Sinn umbiegende, antiassyrische Zusätze heilsweissagender Art erhalten haben; daß 31<sub>5-8</sub>, wo Assur als der Feind genannt wird, ein späterer Zusatz zu dem Spruch in 31<sub>1-4</sub> ist, scheint mir ganz unwiderlegbar; daß 30<sub>27-33</sub> gegen Assur gerichtet ist, steht mit reinen Worten in v. 31, und so ist es auch sehr wahrscheinlich, daß 'der Tyrann', 'der Spötter' in 29<sub>20</sub> sich auf Assur bezieht; dasselbe kann m. A. n. auch in 33<sub>1</sub> der Fall sein; man wird dann annehmen dürfen, daß auch



32<sup>15</sup>—18. 20, die ein offenkundiger Zusatz zu 32<sup>9</sup>—14. 19 sind, sich ebenfalls auf Assur beziehen. Nur die nationalreligiöse Prophetie der späteren assyrischen Zeit hatte noch ein Interesse daran, den Aussagen des Jesaja diese Wendung zu geben; die Bearbeitung hat in der Tendenz der Jesajalegende in Kap. 36 f. ihre Analogie. — Daraus geht hervor, daß die Sammlung von C schon in der Assyrerzeit, aber noch bevor die assyrische Herrschaft zu wackeln anfang, somit wohl vor dem Skythensturme und dem Tod des Ašurbanaplu, stattgefunden hat und eben in den Kreisen der zu der Nationalreligion teilweise zurückkehrenden Jesajajünger vorgenommen worden ist.

Es könnte aber auch in den Stücken, die den Namen des Bedrückers nicht nennen, die chaldäische Zeit in Betracht kommen, indem die Judäer das chaldäische Reich als unmittelbaren Nachfolger des assyrischen und mit diesem identisch betrachtet hätten. In diesem Fall wäre die Sammlung C erst in der Chaldäerzeit, vielleicht erst nach dem Fall Jerusalems in 587, zustande gekommen. Zu einer späteren Ansetzung der Sammlung in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt liegt kein Grund vor; s. oben.

f) Von hier aus kommen wir zu der Frage nach dem Umfang der ursprünglichen Sammlung C zurück. Es wird durch das Obige im voraus wahrscheinlich, daß der Sammler sich nicht darum bemüht hat, die Worte des Jesaja mit diplomatarischer Genauigkeit wiederzugeben, sondern daß er dieselben im Lichte der antiassyrisch-nationalreligiösen Ansichten des damaligen Jüngerkreises und im Lichte des danach zurechtgemachten, auch in den Legenden gezeichneten Jesajabildes gesehen hat. Die obenerwähnten Umarbeitungen der ursprünglichen Jesaja-Aussagen sind so tief eingreifend, daß sie sich kaum als nachträgliche literarische Interpolationen in ein schon fertiges Buch erklären lassen, sondern eher als im Zusammenhang mit der ersten Aufzeichnung stehend betrachtet werden müssen.

Das wird von 10<sup>27b</sup>—34 bestätigt. Wie schon oben angedeutet, ist diese Aussage ursprünglich nicht gegen Assur gerichtet. Weder lag 'Libanon' v. 34 in Assyrien noch war er ein so zentraler und

bedeutungsvoller Teil des assyrischen Reiches, daß er sich zum Bild oder Symbol für dieses Reich besonders eignete. Dagegen wird ‚Libanon‘ mit deutlicher Anspielung auf das ‚Libanonwald(haus)‘ als Symbol für Jerusalem gebraucht; so in Jer. 22<sup>6ff.</sup>, wozu Jes. 22<sup>3</sup>, 32<sup>19</sup> zu vergleichen ist. Die Drohung war somit ursprünglich wider Jerusalem gerichtet. Sie ist aber zu einer Drohung wider Assur umgedeutet und v. 33 a in diesem Sinne eingeschoben worden; eben aus dem so umgedeuteten Stücke hat der Dichter von 10<sup>17-19</sup> das in dem Zusammenhange recht unpassende Bild des Waldes für den Assyrikerkönig. — Diese Umdeutung von 10<sup>27b-34</sup> hat nun aber eben die Stelle des Stückes mitten unter den antiassyrischen Aussagen bestimmt, wird somit schon dem Sammler vorgelegen haben oder von ihm vorgenommen worden sein. Die jesajanische ‚Echtheit‘ eines Stückes ist somit kein genügendes Kriterium zur Abgrenzung der ursprünglichen Sammlung, und jesajanische ‚Unechtheit‘ ist dementsprechend kein Kriterium für Nichtzugehörigkeit zur ursprünglichen C; diese hat vielmehr schon vom Anfang an auch nicht-jesajanische Stücke enthalten.

g) Wenn die obige Abgrenzung und chronologische Fixierung der Sammlung C in der Hauptsache richtig ist, so ergibt sich daraus mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß die nachexilischen und nachdeuterojesajanischen Stücke Kap. 34—35 nicht mit zu C gehört haben; sie sind als Nachträge zu dem schon redigierten Buche ABC aufzufassen. — Ob Kap. 33 mit zu C gehört hat, beruht auf der Datierung des Kapitels; m. A. n. kann es voralexilisch sein, ich will es aber nicht behaupten.

8. Wir kehren jetzt zu Kap. 13—23 zurück. Wir sahen, daß diese Kapitel in ihrer jetzigen Gestalt und als ‚jesajanische‘ Orakelsammlung gegen heidnische Völker keine selbständige Existenz gehabt haben können. Es fragt sich aber dann: wie ist es dazu gekommen, daß die Mittelpartie der Sammlung C (bzw. des Jesajabuches ABC), die Aussagen in Kap. 14, 17, 18, 20 und 22, zu einer eigenen Gruppe Heidenorakel umgebildet worden ist.

Zunächst ist zu bemerken, daß es später offenbar ein Bedürfnis war, Drohungen gegen alle einzelnen Völker der Heidenwelt in den Prophetenbüchern zu lesen. So hat das Jeremiabuch 1—45 einen Anhang von Heidenorakeln Kap. 46—51 erhalten (s. Mowinckel, Zur Komp. d. Buches Jeremia 1914; etwas anders Volz im Jeremia-kommentar), und die ursprünglichen Ezezielischen Drohungen wider die beiden Bundesgenossen des gottlosen Juda, Tyrus und Egypten, sind zu einer umfassenden Kollektion von Heidendrohungen Kap. 25 bis 32 geworden (s. Hölscher, Hesekiel. Der Dichter und das Buch). So hat auch ein Bearbeiter des Jesajabuches gemeint, so ein Ding müsse auch Jesaja gehabt haben; denn selbstverständlich hätte auch Jesaja die verfluchten Heiden bedroht und ihren Untergang geweissagt.

So hat man eine Reihe von Unheilsweissagungen gegen heidnische Völker dem Jesajabuche einverleibt. Ob diese Sammlung, die wir HO, die Heidenorakel, nennen können, zuerst für sich gesammelt worden war und die Heidenorakel eine Zeitlang selbständig existiert hatten oder ob sie erst zwecks Einfügung in das Jesajabuch gesammelt wurden, ist nicht sicher zu sagen und auch weniger von Belang; für die erstere Alternative spricht aber der Umstand, daß sie alle dieselbe Überschrift haben, die sie als *massāʾ* 'Orakel' bezeichnet; diese Überschrift ist auch auf diejenigen Stücke des Jesajabuches (der C) übergegangen, um die sie gruppiert wurden.

Der Grund dazu, daß diese *massāʾōt* eben in Kap. 13—23 ihren Platz erhielten, war offenbar der, daß schon das Jesajabuch ABC eben hier in 14<sup>24-27</sup>, 17, 18 und 22 Stücke enthielt, die man als Drohungen wider fremde Völker, somit als den Kern einer Sammlung von Heidenorakeln auffaßte, was z. T. auch richtig war: 14<sup>24-27</sup> richtet sich gegen Assur, 17<sup>1-11</sup> gegen Efraim und Damaskus, 17<sup>12-14</sup> gegen die Weltmacht im allgemeinen (gemeint ist wohl Assur), Kap. 18 und 20 gegen Äthiopien-Ägypten. Jesaja freilich hatte nicht Äthiopien und Ägypten und Damaskus deshalb bedroht, weil sie heidnisch waren, sondern weil sie die Bundesgenossen der gottlosen Reiche Israel und Juda waren und weil sie sich gegen die

von Gott eingesetzte Zuchtrute Assyrien auflehnten; neben ihnen hatte er auch Efraim und Juda nicht minder kräftig bedroht. Das konnte und wollte aber die spätere Zeit nicht mehr erkennen; schon die Drohungen wider Assur im Jesajabuche, die allerdings nicht jesajanisch sind, stehen dem Gedanken der üblichen Heidenorakel nahe; Assur wird eben als Feind Jerusalems und damit als Feind Gottes und als Leiter der gottfeindlichen Weltmacht mit dem Untergang bedroht, was eben ihren nichtjesajanischen Ursprung verrät. Um diesen Kern ist nun die Gruppe der antiheidnischen *massā'ot* gebildet worden. Neu hinzugekommen sind acht 'Orakel', die wohl eine ursprünglich selbständige *massā'*-Sammlung gebildet haben können: 'Orakel Babel' 13<sup>1</sup>—14<sup>23</sup> (ursprünglich zwei selbständige Gedichte); das Orakel gegen die Philister 14<sup>23</sup>—22, das aber möglicherweise zu dem ursprünglichen Bestand von C gehört hat und dann aus dem Todesjahr des Sargon (so! nicht des Aḥaz) stammt; 'Orakel Mo'ab' Kap. 15—16; 'Orakel Ägypten' Kap. 19; 'Orakel Wüste' 21<sup>1</sup>—10; 'Orakel Duma' 21<sup>11</sup>—12; 'Orakel „Auf der Steppe“' 21<sup>13</sup>—17; 'Orakel Tyrus' Kap. 23. Das erste von diesen hat der Redaktor R<sup>80</sup> vor die Drohung wider Assyrien 14<sup>24</sup>—27 gesetzt, indem diese das Babelorakel fortsetzen und abschließen sollte; für ihn waren das babylonische und das assyrische Reich Erscheinungen und Vertretungen einer und derselben heidnischen Weltmacht, die zu seiner eigenen Zeit von dem persischen Reich vertreten war. Die beiden Aussagen des Jesajabuches in Kap. 17 gegen Efraim-Damaskus 17<sup>1</sup>—11 und gegen die Völker 17<sup>12</sup>—14 hat der Redaktor als eine Einheit aufgefaßt und ihr die Überschrift 'Orakel Damaskus' gegeben. Das 'Orakel Ägypten' hat er zwischen die beiden Aussagen des Jesajabuches über Äthiopien-Ägypten Kap. 18 und Kap. 20 gestellt und hat vielleicht diese drei Kapitel als ein Ganzes aufgefaßt wissen wollen; jedenfalls vermißt man die *massā'*-Überschrift vor Kap. 18 und Kap. 20. Danach ließ er die drei kleinen Orakel in Kap. 21 folgen, weil es sich hier um die an Ägypten grenzenden Wüstengegenden und um Edom handelte. Dann hat er die beiden Stücke des Jesajabuches in Kap. 22, nämlich 22<sup>1</sup>—14

wider Jerusalem und 22<sup>15-25</sup> wider einen hohen Staatsbeamten, als eine Einheit gefaßt und dieser eine gemeinsame Überschrift „Orakel „Tal der Visionen““ nach dem Stichwort in v. 5 gegeben; höchstwahrscheinlich hat er das Ganze als eine Schilderung nicht des Unterganges Jerusalems, sondern der Vernichtung der in den letzten Tagen wider Jerusalem hervorstürmenden Heiden und der Ausrottung der fremden Machthaber daselbst verstanden. So entstanden zehn oder vielleicht zwölf Heidenorakel (zwölf, wenn Kap. 18 und Kap. 20 als selbständige Einheiten aufgefaßt würden).

9. Eine eigene Gruppe und sicher auch eine ursprünglich selbständige Sammlung bildeten die eschatologisch-apokalyptischen Kapitel 24—27, deren Thema das allgemeine Gericht über die heidnische Weltmacht und die bösen kosmischen Mächte, die Wiederherstellung Israels, die Sammlung der zerstreuten Juden und die Königsherrschaft Jahwäs auf Sion, dem künftigen politischen und geistigen Oberhaupte der Welt, ist. Insofern sagen diese Gedichte in mehr zusammenfassender Form dasselbe, wie der Redaktor der Heidenorakel Kap. 13—23 mit seinen Unheilsweissagungen über die einzelnen Völker hat sagen wollen. Wir können der Sammlung die Sigle  $L^e =$  „die eschatologischen Lieder“ geben. Über die Entstehungszeit wage ich z. Z. nichts Bestimmtes zu sagen; jedenfalls gehören die Gedichte einer recht späten nachexilischen Zeit an; ob sie eine bestimmte zeitgeschichtliche Veranlassung hatten, weiß ich auch nicht.

Die Sammlung scheint ursprünglich ohne Verfasseramen überliefert worden zu sein. Und da sie auch hier im Jesajabuche keine besondere Überschrift trägt, so ist sie wohl auch nicht von R<sup>10</sup> hier eingesetzt worden, sondern von einem Späteren. Der natürliche Platz war eben durch die Stellung der Heidenorakel gegeben; dem Grundgedanken dieser wollte der Interpolator einen zusammenfassenden Ausdruck geben.

So entstand in den Kap. 13—27 eine Gruppe von angeblich jesajanischen Weissagungen, die einen Ausdruck für die Zukunftserwartung des Judentums geben wollten, die Erwartung eines universellen, alle Heidenvölker treffenden Gerichts, die Wieder-

herstellung Israels, der Rückkehr der Diaspora und der Unterwerfung der überlebenden Heiden unter die Jahwäreigion und unter die Königsherrschaft Jahwäs und das politische Regiment Israels.

10. Kap. 36—39 = 2 Kg. 18<sup>13</sup>. 27—20<sup>19</sup> geben in Prosa einige legendarische Erzählungen über Jesaja und König Hizkija. 37<sup>25</sup> kann frühestens nach der Eroberung Ägyptens in 669 dem Assyrikerkönig in den Mund gelegt worden sein. Hizkija ist der fromme Idealkönig geworden, der er in der deuteronomistischen Überlieferung ist und in den echten Jesaja-Aussagen eben nicht ist (vgl. 1<sup>23</sup>, 30<sup>1</sup> ff. [*er* in v. 4 ist der König von Juda] 31<sup>1</sup> ff.); s. auch die unbedingt verwerfende Anspielung auf die Kulturreformen des Hizkija in 11<sup>10</sup> ff., vgl. 29<sup>13</sup> ff.; Jesaja ist der typische Vertreter der nationalistischen Kompromißreligion der Epigonen des Jüngerkreises geworden, und ihm sind Weissagungen in den Mund gelegt, die ebensowenig zu seinen wirklichen Worten stimmen wie die antiassyrischen Weissagungen sonst im Jesajabuche. In 37<sup>19</sup>. 26 werden ihm rein deuterjesajanische Gedanken und Ausdrücke in den Mund gelegt; vgl. zu v. 26 besonders Jes. 41<sup>21—23</sup>, 40<sup>28</sup>, 44<sup>7</sup>, 45<sup>24</sup>, 46<sup>2</sup>. 11. In 37<sup>32</sup> ist ‚der Rest‘ schon der technische Ausdruck für das aus der Katastrophe errettete Judentum in Jerusalem. Die Niederlage des Hizkija und die Loskaufung der Stadt von dem Assyrikerkönig in 701 ist zu einem strahlenden, wunderbaren Sieg über diesen umgedichtet worden. In Kap. 36 f. sind anerkanntermaßen zwei Varianten zusammengearbeitet worden. Das allmähliche Wachsen der Legende in Kap. 38 hat Kittel an den Textvarianten erwiesen (Kommentar zum Königsbuche). Kap. 39 setzt die babylonische Eroberung Jerusalems voraus, v. 7 nicht nur die Freilassung des Jojakim 2 Kg. 25<sup>27</sup> ff., sondern auch den Zustand zur Zeit des Zerubabel und des Nehemja, als judäische Prinzen (verschnittene) Pagen am Hofe des Großkönigs waren. Von Jesaja erzählen diese Legenden in 3. Person und können nach dem Obigen unmöglich auf ihn selber zurückgehen. Die jetzige Form der Legenden stammt frühestens aus persischer Zeit.



Ob diese einen Ausschnitt aus einer größeren Legendensammlung bilden, wissen wir nicht; mir ist wahrscheinlicher, daß wir hier noch vereinzelte Ergebnisse der anfangenden Legendenbildung vor uns haben.

Da 36<sub>1</sub> = 2 Kg. 18<sub>13</sub> ist, und da dieser Vers als Exzerpt der Quelle (E) von R<sup>at</sup> geschrieben ist (s. Hölscher, Das Buch der Könige, in der Gunkelfestschrift), so hat die Redaktion des Jesajabuches diese Erzählungen aus dem Königsbuche übernommen, von dem sie aber nach Hölscher auch keinen ursprünglichen Bestandteil bildeten. Später ist dann der Abschnitt mit dem Psalm 38<sub>9</sub>—20, der nicht in 2 Kg. steht, erweitert worden.

11. Die Entstehung des Jesajabuches werden wir uns somit folgendermaßen vorzustellen haben.

Zuerst hat Jesaja selber in 733 seine Worte aus den Tagen des drohenden syrisch-efraimitischen Angriffes auf Jerusalem 734/3 aufzeichnen lassen, A = 6<sub>1</sub>—8<sub>22</sub>. Dieses Buch ist, vielleicht als es noch selbständig existierte, vielleicht aber erst später, bearbeitet, glossiert und mit 8<sub>23</sub>—9<sub>6</sub> erweitert worden.

Einige Zeit nach 701 hat ein Jesajajünger R<sup>B</sup> die wichtigsten der Aussagen des Meisters aus der Zeit unmittelbar nach dem Abzuge des Assyrierheeres aufgezeichnet, am Schluß den Sinn des Meisters wohl leicht retuschierend, Sammlung B = 1<sub>1</sub>—31.

Zuletzt hat ein Jesajajünger, wohl nicht derselbe wie R<sup>B</sup>, sondern ein R<sup>C</sup>, in der späteren Assyrerzeit, etwa um 640 oder noch früher, sich vorgenommen, die noch nicht aufgezeichnete oder jedenfalls noch nicht gesammelt aufgezeichnete Hauptmasse der jesajanischen Aussagen in ein Buch C zu vereinigen. Diese lagen ihm schon damals z. T. in einer gewissen Umdeutung vor; wahrscheinlich hat er selber diese den geänderten Zeitumständen angemessene, ihm sicher ganz genuin dünkende Deutung durch Zusätze zum Ausdruck kommen lassen. Auch diese Sammlung ist später glossiert und erweitert worden, z. T. vielleicht schon als selbständiges Buch.

Dann fing die Zusammenarbeit an. Wahrscheinlich sind zunächst B und C zusammengestellt worden; B wurde einfach vor



C gestellt, vermutlich weil sie überwiegend drohender Art war und weil sie sich lediglich mit Jerusalem und Juda beschäftigte; so kamen die Drohungen und Strafreden nebeneinander zu stehen; den Schluß bildeten die Verheißungen in C. Etwas später ist A<sup>61</sup>—8<sup>22</sup> (9<sup>6</sup>) von dem eigentlichen Redaktor unseres Jesajabuches R<sup>jes</sup> in BC hineingeschoben und die oben dargelegten Umstellungen im Anfang von C (Kap. 5 und 9f.) vorgenommen worden. Wären A, B und C gleichzeitig zusammengearbeitet worden, so hätte man wohl A an die Spitze gestellt. Ihren jetzigen Platz bekam A wahrscheinlich, weil der erste, drohende Teil derselben sich an die Drohungen in Kap. 5 anschließen konnte, während der Schluß 9<sup>1-6</sup> dann neben den verheißenden Stücken in Kap. 9 und 10 zu stehen kam; auch 9<sup>7ff.</sup>, der hauptsächlich gegen den damaligen Feind Judas, Efraim = Israel, gerichtet zu sein schien, wurde im Lichte von Kap. 7f. als Verheißung an Juda gelesen.

Auch diese Zusammenarbeit von A, B und C kann vor 587 stattgefunden haben, braucht es aber durchaus nicht. Wahrscheinlicher kommt mir eine spätere Zeit vor. Dann kann es der eigentliche Redaktor des Jesajabuches R<sup>jes</sup> sein, der das redigierte Buch mit den beiden Heilsweissagungen Kap. 34 und Kap. 35 abgeschlossen hat; daß diese erst aus nachexilischer Zeit stammen, zeigt der Haß gegen Edom und die Auffassung dieses Volkes als Vertreters der gottfeindlichen Heidenwelt in Kap. 34 und die notorische Abhängigkeit von Deuterojesaja in Kap. 35. Vielleicht gehört auch Kap. 33 in diese Zeit. Jene drei Kapitel können aber auch zu je verschiedener Zeit hinzugefügt worden sein.

Unsicher ist auch, ob R<sup>jes</sup> oder ein späterer Ergänzender die Legenden Kap. 36—39 als Abschluß nachgetragen hat. Wenn es R<sup>jes</sup> selber ist, dann wird dieser nicht allzufrüh in der Perserzeit anzusetzen sein. Denn wie wir sahen, sind die Legenden aus dem Königsbuche übernommen. Dieses ist sicher einige Zeit nach der Entstehung des Deuteronomium redigiert worden; Dtn. ist aber, wie Hölscher nachgewiesen hat, erst um 500 entstanden (s. ZAW 1922). Die Jesajalegenden standen aber, wie ebenfalls Hölscher nach-

gewiesen hat (in der Gunkelfestschrift), nicht in dem ursprünglichen Königsbuch, sondern sind hier später nachgetragen worden, und zwar nicht nach der Hauptquelle E, der so viele Ergänzungen im Königsbuch entstammen, sondern anderswoher, aus unbekannter Quelle. So kommen wir schon für das ergänzte Königsbuch mindestens zu der Zeit um 400 herab, und noch jünger muß die Hinzufügung der Legenden zum Jesajabuche sein.

Noch später würde die Ausarbeitung der Mittelpartie zu der jetzigen Gruppe der Heiden-*mašša'ot* sein, wenn die Orakel auf Ägypten und Tyrus auf die Vorgänge der Alexanderzeit zu beziehen wären. Das ist aber sehr unsicher; ebenso möglich ist es, daß es sich um Vorgänge der Chaldäer- und der älteren Perserzeit handelt. Irgendwelche Sicherheit ist aber hier z. Z. nicht zu erlangen. Unter keinen Umständen braucht die *mašša'*-Sammlung jünger als die älteste Diadochenzeit zu sein.

Für die Entstehung und somit auch für die Einschaltung von Kap. 24—27 wage ich, wie gesagt, keine bestimmte Zeit zu nennen; nur das ist sicher, daß wir es hier mit der jüngsten ‚Quelle‘ des Jesajabuches zu tun haben. Daß wir hier eine z. T. auf Studium der alten Schriften beruhende, halb lyrisch-prophetische, halb gelehrte Eschatologie, die sich der Apokalyptik nähert, vor uns haben, braucht nicht zu beweisen, daß wir uns in der unmittelbaren Nähe des Danielbuches befänden; denn schon zur Zeit des Bān Sira' gehörte es zum Beruf der ‚Weisen‘, sich mit den Weissagungen zu beschäftigen (Sir 39<sub>1</sub>), d. h. die letzten Dinge aus der Schrift erforschen zu suchen; schon damals gab es eine halb gelehrte, halb ‚pneumatische‘ (vgl. Sir 39<sub>6</sub>) eschatologische Wissenschaft, die sich wohl auch in lyrisch-eschatologischen Dichtungen Ausschlag geben konnte. So ist es nicht unmöglich, daß Kap. 24—27 aus den Ereignissen der Alexanderzeit (Fall von Tyrus?) oder der Diadochenzeit hervorgegangen sein könnten.

Sicher ist aber, daß das Jesajabuch zur Zeit des Bān Sira' schon auch Kap. 40—66 umfaßte (Sir 48<sub>24</sub>). Dann werden wohl auch Kap. 24—27 dazu gehört haben; denn damals waren ‚die

Propheten' schon (heilige) ,Schrift', der Weise ist schon ,Schriftgelehrter', γραμματεὺς — so wird in G dem Sinne nach richtig das *sōfer* des Grundtextes in Sir 38<sup>34</sup> übersetzt; größere Zusätze zu den Prophetenbüchern nach der Zeit des Bān Sira' erscheinen mir demnach undenkbar.

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Rudolf Strothmann, Die koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit [Beitr. zur historischen Theologie 8], J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1932. 167 Seiten 8°.

Eben weil dieses Buch auch dem Nicht-Fachmanne eine so große und offenbar durchaus objektive und zuverlässige, auf den originalen neueren koptischen Quellen fußende Belehrung und Bereicherung bietet, wage ich es, als Nicht-Kirchenhistoriker und Nicht-Koptologe auf dasselbe aufmerksam zu machen. Der Leser erhält ein sehr allseitiges, lebendiges, mit allerlei konkreten Zügen ausgestattetes Bild von der koptischen Kirche der Neuzeit, in dem ihm sowohl das Erbe der Vergangenheit, die Folgen der jahrhundertelangen islamischen Umklammerung und die Einflüsse der neuen Berührungen mit Europa deutlich und verständlich werden. Eben aus Rücksicht auf die vielen Nicht-Fachgenossen im strengen Sinne, die von dem Werke Nutzen und Freude haben können, wäre zu wünschen, daß die einleitenden Abschnitte nicht ganz so knapp gestaltet worden wären; wem die alte Kirchengeschichte nicht deutlich gegenwärtig ist, müßte häufig seine Kenntnisse an der Hand der dogmengeschichtlichen Stichwörter wieder auffrischen. — Eben für die ökumenische Bewegung der Kirche sind Bücher wie Strothmanns sehr erwünscht. Obwohl ohne jede Romantisierung und Verschönerung geschrieben, hinterläßt es beim Leser eine tiefe Sympathie mit jener alten Ostkirche und bringt ihm das Einigende im Christentum stark zum Bewußtsein, trotz aller befremdenden Formen und einem nicht wegzuleugnenden Abstandsgefühl.

Sigmund Mowinckel.

# Die Mithra-Religion der Indoskythen und ihre Beziehung zum Saura- und Mithras-Kult.

Von

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1. Die Verehrung des Mithra als eines Sonnengottes und Erlösers der Welt ist bisher in Zentralasien noch nicht nachgewiesen worden. Man hat den in Kleinasien und im Abendland verehrten ‚unbesieghchen‘ Sonnengott von der zarathustrischen Religion der Perser abgeleitet, obgleich Mithra im ursprünglichen Awesta niemals als Sonnengott erscheint, sondern dort den nächtlichen Sternenhimmel personifiziert, was J. Hertel ‚Die Sonne und Mithra im Awesta‘ (1927) deutlich gezeigt hat. Erst seit dem 1. Jhdt v. Chr. ist dieser Gott als Sonnengott auf der Inschrift des Antiochos IV. von Kommagene (69—34) zu belegen; und in den ersten Jahrhunderten n. Chr. finden wir mittelpers. *Mīhr* auch in der Bedeutung von ‚Sonne, Sonnengott‘ in den manichäischen Fragmenten und in der mittelpersischen Literatur. Cumont (T. et Mon. I 231) möchte annehmen, daß Mithra durch die Verschmelzung dieses persischen Gottes mit dem babylonischen Sonnengott Šamaš zum Sonnengott geworden wäre, während nach Layarde, *Recherches sur le Culte de Mithra*, dieser iranische Gott mit Gott Ašur identifiziert worden wäre. Wäre dieses der Fall, so hätte Mithra auch sonst noch erkennbare Einflüsse von der mächtigen assyrisch-babylonischen Religion aufzuweisen, was aber nicht der Fall ist. Übrigens hätte es doch nähergelegen, den zarathustrischen Sonnengott *Hvar* mit dem entsprechenden babylonischen zu identifizieren. Nun hat in urarischer Zeit Mitra auch den Sonnengott am frühen Morgen verkörpert. Sūrya (‚Sonne‘) wird im RV. I 115, 1; VI 51, 1; VII 63, 1; X 37, 1 als das Auge von Mitra, Varuṇa und Agni bezeichnet. ‚Zum Sehen für Mitra und Varuṇa nimmt Sūrya diese Form im Schoße des Himmels an‘ (I 115, 5). ‚Dieser (Sonnengott) erscheint am Abend

als Varuṇa und Agni, aber am Morgen, wenn er aufgeht, wird er zu Mitra; als Indra erleuchtet er von der Mitte des Himmels' (AV. XIII 3, 13). Mitra steht auch sonst mit dem Aufgang der Sonne in engster Beziehung (AV. VII 66, 4. 7. 12; IX 3, 18). 'Mitra und Varuṇa sind Tag und Nacht; Mitra ist der Tag, Varuṇa die Nacht' heißt es Pañc. Br. XXV 10, 10. Diese urarische Überlieferung von Mitra als Sonnengott könnte in einem iranischen Kriegerstamm lebendig geblieben sein und von ihm dieser seit dem 2. Jhdt v. Chr. schnell nach Westen sich ausbreitende Kult des unbesiegbaren Sonnengottes Mithra ausgegangen sein, dem sich besonders Krieger und Fürsten anschlossen. Nun finden wir die Verehrung Mithras als des allgewaltigen, unbesieghchen Sonnengottes und Erlösers gerade bei dem iranischen Stamme der kriegerischen Śakās (= Skythen), deren Heimat das nördliche Baluċistan gewesen sein mag. Ein Teil von ihnen hatte sich bereits in frühachämenidischer Zeit in Nordindien niedergelassen, denn auf den Felsreliefs des Darius I. tragen die Śakās indische Tracht und werden sie inschriftlich unter die indischen Völker eingereiht (Gandāra, Hinduš, Śakā, bzw. Hinduš, Gandāra, Śakā, vgl. Sarre-Herzfeld, Iran. Felsreliefs 18. 39. 54). Gegen Ende des 2. Jhdts v. Chr. drangen andere sakische Scharen teils in Indien, teils in die persische Satrapie Drangiana ein und machten sich dort dauernd seßhaft, weshalb Drangiana seitdem den Namen Sakastāna erhielt. Herodot VII 64 erwähnt, daß die Skythen von den Persern Saken genannt wurden. Die zunächst nach Nordindien eingedrungenen Saken (ai. Śakās) breiteten sich allmählich über das westliche Indien aus. Im 1. Jhdt n. Chr. finden wir dieses Volk z. B. in Mathurā, Panjāb, auf der Halbinsel Kāthiāwar.<sup>1</sup> Der Verfasser des Periplus (um 90 n. Chr.) nennt die Gegenden an der Mündung des Indus

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. V. A. Smith, JRAS. 1897, 898; derselbe, The Oxford History of India, 2. Ed., 1923, 151. H. Lüders, S. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1909, 412 ff.; Markwart, Eränzahr 1901, 36. Die Śakās werden in der indischen Literatur zum ersten Male im Vamśa-brāhmaṇa (ed. A. Weber, I. St. IV 371 ff.) erwähnt, wo unter den Lehrern des Śāmvēda der Name Śakadāsa, d. h. 'sakischer Sklave' vorkommt (vgl. A. Weber, I. St. I 378 f.).

„die Seeküste Skythiens“. Śaka-Satrapen haben vom letzten Viertel des 1. Jhdts n. Chr. bis zum Anfang des 5. Jhdts über ein großes Gebiet des westlichen Indien geherrscht.<sup>1</sup> Hier in Indien ist unter Einfluß der Religion der Śakās die Sekte der Saurās („Sonnenverehrer“) hervorgegangen, was im weiteren dargelegt wird.

2. Die Religion der in Indien eingedrungenen Śakās war durch den Kult des das All beherrschenden Mithra gekennzeichnet, obgleich sie, wie wir im weiteren darlegen, Zarathustrier gewesen waren. Nach dem Bhav. Pur. ist der Sonnenkult erst durch die sakischen Magās in Indien eingeführt worden. Sie, die allein als die offiziellen Priester des mit dem zarathustrischen Gürtel *Avyaṅga* (neben *Abyaṅga* = aw. *aiwyaṅhana*) versehenen Sonnengottes (Bh. P. I 132, 17) galten, haben sich als die Abkömmlinge des Mihira bezeichnet (Bh. P. I 139, 32 ff.). Mihira, der neben Mitra (I 70, 5; 72, 7; 129, 7) an verschiedenen Stellen des Bh. P. als der Name des Sonnengottes erwähnt wird (I 70, 3; 71, 1 f.; 78, 51; 143, 37 f. 40), ist die mittelliran. Form von altiran. *Miθra*. Einer von den sakisohen Magās, die sich im Distrikt Gayā niedergelassen hatten, hieß *Mihirāṃśu*, d. h. „Lichtstrahl des Mihira“. Der auf drei Brahmi-Inschriften aus Mathurā<sup>2</sup> vorkommende Sake *Vagamihira* (bzw. *Vakamihira*) = ir. *Bagamihira*<sup>4</sup> weist ebenfalls auf den ursprüng-

<sup>1</sup> Smith, JRAS. 1897, 900; derselbe, The Oxford History of India p. 151; Rapson, The Cambridge History of India I 563 ff. Ob die von Herod. IV 59 beschriebenen Skythen iranische Saken waren, erscheint fraglich (vgl. E. H. Minns, Skythians 1913, 85 f.). Falls der dort erwähnte Name für den Sonnengott *Otróευρος* (Hes. *Γοτρώευρος*) iranisch sein sollte, würde er auf \**Vāhita-sūra* „Herr der Erhellung“ zurückgehen (*vāhita* eigentlich Part. Pass. Kaus. von *vah* „hell werden“). Er wird auf einer griechischen Inschrift (C. I. Gr. III 6013) mit Mithra identifiziert (vgl. auch C. Clemen, Religionsgesch. I 299).

<sup>2</sup> Śāpnavijaya Vers 30, vgl. A. Weber, Monatsber. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1880, 36.

<sup>3</sup> In Mathurā saßen Śakās, vgl. Rapson, l. c. Daß in Mathurā zuerst eine Zeitlang auch der Sonnenkult vorherrschte, geht aus Bhav. P. I hervor, wo Nārada dem König Śamba rät, sich an Gauramukha, den Purohita des Mathurā-Königs, zu wenden, damit er ihm die zum Sonnenkult erforderlichen Magās besorge.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Lüders, S. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1913, 422. Eine ähnliche Bedeutung hat der in M. Bh. VIII 27. 3. 8. 11 vorkommende Personenname *Mitradeva*. In den uns

lichen Mihira-Kult der Saken hin. Wenn nun einige Purāṇa angeben, daß die Śakās Viṣṇu nur als eine Form des Sonnengottes ansehen (Bh. P. I 139, 64, Brahma P. 20, 72: *Viṣṇuḥ sūryarūpadharaḥ*) und dieser Sonnengott auch die Gestalt Brahmas hat (*Brahmarūpaḥ* Bh. P. I 153, 57), so steht dies in Einklang mit der Tatsache, daß in sakischen Texten<sup>1</sup> die Sonne (*Sūrya*) durch den Namen Ōhrmazd (sak. *Urmaysde*)<sup>2</sup> wiedergegeben wird. Daraus läßt sich erschließen, daß die als Zarathustrier nach Indien gelangten Saken, bevor sie sich später zum Buddhismus bekehrten, in dem höchsten Gott Ōhrmazd nur eine Form des Sonnengottes (*Mihira*) gesehen hatten. Auch der mittelpersische Personennamen *Mīhrōhrmazdā*, 'Mihr als Ōhrmazd habend' (Justi, Ir. N. 216, Montgomery, Aram. Incantation texts p. XXXIV) weist darauf hin, daß Mithra bei einem iranischen Stamme als Ōhrmazd verehrt wurde. Noch unter der Achämenidenherrschaft hatten die Saken die zarathustrische Religion angenommen, wobei sie Mithra mit Ahuramazda gleichstellten.<sup>3</sup> Wenn in einem assyrischen Texte aus der Zeit des Königs Assurbanipal (etwa 630 v. Chr.) als nichtassyrischer Name für den Sonnengott das Wort Mitra angegeben wird (Jensen, Hittiter p. 178), so rührt dieser Name wohl von dem iranischen Stamme der kriegerischen Saken her. Iranische Saken hatten lange vor 700 v. Chr. ihre Streifzüge

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überkommenen mittelsakischen Texten, die frühestens aus dem 8. Jhd. stammen, ist altir. *sr* stets zu *r* geworden. Daher stellt sak. *Mīh(i)ra* eine ältere Lautform dar. Gerade Götternamen haben sich zuweilen in einer älteren Sprachform im Kulte erhalten. Die auf Kaniska-Münzen sich findenden Schreibungen MIPO, MIYPO, MIOPO weisen ebenfalls auf die Form Mihira (Mihra) hin.

<sup>1</sup> Konow, *Saka studies*, sub voce.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. auch *Urmuz* 'Sonne' im Sanglici (H. Junker, Das Awesta-Alphabet, 106 A. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Einzelne junge, noch aus der Achämenidenzeit stammende Awesta-Stellen scheinen unter dem Einfluß der zarathustrischen Saken entstanden zu sein. So werden Mithra und Ahuramazda durch ein Kompositum zu einer Einheit zusammengefaßt, wobei Mithra teils nachgestellt ist (y. 2, 11; 6, 10; 17, 10; 1, 11; 3, 13; 4, 16; 7, 13; 22, 13), teils veransteht (yt. 10, 113. 145, Ny. 1, 7; 2, 12). Schwerlich richtig ist Hertels Hypothese (Die Sonne' p. 249), daß Mithra-Ahuramazda in Reaktion gegen die Verehrer des vedischen Mitṛā-Varunā geschaffen worden wäre.



bis nach Thrakien und Thessalien ausgedehnt, vermochten sich aber dort nicht seßhaft zu machen (vgl. Hommel, *Ethnologie* p. 30). Die Sonnengottheit Mithra, von der das gesamte Leben abhängt, die mit ihrem Aufgange der Heimtücke der nächtlichen Feinde ein Ende bereitet, war bei den Saken allmählich als Hauptgottheit verehrt worden. Dadurch, daß in der arischen Periode Mitra und Varuṇa Tag und Nacht regieren, gemeinsam die Welt schaffen und lenken, ist dem ersteren Gott, nachdem bei den Iraniern Varuṇa vollständig in den Hintergrund getreten und dann in Vergessenheit geraten war, das gesamte Herrschgebiet ungeteilt geblieben, so daß er der Hauptgott der Saken wurde, der nach der Bekehrung der Saken zur Mazda-Religion naturgemäß mit Ahuramazda identifiziert wurde. Von der zarathustrischen Kirche ist diese Auffassung schwerlich als Ketzerei betrachtet worden, da ja nach dem Awesta die Sonne als das Auge des Ahuramazda galt (y. 1, 11), also als ein Wesensteil von Ahuramazdas Gestalt. In Indien hat dann die sakische Religion unter dem Einfluß der dortigen monotheistisch gefärbten Sekten der Śivaiten, Viṣṇuiten und der indischen Philosophie spätestens im 1. Jhdt v. Chr. einen rein monotheistischen Charakter angenommen, wie wir im weiteren sehen werden.

Einen genauen Umriß der Mithra-Religion der Indoskythen gibt uns vor allem Bhav. P., das in seinem Urbestande zu den ältesten Purāṇa gehört.<sup>1</sup> Das in heutiger Gestalt vorliegende Bhav. P. besteht aus älteren und jüngeren Stücken. So finde ich gerade im 1. Buche (I 132), das die ältesten Bestandteile enthält, ein längeres Zitat aus Varāhamihiras Brh. Saph. eingeschoben. Daß dieses aber erst nachträglich hineingelangt ist, läßt sich dort leicht erweisen. In seiner jetzigen Gestalt kann das 1. Buch des Bhav. P. frühestens

<sup>1</sup> Es wird bereits in Āp. Dh. S. 2, 24, 6 erwähnt; vgl. Bühler, *Sacr. B. of the East* II P. 1 p. XXIX f. Ferner wird es zitiert in Kūrma P. Ms. Oxf. 8a, Vāyu P. Ms. Oxf. 59a, Viṣṇu P. III 6, Bhāg. P. XII 13; Märk. P. c. 137, Agni P., Varāha P., Matsya P. (vgl. H. H. Wilson, *Viṣṇu P. I* p. XXIV, ferner Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catal.* I 400).

auf das 6. Jhdt n. Chr. zurückgehen.<sup>1</sup> Zu den ältesten Abschnitten dieses Purāṇa gehört aber die im 1. Buche befindliche Darstellung des monotheistischen Sonnenkultes der Śakās und seine Verbreitung in Indien, die durch Inschriften und verschiedene andere historische Nachrichten bestätigt wird.

Die zunächst unter vorwiegend brahmanischen Einfluß gelangten Indoskythen hatten ihre iranische Mihira-Religion mit Bestandteilen der indischen Religion verquickt, so daß ihre ureigene Religion eine indische Färbung erhielt und nicht mehr in schroffem Gegensatze zur indischen Kulturwelt stand. Sie hörten auf, als Feinde in Indien zu gelten; und so haben Brahmanen noch in der Blütezeit der sakischen Herrschaft diese der indischen Eigenart angepaßte Religion der brahmanischen Theologie angegliedert, wovon das Bhav. P. zeugt. Hier tritt uns der Sonnengott der Indoskythen Mihira-Sūrya in monotheistischer Gestalt entgegen, der aber durch seinen um die Taille gewundenen zarathustrischen Gürtel als ursprünglich iranischer Gott gekennzeichnet ist. Auf indischem Boden trägt er natürlich auch die entsprechenden rein indischen Namen, wie Mitra (z. B. Bh. P. I 71, 1; 129, 8), Sūrya, Āditya, Ravi, Arka, Bhāskara.

Die Magās, als die erblichen Priester des Sonnengottes, sind hier in verwandtschaftliche Beziehung zu ihm gebracht worden. Sie, deren Religionssatzungen alle Saken befolgten (*sarveṣām eva varṇā-*

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<sup>1</sup> Vom Bhav. P. gibt es zwei Rezensionen: 1. die kürzere, jedoch ältere Rezension, die nur das 1. Parvan der gedruckten Ausgabe umfaßt und von der die Bodleiana zwei Handschriften besitzt; 2. die in der Bombayer Ausgabe vorliegende jüngere, sehr umfangreiche, aus vier Parvāṇi bestehende (*Brahma-, Mādhyama-, Pratisarga-, Uttaraparvan*). Nur das 1. Parvan stimmt im allgemeinen mit der zuerst erwähnten Rezension überein. Von dem sehr jungen Machwerk des 3. Parvan zeugen folgende Tatsachen: Darin wird Varāhamihira 'als ein sehr weiser, mit der Sonne vertrauter Mann' zitiert (III 22, 2). Ferner kommt darin ein Stück aus der Genesis des A. T. vor und werden der im Ausgang des 14. Jhdts lebenden Timur lāng (al. *Timūralāng*) nebst seinem Sohne erwähnt (vgl. Aufrecht, ZDMG. 57, 276 f.). Eine textkritische Edition des 1. Parvan von Bhav. P. wäre sehr wichtig.

*nām magadharmanīṣevanam* Bh. P. I 171, 2, vgl. 139, 77 f.), heißen ‚Sprößlinge des Sonnengottes‘ (*ādityajatyāḥ, bhāskaraputrakāḥ* Bh. P. I 139, 44. 67). Der Sage nach wird die Gattin des Sonnengottes, die Göttin Nikṣubhā, infolge eines Fluches eine Zeitlang in einen Menschen verwandelt, indem sie als Enkelin des Ṛṣi Mihira wiedergeboren wird. Der Sonnengott schwängert sie, die dann den *Jaraśabda*, den Stammvater der Magās, gebär (Bh. P. I 139, 32–44). *Jaraśabda* (*Jaraśavda*) ist offenbar eine Verdrehung des Namens des iranischen Propheten.<sup>1</sup> Gemäß einer anderen Version, die Bh. P. I 117, 7 ff. anführt, sind aus dem Körper des Sonnengottes acht gewaltige Magās (= *Bhojakās*) hervorgegangen, die die Stammväter der Magās wurden.<sup>2</sup> Die Zahl 8 ist im Sakischen von hoher Bedeutung: Acht Vorschriften hatten die Magās zu befolgen (Bh. P. I 171, 24 f.), acht göttliche Kräfte sollen die Śakās verehren (*śaktyaṣṭakam*) I 205, 5. Bei der Darbringung von Weihrauch wurde Mihira im Vereine von acht ihm untergeordneten Göttern angerufen (I 143, 37). Mit acht Krügen sollen die Magās das Sonnenbild waschen (I 135, 9). Der Himmel ist achthörnig (*aṣṭaśrṅga* I 202, 2 f.). Gerade im Iranischen spielt die Zahl 8 eine Rolle: Mithra hat acht Helfer (yt. 10, 45). Achtmal soll man das Ahunavairya rezitieren (Vd. 11, 8). Der Kopfputz der Göttin Anāhitā ist achtkantig (yt. 5, 128); es gibt acht ‚Vaśanaberge‘ und acht ‚Rennerberge‘ (yt. 19, 3); vgl. ferner *aṣṭābīfra* (Vd. 13, 45), *aṣṭa-aurvant* (yt. 9, 30).

3. Trotz der Umgestaltung, die der Mihira-Kult in Indien erfahren hat, kann er seine iranische Herkunft nicht verleugnen. In folgendem unterscheidet sich der Maga nicht vom zarathustrischen Magu: Um die Mitte des Körpers (*madhyabhāge*) trägt er den heiligen

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *Zarvastes* (Hieron. 2, 11; Müller, Fragm. III 626 f.), eine Form, die auf eine mittelliran. Aussprache *Zarkuašt* zurückgehen kann.

<sup>2</sup> Gemäß der zweiten Version ist also der Sonnengott zugleich die Mutter der Magās, er ist ein doppelgeschlechtlicher Gott. Auch der indische Gott Prajāpati ist ein Mannweib (Ś. Br. II 5, 1, 3; MS. I 6, 9; 101, 15 f., vgl. W. Caland, Pañc. Br. [Translation] zu XIII 11, 18). Daß bei den Primitiven die Gottheiten zweigeschlechtlich sind, hat Winthuis, Das Zweigeschlechterwesen 1923 (= Forsch. z. Völkerpsychologie u. Soziologie, Bd. V) dargelegt.

Gürtel *Aryaṅga*<sup>1</sup> (= aw. *aiwyāshana*) Bh. P. I 117, 54; 142, 3. Wer ohne diesen Gürtel geht, ist sündhaft und als Priester ungeeignet (Bh. P. I 146, 12 f., vgl. Vend. 18, 54). Der Maga, der ebenso wie der Mazda-Priester einen Bart tragen muß (Bh. P. I 140, 24), ist ständig dem Feuerkult ganz ergeben (*magas cāgniparo nityam* I 171, 10). Um nicht durch seinen Atem und durch die Nasenflüssigkeit einen Kultgegenstand zu verunreinigen, trägt er ein den Mund und die Nase verhüllendes Tuch, dessen Name aus dem Mazda-Kult stammt: *patitāṅga* (aus altir. *Patidāna*, mittellir. \**Patidānag*) I 143, 15. Ausdrücklich wird berichtet, daß der Maga im Sonnentempel (*devāgāra*) beim Weihrauchopfer Nase und Mund sorgfältig verhüllt (Bh. P. I 143, 15. 55: *śiro nāsā mukhaṃ caiva bhṛśam āvṛtya yatnataḥ*). Niemals berührt der Maga bei der Verehrung des Sonnenbildnisses mit der Hand dasselbe, da er es hierdurch verunreinigen würde (Bh. P. I 196, 11). Ähnlich ist es dem Mazda-Priester verboten, das Feuer mit der bloßen Hand anzurühren, weshalb er beim Gottesdienst Handschuhe trägt.

Ebenso wie die Zarathustrier haben die Magās bei den religiösen Zeremonien das Zweigbündel in der Hand (Bh. P. I, 140, 41), wofür der iranische Name *varśma* (= aw. *barəsman*) angegeben wird.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dieses Wort ist teils Masc., teils Neutr. Der *Aryaṅga* soll wenigstens 108 Finger lang sein. Über die Bedeutung der Zahl 108 vgl. Scheftelowitz in Ehrengabe f. W. Geiger, Leipzig 1931, 85 ff. Im Samyutta Nik. 4, 230 ff. trägt ein ganzer Abschnitt den Titel *aṭṭhasatapariyāyavagga*, wo *aṭṭhasata* zweifellos 108 bedeutet. Es gibt 108 Fährten des Bogehehrens (Aṅg. Nik. IV 199). Geheimrat L. Scherman macht mich auf die Einteilung des bekannten buddhistischen Fußabdrucks in 108 Felder aufmerksam, worüber H. Alabaster, *The wheel of the law*, London 1871, 245 ff., gehandelt hat. Prof. W. Caland schenkte mir vor seinem Tode die *Rudrakṣamālā*, die aus 108 auf einer Schnur aufgereihten Früchten des Garitrus-Baumes besteht und als Kette um den Hals getragen wird. Dadurch, daß man jede einzelne der 108 Früchte berührt, macht man die 108 Unheil bringenden Augen des Rudra unschädlich. Über das Vorkommen der 108 in China vgl. Hackmann, *Die heilige Zahl 108*, Nieuwe Theol. Tydschrift 1929, 105 ff.; C. Clemens, *Ostasiat. Ztschr.* 9, 11 f. Weitere Literatur, die ich Prof. Scherman verdanke, ist: *Münchener Jahrb. d. bildenden Kunst* 1916/17 p. 285 f.; Pander, *Ztschr. f. Ethnol.* 1889, 62; Karutz, *Globus* 89, 21 ff.; 45 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Th. Aufrecht, *Catal. Codic. Manusc. Sanscr. Bodleianae* 1859, Nr. 75 p. 31 f.

An fünf Zeiten des Tages beten sie die Sonne an (I 117, 45). Das sind die bekannten fünf Gebetszeiten der Zarathustrier, die sich vom Augenblick des Sonnenaufgangs bis zum Moment des Sonnenuntergangs erstrecken (Nirang. 46—51). Aber nur dreimal am Tage (bei Sonnenaufgang, am Mittag und in der Abenddämmerung) wurde dem Sonnengott eine Libation dargebracht (Bh. P. I 117, 44), und zwar der Rauschtrank *madya*, der dem zarathustrischen *Mada* (= *Haoma*) entspricht.<sup>1</sup> Ebenso wie der Zarathustrier beobachtete der Maga streng die Reinheitsvorschriften. Bevor er Mihira ein Opfer darbrachte, nahm er ein Bad (Bh. P. I 146, 12 f., Yt. 10, 122). Er durfte keine Frau während ihrer Menstruation und ebenso keinen Toten berühren, den Leichnam eines Hundes nicht auf die Erde werfen,<sup>2</sup> denn nach dem Zarathustra-Glauben übt der Leichnam eines Hundes die gleiche schwere Verunreinigung aus wie der eines Menschen. Da nun bei den Zarathustriern die Erde als heilig galt, durfte ein solcher Leichnam nicht in direkte Berührung mit der Erde gebracht werden, sondern mußte auf Asche oder eine Steinschicht gelegt werden (Vend. 8, 8, J. J. Modi, Funeral Ceremonies, 4. Ed. 1928, 5 f.). Hingegen pflegte der Hindu den Sterbenden gleich vom Bett auf den Erdboden zu legen.<sup>3</sup>

Dem Zarathustra-Gebot gemäß ist der Maga maßvoll, während des Mahles innere Ruhe und Schweigen während (Bh. P. I 140, 32; 141, 46).<sup>4</sup>

Dem Sonnengott zu Ehren führten sie mimische Tänze auf (*nṛtyam*, *nāṭyam* Bh. P. I 147, 23 f.), die auf einen alten iranischen Brauch zurückgehen können (vgl. Ktesias ap. Athen. X 45, Cumont, T. et M. II 10). Analog der Zarathustra-Lehre, die die Schonung des

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Aufrecht, a. a. O., Fol. 73. Kostbarer Weihrauch, Milch, Butter und Lichter wurden dem Surya dargebracht (Bh. P. I 139, 86; 147, 23 f.). Beim Gottesdienst bliesen die Magas mit Muscheln (*śaṅkha*), die sie stets bei sich trugen (I 139, 86; 147, 23 f.; 146, 17; 147, 12).

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Aufrecht, a. a. O., Bh. P., Fol. 120: *na cāpi kīṃcin mṛtakaṃ spṛśeta rajasvalāṃ naiva ca saṃspṛśet*, \**śvamyātam* (Ms: *śvamyāntam*) *urvyām tu parikṣipeta*.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. W. Caland, Altind. Toten- und Bestattungsgebräuche 1896, 8, *Vai-khānasmaṛtasūtra* V 1 (ed. Caland).

<sup>4</sup> *amohakenātha vimānabūṣṭi maunena caivāpi*.

Rindes in ihren Mittelpunkt stellt und sich selbst als *vidaēva fkaēša* ‚dämonenabwehrende Lehre‘ bezeichnet, gilt Sūrya-Mihira als der Eigentümer der Rinder (*gomat, gopati*), ‚dessen Schmuck die geoffenbarte Lehre über das Rind ist‘ (*gośrutibhūṣaṇaḥ* Bh. P. I 146, 20)<sup>1</sup> und dessen Gesetz ‚die Furcht vor allen Dämonen verscheucht‘ (*magadharmah sarvapāpabhayāpahaḥ* Bh. P. I 171, 2f.).

Bei den zarathustrischen Iranern hieß der auf den Neumond- und Vollmondstag folgende siebente Tag ‚der Tag des Schöpfers‘ (*daṇuśo*), d. h. Ahuramazdas.<sup>2</sup> Da nun im sakischen Kult Mihira als Hauptgott mit Ahuramazda identifiziert worden ist, ist dieser siebente Tag dementsprechend dem Mihira geweiht. Der indoskythische Sonnengott heißt daher ‚Freund des siebenten Tages‘ (*saptamipriya*). Der siebente Tag (*saptamī*, bzw. *saptamīvrataṃ*), der mit dem Vorabend begann, war bei den Indoskythen der heiligste Tag, der die Sünden tilgte (*mahāpunya saptamī pāpanāśinī* Bh. P. I 106, 4). Männer und Frauen, die am siebenten Tag Mihira verehren, werden in ihrer Familie keinen Blinden, Aussätzigen, Lahmen und Armen haben (Bh. P. I 208, 27), sie werden frei von allen Sünden dereinst in der Sonnenwelt (*sūryaloka*) geehrt werden (Bh. P. I 207, 16; 208, 26). Kein mit körperlichen Fehlern behafteter Maga darf das *Saptamīvrataṃ* halten (I 196, 38), was dem zarathustrischen Brauche entsprach (vgl. Scheftelowitz, Die altpers. Rel. p. 123). Doch ist die Art der Feier dieses siebenten Tages durch den Buddhismus sekundär beeinflusst. Während die Zarathustra-Religion das Fasten verbietet,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. y. 29, ferner Dēnk. IX c. 40, 20: ‚Die Fürsorge für das Rind bedeutet Verehrung Ahuramazdas‘ (*gōspandān pahrēc taragāsiḥ Ōhrmazd ast*), ferner Dēnk. IX 50, 2: ‚Die Fürsorge für die Kuh trägt zur Verbreitung der göttlichen Sache und zur Erlösung der Seele wesentlich bei.‘

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. W. Geiger, Ostiran. Kultur 319. Die iranische Schutzgottheit dieses siebenten Tages hieß *Viśaptataḥ*, d. h. ‚der in Siebentel Teilende‘.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Vend. 3, 33: ‚Keiner von den Fastenden ist geeignet zur tüchtigen Betätigung der frommen Werke, zur ersprießlichen Feldarbeit oder zur tüchtigen Kindererzeugung‘, vgl. ferner Saddar c. 38. In Barzū Kavām ud-Dīn Rivāyad (K. R. Cama, Memorial Volume 1900, 166) heißt es: ‚Wir dürfen nicht fasten und uns der Nahrung enthalten, denn das eintägige Fasten gilt in unserer Religion



ist dieser heilige Tag bei den Indoskythen ein Fasttag (*upavāsa*) geworden. An diesem Tage waren Fasten, Baden, Almosenverteilung, Libation vorgeschrieben (Bh. P. I 81, 4; 88, 3; 117, 57; 147, 14) und wurde das Sonnenbild mit Butter (*ghṛta*) und Milch (*payas*) gewaschen (Bh. P. I 99, 3 ff.; 135, 9. 16). „Am siebenten Tage soll der Maga allen Wesen gegenüber Liebe (*maitrī*) erweisen und die Tötung irgendeines Lebewesens unterlassen“ (I 196, 1). Die Feier des siebenten Tages (*saptamivrata*) zu Ehren des Sonnengottes, die auch das MBh. und Agni P. c. 182 kennen, hat bei der Sekte der Saurās, die später die Erbschaft des Mihira-Kultes angetreten hat, Eingang gefunden.

Die Indoskythen haben von den iranischen Gottheiten aus der Zeit vor ihrer Einwanderung in Indien nur wenige Namen bewahrt, da diese teils mit Mihira identifiziert wurden, teils indische Namen erhielten. Bei der Darbringung von Weihrauch für den Sonnengott pflegte der Maga ihn im Vereine mit seinen acht göttlichen Kräften anzurufen: *Mihira, Nikṣubha, Nikṣubhā, Rājñ, Daṇḍanāyaka, Piṅgala, Rājña, Srauṣa, Īsa Garutmat*. Die beiden Namen *Rājña* und *Srauṣa* stammen aus der Zarathustra-Religion. *Raśnu* und *Srauṣa* (mp. *Rašn, Srōš*) gehören zum Gefolge des Mithra, von denen der eine auf der linken, der andere auf der rechten Seite Mithras fährt (yt. 10, 100). Diese beiden Gottheiten, die im Bh. P. häufig durch ein Dvandva verbunden sind (*Rājñasrauṣau* I 77, 18; 124, 13; 130, 52), werden (in I 124, 34) als die beiden Torwächter des Sonnenhimmels (*sūrya-dvārapau*) bezeichnet; sie lassen die Seligen in die Sonnenwelt ein. *Daṇḍanāyaka*, der sich zur Linken des Sonnengottes aufhält, schreibt alle guten und schlechten Handlungen der einzelnen Geschöpfe auf.<sup>1</sup> *Piṅgala* hingegen, das Feuer (Agni) des Sonnengottes, hält sich zu

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nicht als verdienstlich, sondern wird im Gegenteil für eine Sünde gehalten<sup>2</sup>, weil das Fasten als eine Verminderung der Kraft gilt, die im Kampfe gegen die dämonischen Gewalten notwendig ist.

<sup>1</sup> Im Parsismus sind neben Mithra *Srauṣa* und *Raśnu* die Gottheiten, die gleich nach dem Tode die aufgezeichneten Taten des Verstorbenen berechnen und auf Grund der Berechnung der Seele des Verstorbenen den Zutritt zum Paradiese ebnen.



seiner Rechten auf (I 124, 17—20). Ein mitteliranischer Personennamen spielt auf dieses Feuer an: *Miθrāturbōz* ‚die Erlösung durch das Feuer des Mithra habend‘ (Justi, Ir. N. 208). Aus dem Feuer des Ahuramazda ist, nachdem Mithra mit Ahuramazda identifiziert worden war, das Feuer des Mithra geworden. Es ist hier das eschatologische Feuer gemeint, das dereinst alles Böse vernichten wird. Unter dem *Īsa Garutman* ‚geflügeltem Götterherrscher‘, der in I 77, 18 auch *Pakšin* heißt, ist hier wohl Ahuramazda zu verstehen, der ja nach zarathustrischer Vorstellung mittels einer geflügelten Sonnenscheibe am Himmel schwebt. *Nikšubhā* und *Rājñi* werden als die beiden Gattinnen des Sonnengottes bezeichnet, von denen die erstere ihm zur Rechten, die letztere ihm zur Linken im Wagen sitzt (I 55, 76 f.; 136, 40, 50; 154, 32). *Nikšubhā* gilt als der Genius der Erde (I 79, 9, 19; 154, 32), hingegen *Rājñi* als der Genius des Himmels (I 80, 18). Alle Geschöpfe sind von der *Nikšubhā* hervorgebracht (I 154, 33), sie ist die Hauptgattin des Gottes, weshalb nur sie allein im Vereine mit dem Sonnengott am siebenten oder sechsten Tage in Bildform zu verehren ist (I 166, 2 ff.; vgl. 165, 4, 8) und nur sie mit ihrem Gatten dabei zusammen genannt wird (*Nikšubhārkau* I 167, 10, 13, 17; 168, 24). Daher hat Mihira als Gatte der *Nikšubhā*, mit der er die Magās gezeugt hat, auch den Namen *Nikšubhā*.<sup>1</sup> Mit *Nikšubhā* kann nur die zarathustrische *Ārmaiti*, der Genius der Erde und die Gattin des Ahuramazda, gemeint sein. Da Ahuramazda mit Mithra identifiziert worden ist, mußte sie bei den Indoskythen die Gattin Mithras werden.<sup>2</sup> Hingegen entspricht *Rājñi* wohl der zarathustrischen Göttin *Aši*, die in den ältesten Teilen des Awesta noch zum Gefolge des *Sraoša* gehört (*Sraoša ašivant* y. 56, 3; 1, 7). *Aši*, die den verstorbenen Frommen den verheißenen Lohn im Himmel zuteilt, ist, nachdem Gott Mithra immer mehr in den Vordergrund gerückt war, mit Mithra vereinigt (yt. 10, 66; 8, 38; 17, 2; y. 13, 1), zu seiner Wagen-

<sup>1</sup> Wie *Indrāpi*: *Indra*. <sup>2</sup> In dem Namen *Nikšubhā* sehe ich zwei ursprünglich synonyme Wörter, nämlich das mittellir. *nēk* (= sak. *nēk*) ‚schön‘ und seine indische Entsprechung *śubhā* f. ‚schön‘. *Ārmaiti* heißt in Vd. 19, 13 *arvā* ‚die Schöne‘ = mp. *nēk*, wofür in den Sanskritübersetzungen *śubhā* steht.

lenkerin und Gefährtin geworden (yt. 10, 68). Deshalb hat derjenige, der die Aši verehrt, zugleich auch Mithra verehrt (yt. 17, 2).

Mihira wird durch seine Helfer Rājña (= aw. Rašnu), *Srauša*,<sup>1</sup> *Daṇḍanāyaka* und *Piṅgala* als Erlösergott charakterisiert, er ist mit allen Eigenschaften des seelengeleitenden Gottes versehen, weshalb er auch *Prāṇayāna* ‚Seelengeleiter‘, *Sanṣāratāraka* ‚Hinüberführer über den Kreislauf der Wiedergeburten‘ heißt (gemäß dem *Sūryasahasranāmast.*). Diese Charakteristik Mihiras als seelengeleitender Gott muß spätestens um 100 v. Chr. existiert haben, da wir sie bereits auf der berühmten Inschrift des Antiochus IV. von Kommagene (um 35 v. Chr.) bezeugt finden: Μιθρας-Ἑμῆς (Dittenberger, Or. Inscr. Nr. 383). Hier ist Mithra nicht nur mit der Sonne, sondern auch mit dem seelengeleitenden Gott Hermes zu einer Einheit verschmolzen. So ist es verständlich, daß auf einem Mithräum zu Stockstatt (Deutschland) der Sonnengott Mithras mit Mercurius (= gr. Hermes)<sup>2</sup> identisch ist.

4. Der indoskythische Mihira war bereits im 4. Jhdt v. Chr. zum Erlösergott geworden. Ein um 330 v. Chr. lebender Satrap von Kappadozien heißt *Μιθροβουζάνης* (Diod. 17, 21, 3, Arrian I 16, 3), d. h. ‚Mithra als Erlöser habend‘; ähnlich lauten zwei auf mittelpersischen Siegeln befindliche Namen, *Μιθρόβουζέτ* ‚Mithra erlöst‘ (Justi, Ir. N. 209) und *Μιθράτρουβουζέτ* ‚die Erlösung durch das Feuer des Mithra habend‘ (Justi 208). Den Sonnengott nannten die Indoskythen *Mokṣeša* ‚Erlösungsgott‘ (Bh. P. I 153, 63), *Mokṣa* ‚Erlösung‘ (Bh. P. I 121, 12; 153, 54) und *Bhojaka*.<sup>3</sup> Letzteres Wort, das ich für

<sup>1</sup> Ebenso, wie man den iranischen Namen *Srauša* vom indischen Standpunkte zu erklären suchte (*śru gatau ca smṛto dhātuv yasya sapratyayaḥ smṛtaḥ* I 124, 22), ist auch der iranische Name *Rašnu* sanskritisiert worden, indem er an die Wurzel *rāj* angelehnt worden ist; vgl. Bh. P. I 124, 22: *rāja dīptau smṛto dhātuv, nakāras tasya pratyayaḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Cumont, Texts et Mon. I 145; derselbe, Die Mysterien d. Mithra, 3. Aufl., 131, A. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Bh. P. I 167, 17: *bhojako 'rkaḥ prakṛtitaḥ*, I 173, 50: *tatsāryo bhojakaḥ so 'tra bhojakaḥ sūrya eva hi*; I 210, 33: *Ādityaṃ bhojakam vidyāt*. Daneben heißt der Sonnengott *mokṣābhi*, *mokṣadev* (Bh. P. I 127, 22; MBh. III 3, 27), *mokṣa-*

sakisch halte, ist mittellir. \**bōžak* ‚Heiland, Retter‘, arm. L.-W. *bužakan* ‚heilend, rettend‘, *bužak* ‚Heilung, Befreiung‘, mp. *bōžišn* dss. Den Namen Bhojaka ‚Erlöser‘ legten sich auch die Magās bei (Bh. P. I 196, 11; 210, 29. 34), weil sie, die ihr Sinnen und Streben auf die Erlösung richteten (*mokṣagāmināḥ* Bh. P. I 144, 4), den Laien den Heilsweg lehrten. Sie heißen noch im jungen Werk des Rajavallabha, *Khalavaktracapeṭikā* (vgl. Weber, Monatsber. Pr. Ak. W. 1880, 56): *mokṣavedināḥ*. Der Sonnengott, der ‚die Ursache der Aufhebung der Seelenwanderung‘ (Bh. P. I 145, 23) ist, erlöst die Seele des Gläubigen endgültig von den Banden der irdischen Materie und leitet sie zu ihrem göttlichen Ursprung, zur Sonnenwelt, wo sie, frei von allem Übel, die Seligkeit genießt (Bh. P. I 106, 6; 136, 76; 163, 9). In der Wohnstätte des Sonnengottes (*Sūryagrhe* Bh. P. I 196, 42) erlangt sie die Unsterblichkeit (*amaratā* I 207, 21).

5. Das Verhältnis des Sonnengottes zu den drei höchsten Gottheiten des Hinduismus wird in Bh. P. klar auseinandergesetzt. Sämtliche Gottheiten sind erst bei Beginn des jetzigen Kalpa von Sūrya erschaffen worden (I 153, 78), diesem Sonnengott vollständig untergeordnet und beten ihn verehrungsvoll an (I 153, 50 f.; 214, 37; 153, 71 ff.), ja sie haben nur durch ihn Bestand.<sup>1</sup> Brahman, der ‚der erstgeborene Sohn‘ (*prathamāḥ putraḥ*) des Sūrya ist, hat erst auf das Geheiß des Sonnengottes die gesamte Welt erschaffen (I 153, 39, 43 ff.). Von Brahman sind den Magās besondere heilige Schriften offenbart worden (*brahmaṇoktās tathā vedā magānām* I 140, 36; MBh. III 77 f.; 138, 18 f.). Viṣṇu bezeichnet sich selbst als zweiter Sohn des Sonnengottes (*putro ’haṃ tava deveṣu dvitīyāḥ*). Auf Viṣṇus Bitte macht ihn Sūrya zum Schutzherrn der gesamten Schöpfung (I 156, 10—24). Śiva, der sich für den leiblichen Lieblingssohn des Sonnengottes hält (*tavāṅgasambhavaḥ putro ’haṃ vallabhas tava*), erhält von Sūrya die Ermächtigung, daß er die Götter, Halbgötter und Dämonen am Yuga-Ende besiegen und die Geschöpfe vernichten dürfe (I 153,

*dvāraprada* (Bh. P. I 153, 67). Eine unsinnige Etymologie von *bhojaka* gibt Bh. P. I 117, 54: *bhojayanti ca māṃ (= Sūryam) nityaṃ tena te (= Magāḥ) bhojakāḥ smṛtāḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> Bh. P. I 172, 8: *Pitaraḥ sarvadevānām sūrya āśritya saṃsthātāḥ*.

60—65). Einerseits wird hervorgehoben, daß alle Götter identisch mit dem Sonnengott sind (I 71, 1 ff.), andererseits werden sie als die Kinder des einzigen Sonnengottes gedacht. Hier sind eine ältere und eine jüngere Auffassung von Gott Mihira nebeneinander bestehen geblieben. Gemäß der älteren Anschauung hat der allmächtige Sonnengott sämtliche göttliche Wesen erschaffen als seine dienenden Engel. Gemäß der jüngeren Lehre sind alle Gottheiten nur Teilerscheinungen des einen Sonnengottes. Außer dem Sonnengott und seiner Gemahlin Nikṣubhā verehrten die Magās keine Götter,<sup>1</sup> sie waren also Monotheisten. Der Sonnengott gilt als der ‚Eine‘ (*eka* Bh. P. I 70, 8; 71, 1 ff.),<sup>2</sup> ‚zweitlose‘ (*advitiya*).<sup>3</sup> Die anderen Götter sind nur mannigfache Scheingestalten (*anekamāya*), sind verschiedene Namen dieses einen Gottes. Bh. P. I 128, 1 ff. berichtet, daß der vom Ausatz befallene König Sām̐ba im Mitra-Haine (I 127, 6) den Sonnengott Mitra (I 129, 7) unter 1000 verschiedenen Namen anrief (*astāvica tataḥ sām̐baḥ ... nāmasahasreṇa sahasrāṇṣaṃ divākaram*), worauf der Sonnengott, von der Rezitation der 1000 Namen befriedigt (*alam nāmasahasreṇa*), ihn erhörte. Diese 1000 Namen sind zwar nicht im Bh. P. aufgezählt, sondern für sich überliefert worden und bilden das Sūryasahasranāmastotram, von dem ich neben der in Bombay erschienenen Edition<sup>4</sup> die zwei im British Museum und in der India Office befindlichen Handschriften durchgearbeitet habe. Die Zahl 1000 kommt dadurch zustande, daß etwa 75 Namen doppelt gezählt sind, 11 Namen dreimal vorkommen und der Name *priya* sogar viermal

<sup>1</sup> Bh. P. I 117, 50: *Nānyadevapratisthā tu kūrū vai bhōjakena tu*; vgl. auch I 196, 9 f. *nānyam devam nivedayet*.

<sup>2</sup> Henotheismus scheint in AV. XIII 4 vorzuliegen, wo Sūrya als der allein existierende (*ekavyt*) Gott bezeichnet wird (XIII 4, 15. 20), in dem alle Götter zu einer Einheit verschmolzen sind (XIII 4, 20: *sarve asmin devā ekavṛto bhavanti*). Er ist dort der Schöpfer (*dhātār*), Erhalter (*vidhātār*), Himmel (*naḥas*), Mahādeva, Agni, Yama (XIII 4, 3—5). Oder soll hier sich bereits indoskythischer Einfluß zeigen?

<sup>3</sup> Die den Sonnengott charakterisierenden Sanskritworte, die ich ohne Stellenangabe bringe, stammen aus dem Sūryasahasranāmastotram.

<sup>4</sup> Nirṇaya-Sāgara-Press, Bombay, Śaka 1842.

aufgezählt wird. Die Handschriften und die Edition von diesen uns überlieferten 1000 Namen weichen insofern ein wenig ab, als zuweilen zwei ursprüngliche Namen zu einem Kompositum vereinigt worden sind und dann zur Ausfüllung der Zahl 1000 einige neue hinzugefügt worden sind. Auf solche Weise hat das etwa zu gleicher Zeit mit dem ältesten Teile des Bh. P. verfaßte *Sūryasahasranāmastotra*<sup>1</sup> im Laufe der Jahrhunderte einige Erweiterungen erfahren. Dieses Stotra, das in der Liturgie der Saurās eine große Rolle spielt, muß schon deshalb sakische Elemente enthalten, weil ja die alten Priestergeschlechter der Śākās den Dienst des Saura-Kultes verrichteten.

Die darin sich äußernde rein monotheistische Tendenz und die hier sich findende Verschmelzung der Sāṃkhya-Lehre mit dem theistischen Yoga gehören zum Urbestande dieses Stotra. Dieses beweist die von der sakischen Sonnenreligion beeinflusste Beschreibung des Sūrya im MBh. III 3 als das einzige unendliche Prinzip und als der Ausfluß aller philosophischen Systeme. Mit 108 Gottheiten wird dort der Sonnengott identifiziert (ebenso in Br. P. 33, 34—36).

Sūrya ist nach dem *Sūryasahasranāmastotra*, wo er auch den alten Namen Mihira trägt, durch den heiligen iranischen Gürtel charakterisiert (*avyaṅgaḍharin*). In Bh. P. I 117, 44 heißt er *Abhyaṅga-dhāraṇa*. Echt iranisch ist es, wenn er, der ähnlich dem Ahuramazda, der Weise<sup>2</sup> heißt (*pramedhas*, *medhāvin*, *viśvavid*, *kratu*, *jñānavant*, *budha*, *vidvant*, *sarvajña*, *kratupati*, *pracetas*)<sup>2</sup> als Herrscher über die Rosse (*aśveśa*), als Freund der Rosse (*haripriya*) gepriesen wird, der wie ein Roß dahineilt (*aśvaparakrama*). Gerade bei den Śākās nahm das Roß eine besonders bevorzugte Stelle ein, weshalb

<sup>1</sup> Die Namen, die allen Rezensionen gemeinsam sind, sind als die ursprünglichen anzusehen. Daß dieses Stotra in engstem Zusammenhang mit Bh. P. steht, beweist dessen Schlußsatz: *Iti śrībhagīyottarapurāṇe sumantuśatānikasamvāde sūryasahasranāmastotraṃ sampūrṇam*. Die darin erwähnte Unterhaltung zwischen Sumantu und Śatānika bildet Bh. P. I 16 bis etwa gegen Ende des 1. Parvan. Dieses Stotra zeigt uns deutlich, wie die indische Saura-Sekte die Erbschaft des ursprünglich sakischen Mihira-Kultes übernommen hat.

<sup>2</sup> Ahuramazda, d. h. 'der weise Herr' heißt auch *Xratu viśvapatvāh* (Vispr. 19, 1), *Xratumant*, *cīstivant* (yt. 1, 7).

in der sakischen Bearbeitung des Maitreya Samiti unter den sieben Juwelen des Weltherrschers auch das Roß aufgezählt wird (E. Leumann, Maitreya Sam. p. 111. 115).<sup>1</sup> Weil der sakische Mihira-Kult von Nordindien her sich über Indien hin verbreitete<sup>2</sup> und Mihira nach sakischer Art bekleidet war, trägt er gemäß diesem Stotra das Gewand der nördlichen Bewohner (*udicyaveṣa*).

Als Gott der kriegerischen Śākās hat der Sonnengott alle Attribute eines Kriegsgottes. Mithra erscheint wegen seines ungestümen Wesens als Kriegsgott im Awesta als Eber (yt. 10, 70). In zwei mittelpersischen Personennamen spiegelt sich diese Gestalt Mithras wider: *Varāzmihr* (5. Jhdt n. Chr. ‚ein Eber wie Mithra‘) und *Miṣrvarāz* ‚der Eber des Mithra‘ (Justi, Ir. N. p. 350. 217). Dementsprechend heißt Mihira in unserem Stotra ‚der große Eber‘ (*mahā-varāha*), und so weist der um 500 n. Chr. belegte Personennamen *Varāhamihira* (‚ein Eber wie Mihira‘) auf den Mihira-Kult in Indien hin.<sup>3</sup> Als Kriegsgott ist Mihira zugleich auch der Siegesgott, er heißt ‚der Unbesiegte‘ (*ajita*), ‚Unbesiegbare‘ (*ajeya*), ‚unüberwindliche Herr des Sieges‘ (*aparājita jayeśvara*), der Schlachtensieger (*samitiṃjaya*), der Sieg (*jaya, vijaya*), der Abwehler, Quäler und Vernichter der Feinde (*sarvaśatrūnīvaraṇa, paramtapa, arimardana*). ‚Der barmherzige Sonnengott führt den Kampf gegen die Dämonen‘ (Bh. P. I 124, 14). Daher wird er auch mit Indra identifiziert. Schon durch seine Kleidung ist er als Kriegsgott erkenntlich; er trägt eine Rüstung (*kavacin, kaṇṇukin, āmuktakavaca*) und ist mit allen Kriegswaffen versehen (*sarvapraharaṇāyudha, vajradhara, śuladrś*).<sup>4</sup> Er, der zu-

<sup>1</sup> Auf den Münzen persischer Satrapen vor der Zeit Alexanders d. Gr. erscheint zuweilen das Roß (vgl. R. Reitzenstein, Iran. Erlösungsmysterium p. 194 A. 2). Im Sasanidenrelief von Naqš-e Rostām ist Ohrmazd als Reiter dargestellt.

<sup>2</sup> Ausdrücklich erwähnt ja MBh. V 160, 102, daß die Śākās im Norden wohnten.

<sup>3</sup> Die römischen Adepten des Mithra-Kultes verglichen den Siegesgott mit einem Eber (Cumont, Texts et Mon. I 143).

<sup>4</sup> Im Awesta ist Mithra mit silbernem Panzerhemd (*frašna*), goldenem Brustschild (vgl. WZKM. XXXIV 221), mit Keule, Bogen, Speer und Schwert versehen (yt. 10, 113. 123 ff.).



gleich mit dem iranischen Siegesgott (*Vərəθraϋna*) identisch ist, ist ein Freund der Fürsten (*rājñām priya*). So ist es verständlich, daß gerade Fürsten und Krieger ihm huldigten.

Die Ausgestaltung des Monotheismus im Mihira-Kult geschah unter indischem Einflusse. Mihira = Sūrya, der in seiner Gestalt sämtliche Götter vereinigt, ist der Ungeborene (*ayoniya*), einzige, anfang- und endlose (*ekanātha, eka, ekākin, advitiya, anādyanta*), der vergangene und zukünftige Weltenherr (*bhūtabhavya, jagannātha*), allgegenwärtig, diesseits und jenseits (*parāvara*), der von den Göttern Verehrte (*surapūjita*), allerhöchste (*uttamottama, anuttara*) Schöpfer (*dhātar, sraṣṭar*), Erhalter (*dhāraṇa*), der Lebendige (*jīva*), nicht Schlummernde (*vinidra*), alles genau Prüfende (*vimarśin*), der das All in sich Fassende (*viśva, sarva, sarvasva*), Spender des Reichthums (*vasudhātar, vasuprada, Kūbera*), der Vernichter der Dämonen (*asurāntaka, rakṣohan*). Er personifiziert sämtliche Ādityās (wie Varuṇa, Bhaga, Dakṣa, Aryaman), ist die Dreieinigkeit (*traya, triṣu-saṁsthita, tryakṣara*) Brahma-Viṣṇu-Śiva und auch die Viereinigkeit.<sup>1</sup> Als Zeitgott (*Kāla* Bh. P. I 123, 14) ist er mit einer Schlange (*ahimant*) versehen und stellt er die Schlange dar (*ahī*).<sup>2</sup> Er erscheint ferner als Regengott (*Parjanya*), Herr über die Planeten (*grahapati, graharāja, graheśa*), als das Schicksal (*vidhi*), als der Himmel (*svarga*), als der die Erde tragende und erschütternde *Śeṣa*, als der Ozean (*samudra*), der Wind (*vāyu*), das Feuer (*agni*), der heilige Feigenbaum (*āvattha*),<sup>3</sup> die Personifikation des *Soma*, der Pflanze, die den heiligen Trank liefert, als der Eigentümer der Unsterblichkeitsspeise (*amṛtāhāra*).

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Scheftelowitz, Arch. f. R. W. 23, 238.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Scheftelowitz, Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit 1920, 18. Nach Bh. P. I 154, 15—19 heißt er deshalb *caturmūrti*, weil er vier Gestalten hat, nämlich aus *Rajas, Sattva, Tamas* und viertens eine von den Guṇās freie Gestalt.

<sup>3</sup> Aus dessen Holz wurden die zur Erzeugung des Opferfeuers verwendeten Reibhölzer hergestellt. Auf den Mithra-Denkmalern ist häufig ein Feigenbaum zu sehen, dessen Zweige bis zum Gipfel des Felsens = Himmels reichen, woher Mithra entsprungen ist (Cumont, Texts et Mon. I 1, 63). Der Feigenbaum gilt in Indien unter allen Bäumen als der hervorragendste (Bh. G. 10, 26, vgl. auch Kāṭh. Up. VI 1).



Als rein monotheistisch geprägter Gott ist er der Urheber und die Ursache alles Geschehens und Werdens, der Urgrund und die Vereinigung aller in der Welt bestehenden Gegensätze. So ist er das Leben (*prāṇa*, *āyus*) und der Tod (*antaka*, *mṛtyu*), der Beleber (*saṃjivana*) und der Dahinraffer (*saṃhartar*, *hārin*), die Zeit (*kāla*) und der Vernichter der Zeit (*kālanāśana*), die Schöpfung (*sarga*, *srṣṭi*) und der Schöpfer (*srṣṭikara*), die Welt, Weltperiode (*jagat*, *kalpa*), aber auch deren Herr (*jagatpati*, *lokanātha*, *lokeśa*, *kalpakṛt*) und zugleich ihr einstiger Vernichter (*jagatām antakaraṇa*, *kalpāntakaraṇa*)<sup>1</sup> und der die Sonne und den Mond zu verschlingen suchende Rāhu (*svarbhānu*).<sup>2</sup> Er ist der Hort der Gluten (*tapasāṇi nidhi*), aber auch die Kälte (*śīśira*). Rein geistig ist er (*akīncana*), zugleich aber auch die Urmaterie (*prakṛti*) samt den drei Guṇās (*sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*), er ist die Entwicklung (*vikṛti*) und zugleich unveränderlich (*avyaya*) gleichbleibend (*sama*, *dhrūva*, *sthāvira*), die beharrliche Ruhe (*kṣeman*, *sthiti*) und auch die Ruhelosigkeit (*akṣeman*). Von ihm kommt Freude und Leid (*sukhada*, *asukhada*), er ist sowohl die Begierde (*kāma*) als auch der Vernichter der Begierde (*kāmahan*, *kāmāri*), die Tat (*kāryam*) ist er und auch der Täter (*kartar*). Er personifiziert ferner das Opfer (*yajña*, *homa*), die heiligen Worte in der Opferlitanei (*om*, *vaśat*, *svāha*), den Opferherrs (*yajñapati*) und Genießer des Opfers (*bhoktar*).<sup>3</sup> Er verkörpert das Recht (*dharma*) und ist der Verursacher von Recht und Unrecht (*dharmādharmapravartana*), er ist reich (*vasumat*) und zugleich arm (*varāka*); er umspannt das Diesseits (*avara*) und das Jenseits (*pāra*).

Als das wahre Wesen (*tattva*) ist er hingegen frei von den Guṇās (*nirguṇa*), immateriell (*akīncana*, *anaṅga*, *atindriya*), nicht

<sup>1</sup> Die Vernichtung geschieht durch das Feuer der Sonne (MBh. III 3, 57).

<sup>2</sup> *Svarbhānu* als Name für Rāhu kommt bereits Pañc. Br. (IV 5, 2; 6, 13; VI 6, 8; XIV 11, 14; XXIII 16, 2) vor. In Bh. P. I 153, 64 heißt der Sonnengott auch *Graharūpa*.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Bh. G. IV 24: „Das Brahman ist das Opfer, das Brahman ist die Libation, das Brahman ist im Opferfeuer, vom Brahman wird geopfert.“ Nach Bh. G. VI 86 soll man in Kṛṣṇa alles erblicken und in allem den Kṛṣṇa, der „der Genießer und Herr aller Opfer“ ist (IX 24).

wahrnehmbar (*acintyātman*), undefinierbar (*anirdeśya*), unermesslich (*ameyātman*, *apameya*, *anuprameya*), unvergänglich (*akṣara*, *nitya*), der große Ātman, das höchste Brahman (*mahātman*, *parabrahman*), der höchste Puruṣa (*puruṣottama*). Er weilt als Allseele (*viśvātman*, *sarvātman*) auch im Inneren der Wesen (*bhūtāntaḥkaraṇa*) und personifiziert den individuellen Ātman (*bhūtātman*). Denn von ihm hat die Einzelseele ihre Lichtnatur. Er stellt den geläuterten, gezügelten Ātman (*kṛtātman*, *niyatātman*), ferner die Konzentration des Geistes (*saṃyama*), den großen Yogin (*mahāyogin*) dar. In ewig unbewegter Ruhe (*acyuta*, *sthiti*, *sthirātmaka*) hält er das Gelübde des Schweigens (*maunin*) und ist dem Yoga ganz ergeben (*yogatatpara*, *yoga-nitya*, *yogin*). Er ist die Zuflucht aller Sāṃkhya-Anhänger und das Endziel der Yogins, er ist das von Schranken freie Erlösungstor (MBh. III 3, 37).<sup>1</sup> Sūrya = Mihira ist also der Urgrund der materiellen Welt und seiner Geschöpfe, der Urquell alles Seelischen und Geistigen, der Urheber alles Guten und Bösen, er ist einerseits der gesamten Schöpfung immanent, andererseits ist er als rein geistiges Wesen über Raum und Zeit erhaben.<sup>2</sup>

Sūrya = Mihira fordert von seinen Anhängern gläubige Gottesliebe (*bhakti* Bh. P. I 112, 1; 116, 87; 117, 82). So heißt es Bh. P. I 153, 70 f., 81): „Nur diejenigen erlangen den höchsten Himmel, die sich mit Bhakti an Sūrya, den höchsten Götterherrn, wenden“; denn er ist der Freund aller (*viśvāmitra*), ein geliebter Verwandter (*kanta*, *bandhu*), Vater und Mutter (*pitā*, *mātā*). „Es gibt keine dem Sonnengott ähnliche Mutter“ (Bh. P. I 207, 5: *nāsti sūryasamā mātā*). Also alle seine Anhänger sind gleichsam Kinder des Sonnengottes. Als Heilsbringer (*śreyāskara*)<sup>3</sup> ist er zu verschiedenen Zeiten den Menschen in menschlicher Gestalt erschienen, so als der Ṛṣi Vyāsa,

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. auch Bh. P. I 127, 22: *dhyānināṃ tvam paraṃ dhyānam, mokṣadevāraṃ ca mokṣipām*.

<sup>2</sup> Gedanken der Bhag. G. berühren sich hier. So sagt dort Kṛṣṇa (IV 13): „Wisse, daß, obgleich ich der Täter aller Handlungen bin, ich unveränderlich nicht handle.“

<sup>3</sup> Es entspricht dem zarathustrischen Begriff *Saošyant*.

um ihnen die Veden zu offenbaren, als der große Philosoph Kapila (MBh. III 3, 24), als der die gläubige Gottesliebe verkündende Kṛṣṇa und sogar als Buddha; da Mihira als Erlösergott identisch mit den dereinst noch kommenden Heilanden ist, ist er auch der barmherzige Maitreya (*Maitreya karuṇāvita*). Er vernichtet die den Menschen schädigenden dämonischen Mächte (*asurāntaka*, *rakṣohan*) und ist der Besitzer der Unsterblichkeitsspeise (*amṛtāhāra*).

Der Mihira-Kult hat also auch buddhistische Bestandteile in sich aufgenommen. Buddha ist als Inkarnation des Sonnengottes hingestellt worden. Letzterer trägt sogar die Namen verschiedener anderer Buddhas, wie Dharmaketu (vgl. Lal. Vist. 5, 172. 277) und Tāpin. In seiner Eigenschaft als Buddha ist der Sonnengott, der beste der Ärzte' (*bhīṣagvara*, *mahāvaidya*), der Lehrer der Welt (*lokaguru*), zornlos (*akrodhana*), nichttötend (*ahimsaka*), mitleidig (*dayālu*) und sehr barmherzig (*mahākāruṇika* Bh. P. I 122, 5; 123, 44; *kāruṇika* I 124, 14).<sup>1</sup> Auch das Ritual der sakischen Religion in Indien weist starke buddhistische Einflüsse auf, die wir im weiteren darlegen werden.

Ein solcher Synkretismus steht im Widerspruch zu der brahmanischen Weltanschauung, da nach ihr Buddha ein Gottesleugner (*nāstika* Rām. II 109, 34), ein böser Dämon ist, der die Dämonen (*Daityās*) lehrte, die Veden zu verwerfen und die Tieropfer abzuschaffen (Viṣṇu P. III c. 18).

6. Es läßt sich feststellen, daß die monotheistische Mihira-Religion später besonders von dem monotheistischen Śiva-Kult beeinflusst worden ist. So berichtet die Inschrift von Govindpur (im Distrikt von Gaya),<sup>2</sup> daß der Maga Manoratha, dessen Inneres durch die sehr erhabenen Texte der Śiva-Lehre geläutert war' (*Śaivāgamamahita-mahāmantrapūtāntarasya*), im Anfang des 12. Jhdts eine Pilgerfahrt

<sup>1</sup> Als Beiname Buddhas vgl. Lal. Vist. 217, 4 und häufig in der Pāli-Literatur.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Kielhorn, Ep. Ind. II 330 ff. Von der Niederlassung von 14 Maga-Familien in Gaya berichtet das *Sāmvarijaya*. Unter ihnen finden sich die Namen Mihirāśu (Lichtstrahl des Mihira habend), Sūryadatta, Arkadatta (vgl. Weber, Monatsber. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1880, 36).

zum Tempel des Sonnengottes (*Jagannātha*)<sup>1</sup> nach Puri in Orissa unternommen hatte. Also dieser Maga hat es als ein verdienstliches Werk angesehen, sich mit den Śiva-Lehren zu befassen. Von der Verschmelzung Sūryas mit Śiva zeugen nicht nur Agni P. c. 21, 11—19; 73, 16, Garuḍa P. c. 23, 7—13, sondern auch MBh. XII 284, 16, wo es ausdrücklich von Śiva heißt: ‚Die Verehrer der Sonne verehren dich („o Śiva“) beim Verehren der Sonne.‘ Aus zwei Reliefbildern, die bei dem Tempel des Sonnengottes zu Konārak (ai. *koṇārka*)<sup>2</sup> gefunden worden sind, ist zu ersehen, daß im 12. Jhdt dort der Kult Sūryas mit dem des Śiva verschmolzen war. Die beiden Bildwerke von Konārak zeigen uns nämlich Sūrya zwischen einem Śiva-Liṅga und einem Bilde der Durgā (T. Bloch, ZDMG. 1910, 736). So ist es verständlich, warum im Sūryasahasranāmastotra die charakteristischen Namen des Śiva auch dem Sūrya beigelegt worden sind, wie Ātreya, Tryambaka, Trilocana, Nilakanṭha, Nīllohita, Maheśa, Rudra, Virūpākṣa, Viśakha, Śambu, Śarva, Svarbhānu, Hara. Die Verehrung von Śiva als Sonnengott (Śivāditya) ist sogar bei den hinduistischen Balinesen nachweisbar.<sup>3</sup> Auch aus folgender Tatsache geht hervor, daß der Sonnenkult in enge Verbindung mit dem Śiva-Kult getreten ist. Gemäß den Berichten des Chinesen Hiuen Tsang hat der im 7. Jhdt lebende König Harṣa in Indien während eines dreitägigen Festes am ersten Tage eine Statue dem Buddha, am zweiten Tage eine solche dem Sonnengotte und am dritten Tage eine solche dem Śiva geweiht.<sup>4</sup> Wie wir oben dargelegt haben, hatte auch Buddha Aufnahme im Sonnenkult der Indoskythen gefunden. Bereits im 1. Jhdt v. Chr. muß die enge Verbindung des Sonnengottes nicht nur mit Buddha,

<sup>1</sup> Der Sonnengott trug gewöhnlich den Namen Jagannātha; vgl. Bh. P. I 120, 14. 47; 121, 8; 153, 75. 103; 175, 8. Im Sūryasahasran. wird *Jagannātha* sogar zweimal angeführt.

<sup>2</sup> Daß der Name der Stadt Koṇārka schon auf den Sonnenkult hinweist, geht nicht nur aus arka ‚Sonne‘ hervor, sondern auch aus seinem ersten Bestandteil *koṇa*; so heißt der Sonnengott Bh. P. I 153, 50: *koṇavallabha*.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. R. Goris, Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Oud Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie, Leiden 1928.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur III 49.

sondern auch mit Śiva existiert haben, denn von den hinduistischen Gottheiten finden wir auf den Kuṣāṇa-Münzen gerade śivaitische Gottheiten. Es ist sehr wohl möglich, daß die Verquickung von Sūrya mit Śiva ganz unabhängig von der Saken-Religion vor sich ging und auf rein indischer Entwicklung beruht,<sup>1</sup> und daß die sakischen Magās später an diese Vorstellung anknüpften, um die Hindus leichter für ihren Sonnenkult zu gewinnen. Der Monotheismus des sakischen Sūrya-Kultes ist weit schärfer ausgeprägt als der der Śiva-Lehre.

7. Zur Zeit, als die Epen Mahābhārata und Rāmāyaṇa erstanden, müssen die Śakās schon lange in Indien ansässig gewesen sein, da diese Epen das Eindringen dieses Volkes in Indien in die sagenhafte Urzeit verlegen und jegliche Erinnerung an dieses historische Ereignis im indischen Volke völlig geschwunden war. Gemäß ihren Angaben wären die Śakās nebst den anderen nichtarischen Indern, wie die Dravidās, Pahlavās, Yavanās, Śavarās, aus der Kuh des urzeitlichen R̥ṣi Vasiṣṭha hervorgegangen, damit diese Völker den arischen König Viśvāmitra wegen des Raubes der dem R̥ṣi angehörigen Kuh bestrafen (MBh. I 173, 36; Rām. I 54—56). Während der Abfassungszeit des MBh. haben die Śakās noch vornehmlich in Nordindien gewohnt, denn ausdrücklich wird dieses Volk nebst den Kāmbojās als ‚die nördlich wohnenden‘ (*udīcyakāmbojaśakāḥ* V 160, 102) bezeichnet. Dieses Epos erwähnt die Śakās, die so unzertrennlich mit den Kämpfen der Kauravās und Pāṇḍavās verquickt sind, an zahlreichen Stellen. Dem Pāṇḍava-König Yudhiṣṭhira, dessen Vorfahr König Nakula die Pahlavās, Yavanās und Śakās unterworfen hatte, brachten die Śakās nebst den anderen Völkern Tribut (MBh. II 51, 15 ff.). Bei dem Rājasūya (‚Königsweihefest‘) der Pāṇḍava-Fürsten waren

<sup>1</sup> Nach MBh. VIII 203, 105 f. hat Śiva ‚zwei Gestalten (*dvayaṇā*)‘, eine furchtbare (*ghorā*) und eine freundliche. Die furchtbare besteht aus Feuer, Blitz und Sonne, die freundliche aus Wasser, den Sternen und dem Monde. Wenn es im MBh. VI 11, 28 bei der Beschreibung des Stammlandes der Śakās (*Śakadvīpa*) heißt: ‚Dort gibt es viele Gegenden, in denen Śiva verehrt wird‘, so ist wohl deshalb vom Verfasser dieses Stückes Śiva statt Sūrya eingesetzt worden, weil zur Zeit der Abfassung dieses Stückes Sūrya bereits mit Śiva verschmolzen war.

unter anderen Königen auch die der Śakās zugegen (III 51, 24f.). Dem Kuru-Könige Duryodhana leisten die Śakās im Kampfe gegen die Pāṇḍavās Heeresfolge (V 19, 21; 197, 7). Der Pāṇḍava Arjuna besiegt den Duryodhana samt den mit ihm verbundenen Völkern, wie die Kāmbojās, Yavanās und Śakās (VII 119, 42ff.). Ausdrücklich wird hervorgehoben, daß die Śakās und Kāmbojās im Gegensatz zu den arischen Indern auf Rossen reiten (V 160, 102).

Zur Zeit der Entstehung des Mahābh. hatten die Indoskythen unter Einfluß der brahmanischen Kultur die Form des indischen Kastenwesens schon längst übernommen, indem sie in folgende vier Kasten zerfielen: 1. *Magās*,<sup>1</sup> 2. *Maśakās*, 3. *Mānasas* (bzw. *Mānasyas* Agni P. 119, 21), 4. *Mandagās*. Diese vier Termini, die auch verschiedene Purāṇa überliefern, lassen sich sinngemäß nur aus dem Iranischen ableiten. Ebenso wie *Maga* mit dem mittelpersischen Wort *mag* identisch ist, das eigentlich den Priester der Zarathustra-Religion bezeichnet, sind auch die drei anderen Kastennamen iranischen Ursprungs. In *Maśaka* sehe ich sakisch \**masak* 'groß, vornehm' (aw. *mas*, *masan*, vgl. mp. *masmōgān*, 'der Vornehme unter den Magiern', Albīrūnī). Der Name der 3. Kaste *mānasa* (Agni P.: *mānasya*) ist die wörtliche iranische Übersetzung von *Vaiśya*, dem indischen Namen der 3. Kaste. Das *z* in iran. *māna-za* 'dem Hause entstammend' mußte, da das Indische für iran. *z* keinen besonderen Laut hat, als *s*, bzw. *sy* wiedergegeben werden.<sup>2</sup> Ähnlich ist in den indisch-sakischen Schriftendekmalen das iran. *z* durch *ys* umschrieben worden (Lüders, S. Pr. Ak. W. 1913, 407ff.). Dagegen stammt der Name der dienenden Kaste

<sup>1</sup> MBh. VI 11, 35 liest fälschlich *Mṛgās*. Bereits A. Weber hat dafür *Magās* eingesetzt (wie Agni P. 119, 21, Brahma P. 20, Viṣṇu P. 2, 4, Bhav. P. I 139, 72); auch die Inschriften haben *maga*. Seit der parthischen Zeit war *maga* die volkstümliche Bezeichnung für die zarathustrischen Priester (vgl. Herzfeld, Paikuli p. 80f.). Die 2. Kaste heißt in Bhav. P. *Magagās*, in den übrigen Purāṇa *Magadhās* (Br. P. *Māgadhās*), die 3. Kaste *Mānasāḥ* (Agni P. *Mānaryāḥ*), vgl. auch Kirfel, Kosmographie p. 120. Im Sāmavajaya heißt die 2. Kaste *Māgasa* (durch Metathese aus \**Maśaga*), dagegen in der Khalavaktracapeṭikā des Rājavalabha: *Maśaka*; vgl. A. Weber, Monatsber. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1880, 32. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Zur iranischen Bildung *mānaza* vgl. mp. *xratrak* 'Abkömmling der Weisheit' (Dēnk. IX c. 59, 4).



aus mittelliran. *bandag* (np. *bändäh*) ‚Diener‘, indem der Inder unter Angleichung dieses Namens an die der drei vorangehenden Kasten für das ursprünglich anlautende *b* ein *m* setzte und so das iranische Wort an das Sanskritwort *mandaga* anlehnte.

Das MBh., das frühestens im 1. Jhdt v. Chr. entstanden sein kann, weil zur Zeit der Abfassung dieses Epos die Vorstellung herrschte, daß die Śakas, Yavanās (= Griechen) und Pahlavās (= Parther)<sup>1</sup> schon seit grauer Urzeit in Indien wohnten und das indische Kastenwesen bei ihnen stets heimisch gewesen wäre, erwähnt nicht nur die sakische Gottheit Mihira (III 3, 61), sondern dieses Epos gewährt uns auch ein bereits völlig abgeschlossenes Bild von der Verschmelzung des ehemals sakischen Sonnenkultes mit den indischen Religionen. Der Mihira-Kult tritt uns hier schon als ausgesprochener Sūrya-Kult entgegen. Gemäß diesem Epos hat bereits Gott Brahman den Allgott Sūrya, dem sämtliche Götter, Pitaras, Halbgötter und Dämonen untergeordnet sind (III 3, 29. 40 f.), als das einzige unendliche, ewige Urprinzip angesichts des Indra gefeiert und Indra diese Sonnenverehrung dem Ṛṣi Nārada geoffenbart und letzterer sie wiederum den Brahmanen Dhaumya gelehrt (III 3, 28. 77 f.; 138, 18 f.). Ähnlich berichtet ja auch Bhav. P., daß Brahman, der älteste Sohn Sūryas, besondere heilige Schriften den Magas verkündet hätte (I 140, 36.). Während im Bhav. P. diesem Sonnengott 1000 Namen beigelegt sind, unter denen er zu verehren ist, wird hier seine ebenfalls alle Gottheiten in sich fassende Gestalt durch 108 Namen charakterisiert.<sup>2</sup> Daß aber die Zahl 108 ähnlich der Zahl 1000 im Indischen die Vollkommenheit

<sup>1</sup> Die Pahlavās kommen vor in MBh. I 174, 35; II 32, 17; III 51, 24; VI 20, 13; XII, 65, 13; XIII 33, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Die dem Hinduismus huldigenden Bearbeiter des MBh. haben die aus 108 Namen bestehende Hymne an den Sonnengott in der Weise umgearbeitet, daß sie die fremdartigen iranisch-sakischen Elemente daraus entfernten. Dadurch hat das Sūryasaḥsranāmastotra viel mehr Altertümliches bewahrt als das Sūryanāmṣṭaśatakam des MBh. Der Sonnengott (Sūrya, Āditya) wird später auch in Märk. P. 109, 69 ff., Rām. VI 105 als die Allgottheit gefeiert (Märk. P. 107, 7 erwähnt auch Mihira). Allein die dortigen Darstellungen machen einen viel jüngeren Eindruck als die von MBh.



symbolisiert, habe ich in den ‚Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger‘ p. 85 ff. dargelegt. Den monotheistischen Sonnenkult hat Dhaumya, der Purohita des Pāṇḍava-Königs Yudhiṣṭhira (IV 4, 6f.), dem die Śakās tributpflichtig waren, seinem König verkündigt (MBh. III 3). Weil König Yudhiṣṭhira den Sonnenkult begünstigte, ist es verständlich, daß 9000 dem Sonnenkult ergebene (*saura*) Brahmanen, also Magās,<sup>1</sup> diesem Könige anlässlich der Rājasūya-Feier ihre Huldigungen darbrachten (VII 82, 16). Unter den Kriegern der Kauravās, denen die Śakās Heeresfolge leisteten, befinden sich Namen, die zum Sonnenkult in enger Beziehung stehen wie Sūryadhvaja, Amsūmant, Rocamāna (I 186), Sūryadatta (IV 31, 15). Der dem Sonnengott geweihte siebente Tag (*Saptamī*) der Saken ist ebenfalls dem MBh. bekannt (III 3, 64). Spätestens im 1. Jhdt v. Chr. hatte also Mihira durch den Einfluß indischer Sekten einen monotheistischen Charakter angenommen.

8. Wenn im MBh. III 3, 27 der Sonnengott als ‚der barmherzige Maitreya‘ (*Maitreyaḥ karuṇānvitaḥ*) bezeichnet wird, so ist hierdurch der Einfluß des Buddhismus auf die sakische Religion in Indien genügend gekennzeichnet. Unter den acht Geboten, die der indoskytische Maga streng zu halten hatte, befindet sich das buddhistische *ahiṃsā*-Gebot, gemäß welchem man selbst ein blutiges Opfer nicht darbringen durfte, ferner die buddhistische Vorschrift, stets ‚Seelenruhe‘ (*śama*) und ‚Geduld‘ (*kṣānti*) zu wahren (Bh. P. I 171, 24f.).<sup>2</sup> Ähnlich den buddhistischen Mönchen rasieren sie ihren Schädel kahl (Bh. P. 146, 17; 147, 12, Br. P. 8, 48, Viṣṇu P. IV c. 3) und tragen sie rötlichgelbe Gewänder (*kaṣāyavāsasāḥ* Bh. P. I 117, 5, vgl. im Pāli *kāṣāyavasana*, *kāṣāyavatthu*). Ausdrücklich betont Bh. P. I 137, 5, daß die zum Aufstellen des Sonnenbildnisses bestimmten Magās sich diesem Gottesbildnisse erst dann nahen dürfen, nachdem sie sich ‚die roten Gewänder Buddhas‘ angelegt haben (*buddhasya raktāmbarā*

<sup>1</sup> Im Sāmavaiyaya werden ausdrücklich diese beim Rājasūya des Yudhiṣṭhira erschienenen Brahmanen als Magās bezeichnet (vgl. A. Weber, Monatsber. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1880, 47f.).

<sup>2</sup> Die fünf anderen Gebote lauten: ‚Liebe zum Sonnengott (*saurabhakti*)‘, Zufriedenheit (*saṃtoṣa*), Wahrheit (*satya*), Ehrlichkeit (*asteya*), Keuschheit (*brahmacharya*).‘

*ye yaṃ devam upāsritāḥ suvidhinā tais tasya pratiṣṭhāpanasya kāryā kriyā*). Ebenso wie die buddhistischen Mönche dürfen sie keinen Ackerbau und keinen Handel treiben (Bh. P. I 146, 140; 147, 4f.), obgleich gerade der Ackerbau bei den Zarathustriern als ein gottgefälliges Werk angesehen wird. Das ihnen vorgeschriebene Fasten, das die Zarathustra-Religion verbietet, ist ebenfalls aus dem Buddhismus übernommen. Der Umstand, daß die Indoskythen in Buddha eine Inkarnation des Sonnengottes sahen und daß ihre Priester äußerlich den buddhistischen Mönchen glichen, hat sehr dazu beigetragen, daß sie, nachdem ihre Herrschaft in Indien zusammengebrochen war, allmählich in dem Buddhismus aufgingen.

9. An den Ufern des Indus hatte sich der Mihira-Kult schnell ausgebreitet. Davon zeugt vor allem die Tatsache, daß etwa seit dem 5. Jhd't dieser Fluß mehrere Jahrhunderte lang auch den Namen *Mihraṇ* führte, d. h. „der von Mihr abstammende“.<sup>1</sup> Bh. P. I 127, 6 berichtet, daß König Sāmba als Verehrer des Sonnengottes (I 129, 7 f.) im Mitra-Haine (*mitravana*) an dem Fluß Candrabhāgā (dem heutigen Cnāb), der sich in einen Nebenfluß des Indus ergießt, einen Sonnentempel namens Sāmbapur erbaute, worin er ein Bildnis des Sonnengottes (*pratimā raveḥ*) aufstellte, das mit dem iranischen Gürtel *Avyāṅga* versehen war (I 132, 17; 128, 14; 140, 1 ff.). An dem Indus (*Mihraṇ*) lagen zahlreiche Sonnentempel. In der Stadt Multān, die in unmittelbarer Nähe dieses Stromes sich befand, war ein berühmter Sonnentempel, den der im 7. Jhd't lebende chinesische Schriftsteller Hiuen Tsang besucht und beschrieben hatte. Es war ein prächtiger, verschwenderisch ausgestatteter Bau, worin sich ein aus reinem Gold gegossenes Sonnenbild befand, das mit seltenen Perlen und kostbaren Edelsteinen verziert war.<sup>2</sup> Noch Al-Bīrūnī (India I 116) erwähnt diesen dem Sonnengott geweihten Tempel.

<sup>1</sup> Bund. XX 7 n. 9 = West Pahlavi Texts I 78 A. 2: *Mihraṇ*, Gr. Bund. (ed. Anklesaria) p. 87 Z. 15: *Mihraṇ*; Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde 99, Markwart, Erānsāhr p. 149. 258.

<sup>2</sup> S. Beal, Buddhist Records of Western World; transl. from Chinese of Hiuen Tsang 1884 II 274.

Von dem im 5. Jhdt weithin verbreiteten Mihira-Kult der Indoskythen zeugt der Umstand, daß der Hunenkönig Toramaṇa, der sich mit seinem Stamme in Indien festgesetzt hatte, diesem Kult sehr nahe stand, weshalb er seinem Sohn und Nachfolger den Namen Mihirakula, d. h. ‚der Familie der Mihira zugehörig‘, gab. Ferner hat er gemäß einer von dem König Mihirakula angefertigten Inschrift dem Sonnengott einen steinernen Tempel (*śailamayam bhānoḥ prasādam*) erbaut.<sup>1</sup> Sein Sohn Mihirakula, der in Kāśmīr regierte, verehrte Gott Mihira, was daraus hervorgeht, daß er in Śrinagari einen dem Mihira geweihten Tempel (*Mihireśvara*) baute und in Holaḍa eine große Stadt namens *Mihirapura*, d. h. ‚Stadt des Gottes Mihira‘.<sup>2</sup> In Gwalior (in Zentral-Indien) ist eine aus dem 15. Regierungsjahre des Königs Mihirakula stammende Inschrift gefunden worden, die ebenfalls von dem Sonnenkult zeugt. An der Stelle, wo die Inschrift aufgedeckt wurde, war nämlich unter der Herrschaft dieses Hunenkönigs ein Sonnentempel errichtet worden.<sup>3</sup>

Um 500 n. Chr. war der Mihira = Sūrya-Kult der Indoskythen schon längst bei den Indern einheimisch. Er tritt als Saura-Kult auf, der eigentlich den Mihira-Kult im indischen Gewande darstellt. So beschreibt der bedeutende indische Astronom Varāhamihira (Brh. S. 58, 46 = Albīrūnī, India I 119) diese Gottheit unter dem ihr entsprechenden indischen Namen Sūrya, indem er ausdrücklich erwähnt, daß das Sonnenbildnis gemäß einer alten Überlieferung die Kleidung der nördlichen Bewohner (= Śākās)<sup>4</sup> hat, durch die auch die Brust bedeckt ist, und der Sonnengott mit dem *Avaṅga*, dem heiligen Gürtel der Zarathustrier, versehen sei (Brh. S. 58, 47). Schon der Name dieses großen Astrologen weist darauf hin, daß seine Ahnen

<sup>1</sup> Rājendra Lala Mitra, JRAS. Bengal 1861, 275 f., A. Weber, S. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1879, 459.

<sup>2</sup> Rājatarāṅginī I 306.

<sup>3</sup> J. F. Fleet, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings p. 163 Nr. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Brh. S. 58, 46: *kuryād udicyaveṣaṇ gūḍhaṃ pādād wroyāvat*. Wenn Brh. S. 14, 21 die Śākās unter den im Westen wohnenden Völkern aufzählt, so kommt es wohl daher, weil sich zu seiner Zeit die Śākās bereits über den ganzen Westen ausgebreitet haben.

Mihira-Verehrer waren, denn dieser Name bedeutet ‚ein Eber wie Mithra‘. Mithra erscheint nämlich nach dem Awesta auch in der Gestalt eines Ebers. Seine Eigenschaft als Kriegsgott wird hierdurch charakterisiert (vgl. oben, p. 309). Wenn außerdem noch Varāhamihira die Magās als die Priester des Sonnengottes kennt (Bṛh. S. 60, 19, vgl. auch Albirānī, India I 121), so geht daraus hervor, daß zu seiner Zeit der sakische Sonnendienst schon längst in Indien eingebürgert war und nur die sakischen Magās als dessen offizielle Priester galten.

Gerade die Könige Indiens haben dem Sonnenkult der kriegerischen Śakās gehuldigt, weil er als der allmächtige, unbesiegbare Gott gefeiert wurde, der dem Herrscher Sieg verlieh. Indische Fürsten außerhalb der von den Śakās besetzten Gebiete ließen sich zuweilen sakische Priester, Magās, kommen, damit jene den Mihira = Śurya-Dienst nach der richtigen Liturgie versähen. So ließ sich nach einer alten Überlieferung König Śamba Magās vom Śaka-Lande kommen, damit sie ihn die richtige Verehrung des Sonnengottes lehrten (Bh. P. I 169). Hiuen Tsang erwähnt bei der Beschreibung des Sonnentempels zu Multān: ‚Die Könige und vornehmen Familien der fünf Indienländer verfehlen nicht, dem Sonnengott Perlen und kostbare Steine zu weihen‘ (S. Beal, a. a. O. II 274). Der um 700 n. Chr. lebende Fürst Lalitāditya hat dem Sonnengott einen wunderbaren Tempel erbaut und diesem Gott das ganze Gebiet von Kanyakubja geweiht (Rājatarāṅgiṇī transl. M. A. Stein IV 192. 187). In der Sompāt-Inschrift wird König Prabhākaravardhana, der Vater des im 7. Jhdt herrschenden Königs Harṣavardhana, als ein sehr ergebener Verehrer des Sonnengottes bezeichnet.<sup>1</sup> Daher nimmt es nicht wunder, daß der Hofastrologe des Königs Prabhākaravardhana ein Maga war (Harṣacarita 4, 142). Gerade die Astrologie war mit dem Mithra-Kult eng verknüpft. Mihiradatta (d. h. ‚vom Mihira gegeben‘) hieß der Lehrer (Guru) des am Ende des 7. Jhdts lebenden Königs Candrapīḍa (Rājat. IV 80). Im 9. Jhdt ist der Mihira = Śurya-Kult auch in Rājputāna belegt. In einer dort gefundenen Inschrift kommt

<sup>1</sup> Corp. Inscr. Ind. III 231f., Cowell u. F. W. Thomas, Harṣacarita of Bhāṣya, Pref. XI A. 1.

der Maga Matravi vor.<sup>1</sup> Dieser Name bedeutet, die Sonne zur Mutter habend. Gerade der Mihira-Kult bezeichnete, wie wir p. 312 gesehen haben, die Sonne auch als Mutter. Der im 11. Jhd. lebende König Harṣa von Kāśmīr duldet als fanatischer Eiferer für den Sonnenkult in den Tempeln seines Reiches nur zwei Götterbildnisse, und zwar die des Sonnengottes und des śivaitischen Schlachtengottes (*Raṇasvāmin* = *Skanda*), während er die anderen Götterbilder zerstören ließ (Rājat. VII 1096).<sup>2</sup> Wenn der König Kalāśa (um die Mitte des 11. Jhdts), der dem Sonnenkult huldigte, sich sterbend vor das Bildnis des Sonnengottes bringen ließ,<sup>3</sup> so folgte er hierbei der Vorschrift der sakischen Magās, gemäß welcher man in der Sterbestunde noch den Sonnengott verehren solle (*nāniṣṭasūryas tu magur mriyeta*).<sup>4</sup>

10. Die den Mihira = Sūrya-Kult verstehenden, ursprünglich von den Śakās abstammenden Magās sind noch im 12. Jhd. nachweisbar. Dies erscheint auch ganz erklärlich, weil sie ja die offiziellen Priester des Saura-Kultes wurden. Die im Jahre 1137 (Śaka 1059) verfaßte Inschrift aus Govindpur (im Distrikt Gaya) berichtet, daß König Śāmba ehemals eine Familie von Magās aus dem Sakenlande (Śakadvīpa) nach Indien geholt hätte, wobei ausdrücklich der Verfasser dieser Inschrift, der Maga Gaṅgādhara, hervorhebt, daß die Magās die Priester des Śaka-Landes seien (*yatra vipre magā-khyā*). Aus der Inschrift erfahren wir ferner, daß Manoratha, der Vater des Verfassers dieser Inschrift, eine Pilgerfahrt zum Tempel Jagannāthas (= Sūryas)<sup>5</sup> nach Puri in Orissa etwa im Anfang des 12. Jhdts. unternommen hätte (vgl. Kielhorn, Epigr. Ind. II 330 ff.). Der Kultus des Sonnengottes an der Meeresküste von Orissa ist noch heutzutage in primitiver Form lebendig geblieben (T. Bloch,

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, Ep. Ind. 9, 279, Winternitz, Gesch. d. ind. Lit. III 632.

<sup>2</sup> Dieses zeugt von der Vereinigung des Sūrya- mit dem Śiva-Kult, was S. 313 f. behandelt ist.

<sup>3</sup> Rājat. VII 715. 722. Ähnlich lehrt Bhag. Gita 8, 5. 9, daß derjenige, der in der Sterbestunde Kṛṣṇa verehrt, erlöst wird.

<sup>4</sup> Bhav. Pur. Ms. Bodleiana Nr. 75 Fol. 120a.

<sup>5</sup> Daß Jagannātha ein beliebter Name für Sūrya war, habe ich oben S. 314 A. dargelegt.

ZDMG. 1910, 736). Ferner begegnet man in dem heutigen Nordosten Indiens, in den Distrikten von Gaya und Patna, zahlreichen altertümlichen Bildwerken von Sūrya, die aus früheren Jahrhunderten stammen und von der ehemaligen Verbreitung des Sonnenkultes zeugen. Wo immer in einem Dorfe dieser Landschaft sich eine Sammlung alter Bildwerke unter dem heiligen Pippala-Baume oder im Tempel des Dorfes befindet, da ist Sūrya regelmäßig vertreten, und zwar gewöhnlich in mehreren Exemplaren (T. Bloch, ZDMG. 1910, 735).

Die ursprünglich sakischen Magās haben im Laufe der Jahrhunderte in Indien größtenteils echt indische Namen angenommen. In der von A. Weber (S. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1879, 446 ff.) herausgegebenen Magavyakti des Kṛṣṇadāsa, die frühestens im 13. Jhdt verfaßt zu sein scheint,<sup>1</sup> werden die damals in Indien befindlichen Magā-Geschlechter verherrlicht, die auf Kṛṣṇas Geheiß von Sāmba nach Indien gebracht worden wären. Diese Abhandlung, die den Zweck verfolgt, die Magās als die offiziellen Priester des Sonnenkultes hinzustellen, zählt 55 Magā-Geschlechter auf, die größtenteils rein indische Namen tragen. Als echt iranische Namen fallen darin nur folgende auf: *Aiāra* (mp. *ayār*, np. *yār* ‚Freund‘), *Cheriār* (np. *Šūhryār*, vgl. Justi, Ir. N. 174), *Paṭisā* (mp. *Patiṣāh* ‚König‘), *Saraiāra* (= altir. \**saraḍāra* ‚Anführer‘, vgl. np. *sardār*, *salār*).<sup>2</sup> Die engen Beziehungen dieser Magās zum Sonnenkult werden noch besonders dadurch klar, daß von den dort genannten 55 Geschlechtern 12 auf *-āditya* (‚Sonne‘), 12 auf *-maṇḍala* (‚Sonnenscheibe‘) und 7 auf *-arka* (‚Sonne‘) endigen. Wenn eins von den Geschlechtern *Koṇārka* heißt (Weber, a. a. O. 452), so ist es in Verbindung gebracht worden mit dem noch im 12. Jhdt berühmten Tempel des Sonnengottes in Koṇārka (heute Konārak), das etwa 24 engl. Meilen östlich von Jagannāth liegt (vgl. ZDMG. 1910, 737).

11. Die weite Verbreitung des ursprünglich sakischen Sonnenkultes über Indien war nur dadurch möglich, daß die Magās eifrig

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. ferner Weber, S. Pr. Ak. Wiss. 1880, 27 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Daß im Sakischen altiranisches intervokalisches *ḍ* zu *y* wurde, vgl. sak. *niyanai* ‚Schatz‘: ai. *nīdhāna*; *myāni* ‚in der Mitte‘: aw. *maidya*.

Mission trieben. Damit die Feier des siebenten Tages unter den Indern Verbreitung finde, haben sie verkündet, daß bereits der R̥ṣi Vyāsa und der Heros Bhīṣma am siebenten Tage den Sonnengott mit inbrünstiger Liebe (*bhakti*) verehrt hätten (Bh. P. I 207, 26). Um der Propaganda willen haben sie dann auch die Hauptgottheiten der andersgläubigen Umgebung ihrem Sonnenkult einverleibt, was uns besonders das Bh. P. zeigt. Diese Eigenart des Mihira-Kultes tritt gegen Ende des 1. Jhdts n. Chr. stark in den Vordergrund, was uns die Inschriften der Münzen der indischen Kuṣāṇa-Herrscher lehren, die nach den neuesten Forschungen von Konow khotanische Saken waren, und seit etwa 50 n. Chr. sich in Nordwest-Indien festgesetzt, aber an der Eigenart ihrer stammverwandten Vorgänger nichts geändert hatten.<sup>1</sup>

Auf den Münzen der beiden Kuṣāṇa-Herrscher Kanīṣka und Huviṣka<sup>2</sup> findet sich am häufigsten Gott *Mihira* (MIPO, MIYPO, MIOPO, MEIPO, MIPO),<sup>3</sup> wofür vereinzelt auch *Helios* steht. Daß dieser griechische Name dem sakischen Kult einverleibt wurde, beweist Bh. P. I 125, 38 (*Heli*); 111, 6 (*loka helinal*); 103, 43 (*heler āyatana*); 103, 35 (*Heliloka*). Ferner heißt es I 104f.: Am siebenten Tage in der lichten Hälfte des Monats Phālguna möge man den Namen des Gottes Helios (*Heli*) mit Andacht immer wieder flüstern, und bei der Anbetung des Sonnengottes möge der rituell Reine 108mal (*aṣṭaśatamkṛtva etat*) diesen Namen flüstern. Der Umstand, daß für Mihira selbst der ägyptische Gott Serapis (ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟ) auf den Kuṣāṇa-Münzen erscheint, der seit dem 2. Jhd v. Chr. als der das All beherrschende Sonnengott, als Ζεύς Ἡλίου μέγας Σέραπης in Kleinasien und im Mittelmeergebiet belegt<sup>4</sup> und auch sonst mit

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 2. Ed. p. 128 f., Konow, ZDMG. 68, 85 ff.; derselbe, *Acta Orientalia* X 67 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek and Scythic Kings in India* 130 ff., M. A. Stein, *Indian Ant.* XVII 1888, 89 ff., Darmesteter, *J. A.* X 68, Cumont, *T. et M.* I 186 f.

<sup>3</sup> Die drei ersten Formen gehen auf die Lesung *Mihira* zurück, dagegen MIOPO auf *Mihra* (vgl. 00H̥pKA = Huviṣka, 00HMO = ir. \*Huvimā).

<sup>4</sup> C. I. Gr. 2716, 2; 4262; 4042; 4683; 4713; Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* Nr. 678, Roeder in Pauly-Wissowa R. E. unter: *Serapis*.



Mithra häufig identifiziert worden ist,<sup>1</sup> beweist, daß Mihira schon lange vor Kaniska als die Alleingottheit bei den Śakas galt. Von der bereits oben dargelegten Synthese des Mihira-Kultes mit dem Buddhismus und Śivaismus zeugen der auf den Münzen vorkommende Buddha (BOYΔΔO) und die ebenfalls dort belegten, dem Śiva-Kulte zugehörigen Götter *Viṣākha* (BIZAPO), *Skanda* (ΣKANΔO) und *Kumāra* (KOMAPO).<sup>2</sup> Daher nimmt es nicht wunder, daß auf sasanidischen Kushān-Münzen, die in Balz geprägt sind, nicht nur Buddha und Śiva abgebildet sind, sondern auch Mithra, der, auf dem Throne sitzend, die iranische Krönigskrone in der Hand hält. Hier ist Mithra für Ohrmazd eingesetzt, denn auf den rein persischen Münzen sieht man, wie der iranische Herrscher nur aus der Hand Ohrmazds die Krone empfängt (vgl. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins* 1930, 15. 29. 41—44).

Auf den indischen Kuṣāṇa-Münzen sind außerdem noch folgende Gottheiten sichtbar, die als untergeordnete Wesen des allmächtigen Sonnengottes anzusehen sind und den gewaltigen Synkretismus der indoskythischen Religion im 1. Jhdt beleuchten. Da die zarathustrischen Śakas dem Feuerkult huldigten, erscheint der Feuergott AΘPO auf diesen Münzen. Wenn aus seinen Schultern Flammen aufsteigen, so stammt dieses Motiv aus Babylonien, wo von den beiden Schultern des Sonnengottes Šamaš Strahlenbündel ausgehen.<sup>3</sup> Ein weiterer Beweis von dem babylonischen Einfluß ist der auf den Kuṣāṇa-Münzen häufig vorkommende Name der babylonischen Göttin NANA (bzw. NANAIA),<sup>4</sup> die ein anderer Name für Ištar ist und bei

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Cumont-Canet, *Mithra ou. Sarapis*, C. R. Ac. Inscr. 1919, 313ff.; O. Weinreich, *Phil. Wochenschr.* 1921, 914 f.

<sup>2</sup> Der auf einer Kuṣāṇa-Münze vorkommende Name des Gottes OHPO (neben OHZO), der als Śiva dargestellt ist (vgl. Rapson, *Coins Pl. II* Nr. 12; derselbe *JRAS.* 1897, 324) würde al. *veṣa* („der Wirkende“) wiedergeben, was synonym mit *hartar*, einem Epitheton des Śūrya, ist (gemäß dem Śūryasahasranāmast.).

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. M. Jastrow, *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyl. u. Assy.* Nr. 170. 171. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Sie kommt zuerst um 175 v. Chr. auf Münzen des baktrisch-indischen Königs Eukratides vor (vgl. C. Clemen, *Griech. u. lat. Nachrichten* 133 f., vgl. auch P. Jensen, *Pr. Ak. Wiss.* 1919, 1048). Ein anderer babylonischer Göttername, den die

einzelnen iranischen Stämmen mit der Göttin Anāhita identifiziert worden ist. So erwähnt noch der im 5. Jhdt n. Chr. lebende armenische Schriftsteller Agathangelos (ed. Venedig 1862, 591) den Tempel der Nanē, der Tochter des Ōhrmazd,<sup>1</sup> in der Ortschaft Thil. Nach der armenischen Überlieferung ist Nana in Xuzistān verehrt worden.<sup>2</sup>

Daß auf den Münzen der kriegerischen Saken zahlreiche Siegesgottheiten erscheinen, nimmt nicht wunder. So ist dort ΟΡΑΑΙΝΟ (bzw. ΟρΑΑΙΝΟ nach Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 88) = aw. *Vərəθrayna*, wofür ebenso wie in der Inschrift des Antiochus IV v. Kommagene der griechische Name Herakles (ΗΡΑΚΛΙΟ) steht; ΟΑΝΙΝΔΑ, die in der Gestalt einer Nike erscheint, ist aw. *Vanainti* und ΟΝΙΑ = aw. *Vanya*, Sieg<sup>3</sup> (Ahuramazda heißt im Awesta *vispa-vanya*, *haθra-vanya*). Dann sehen wir auf diesen Münzen die iranische Gottheit der Herrschgewalt ΠΑΟΡΗΟΡΟ = mittelperan. *Šahrēvar*.<sup>4</sup> Außerdem finden wir hier die iranische Gottheit der kgl. Glorie ΦΑΡΡΟ,<sup>5</sup> ferner den sakischen Schutzgott der Pferde ΔΡΟΟΑΧΠΟ.<sup>6</sup> Im Awesta ist letztere Gottheit weiblich (*Drvāspā*). Daß aber auch die männliche Form im Iranischen vorkam, beweist der bei Mose von Xorene belegte Name eines Persers Druasp (Justi, *Ir. N.* p. 86). Ins Altindische ist dieser Name richtig durch *Aśveśa* übertragen worden, der im Sūryasahasran. als Beiname

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Iranier der Sasanidenzeit übernommen haben, ist der Sturmgott *Ramman* (= Adad). So nennt die mittelpersische Überschrift des dem „übermächtigen Winde“ (*Vāyus upakaityo*) gewidmeten Yašt diesen Wind Rām. Ausdrücklich gibt der Gr. Bund. p. 166, Z. 5 f. (vgl. auch Darmesteter, *ZA.* II 310 n. 578) an, daß *Vāyu* auch *Rām* genannt wird. *Ramman* mußte im Mp. zu *Rām* werden.

<sup>1</sup> Anāhita hieß in mittelpersischer Zeit \**bēdāxt*, np. *bēlūxt* = altir. \**bagaduxta*, Tochter des Gottes<sup>4</sup> (Ahuramazda).

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. auch F. Justi, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.* II 485, Markwart, *Ērānšahr* p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Daß der Laut *β*, der sich später im Gotischen findet, das altir. *β* wieder gibt, hat M. A. Stein nachgewiesen. Wohl für *Šahrēvar* kommt auf den Münzen der ihm entsprechende ägyptische Gott Horos in der Schreibung ΩΡΟΝ vor.

<sup>4</sup> Im Sūryasahasran. entspricht *Tejonidhi* als Name für Sūrya diesem iranischen Wort.

<sup>5</sup> Oder zu lesen ΑΡΟΟΑΧΠΟ.

für Mihira vorkommt.<sup>1</sup> Ferner erscheinen auf den Kuşana-Münzen die iranische Mondgottheit MAO (= aw. *Mah*), wofür auch gr. Selene (CAAAH) steht, der Windgott OAAO (= aw. *Vata*), der Regengott TEIPO = altir. Tira. Eine iranische Göttin mit Namen Ardoxšo (APAOXšo) ist mit einem Füllhorn dargestellt. Dieses Wort führe ich auf miran. *Ard-vaxš* („das Recht mehrend“) zurück, und es ist identisch mit aw. *aša-oxšayant* (y. 33, 9), einem Epitheton der Göttin der Fülle, Haurvatāt.<sup>2</sup>

So finden wir im indoskythischen Mithra-Kult babylonische, ägyptische, griechische und indische Gottheiten mit iranischen zu einer Einheit verschmolzen; sie alle sind Trabanten, bzw. Teilerscheinungen des weltbeherrschenden Sonnengottes. Diese Tendenz der Mihira-Religion hat im 3. Jhdt n. Chr. sich auch Māni zu eigen gemacht, indem er in ähnlicher Weise alle Hauptgedanken aller ihm bekannten Religionen zu einem System zu vereinigen suchte.

12. Wir haben gesehen, daß bei keinem anderen iranischen Stamme als bei dem der Saken Mithra als allgewaltiger Sonnengott verehrt worden ist. Es läßt sich nun wahrscheinlich machen, daß von diesem kriegerischen Stamme aus sich der Mithra-Sonnenkult etwa im 2. Jhdt v. Chr. schnell nach Westen hin verbreitet hat.<sup>3</sup> Im sakischen Mihira-Kult sind die iranischen seelengeleitenden Götter mit Mihira identifiziert worden. Diese Gleichsetzung finden

<sup>1</sup> Im abendländischen Mithraismus ist er auch mit Silvanus und gall. Epona identifiziert worden (vgl. L. H. Gray, *Foundations of the Iranian Religion*, Bombay 1928, 73, Rostovtzeff, *Le dieu equestre*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* I 141 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Vrddhi* als Name für Sūrya im Sūryasahasran. entspricht dem iranischen Haurvatāt. Der mit einem Strahlenkranz versehene Gott APAEIXšo (bisher sicher falsch gelesen APAEIXšo) entspricht einem mitteliran. *Ard-hiys* („dem göttlichen Recht folgend“); als die Befolgerin des göttlichen Rechtes wird im Awesta *Daēnā*, die Göttin der Religion, bezeichnet (vgl. y. 44, 10: *daēnā . . . yā . . . aša . . . hašmā*, Vyt 14: *daēnā . . . hačaf aša*).

<sup>3</sup> Die im 1. Jhdt vorherrschenden lebhaften Beziehungen der Saken zum fernen Westen werden durch das Lehnwort *Kaisar* ‚Kaiser‘ gekennzeichnet, das sich auf einer Kaniska-Inschrift und auch im Mittelsakischen findet (vgl. Lüders, *S. Pr. Ak. Wiss.* 1912, 824 ff., E. Leumann, *M. S.* p. 153, E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 205). Nach Dēnk. VII 7, 42 kam der Ausdruck *kaisar* auch im Sasaniden- (= Pahlawi) Awesta vor.

wir auch auf dem Denkmale des Antiochus IV. v. Kommagene und auf einem Mithräum in Germanien (Stockstadt) wieder. Auf dem ersteren Denkmale wird nämlich Mithra-Helios mit Hermes, auf dem anderen Mithra mit Mercurius personifiziert. Die Herkunft dieser Vorstellung kann hier nur die Mithra-Religion der iranischen Saken sein, denn weder bei den zarathustrischen Persern noch bei den Babyloniern war Mithra, bzw. der Sonnengott zugleich der Seelenleiter.

Trotz des Einflusses der indischen Religionen auf den Mihira-Kult der Indoskythen stimmen die leitenden Gedanken der letzteren Religion mit dem Mithras-Kult des Abendlandes überein. Gemeinsam ist der Glaube an die sieben Himmelswelten,<sup>1</sup> an die Seelenwanderung,<sup>2</sup> die Unsterblichkeit der Seele, an einen Himmel der Seligen und an eine Hölle,<sup>3</sup> ferner die Vorschrift der Mäßigkeit und Keuschheit. Der mit einer Strahlenkrone versehene Sonnengott Mithra-Mihira ist der Schöpfer des Alls, der Herr der Elemente, der wahre Gott, 'der Hort der Dahingeschiedenen' (*vigatāristi*), der einzige Erlöser der Menschen, der am Ende der Zeiten das Weltall mit seinem Feuer zerstören wird (vgl. MBh. III 3, 57, auch Märk. P. 109, 65). Er, der als Kriegsgott in Gestalt eines gewaltigen Ebers erscheint, heißt 'der Unbesieglliche', von dem allein der Sieg abhängt. Vor seinem Gottesbilde wurde stets ein heiliges Feuer unterhalten, er war mit dem Feuer (*agni*) identifiziert worden (vgl. Cumont, T. et M. I 104. 160). Dreimal täglich (am Sonnenaufgang, am Mittag und in der Abenddämmerung) brachte man, nachdem

<sup>1</sup> Bh. P. I 120, 44: *sapta lokā bhānoḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Cumont, T. et M. I 40.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Bh. P. I 119, 1: *Andhe tamasi duspāre narake patitāḥ*; ferner I 119, 1; 120, 19 ff. Wenn in der indoskythischen Religion das Taurobolium nicht zu belegen ist, so kann es daher kommen, weil entweder zur Zeit der Bekehrung der Saken zum Mazda-Glauben die erst in der Pehlevi-Literatur auftauchende eschatologische Vorstellung von der Schlachtung des Stieres Hadayōš durch den letzten Heiland dem älteren Zoroastrismus noch unbekannt war, oder weil es unter dem Einfluß der indischen Anschauung von der Unverletzbarkeit des Rindes abgeschafft worden war. Dieses Urtier könnte aus dem Babylonischen entlehnt sein, wo Gilgameš, der früh mit dem Sonnengott identifiziert wurde, den gewaltigen Himmelstier tötet.

man zuvor ein Bad genommen hatte, dem Sonnengott eine Libation dar. Die Zeitgottheit (*kāla*) und das Schicksal (*vidhi*) gehören zu den Wesensseiten dieses Gottes. Alle Abschnitte der Zeit, wie die Weltenalter (*kalpa*), das Jahr (*samvatsara*, *samā*), die Jahreszeiten (*ṛtavas*) werden verehrt.

Die auch im abendländischen Mithra-Kult belegte Auffassung, daß die Askese ein verdienstliches Werk ist, weist auf indischen Einfluß hin. Wenn nun Mithra als Zeitgott sowohl bei den Indoskythen als auch in der abendländischen Mithra-Religion von einer Schlange umgeben ist (*ahimat*), ja sogar mit einer Schlange identifiziert wird (*ahi*), so ist dieses Motiv indisch.<sup>1</sup> Ebenso echt indisch ist die sowohl im indoskythischen als auch im abendländischen Mithra-Kult sich findende Charakteristik der Sonne als der mit sieben Strahlen versehenen (*ἑπτάκτις*).<sup>2</sup> Sowohl im Mithra-Kult der Indoskythen als auch in dem des Abendlandes ist der Sonnengott zugleich mit der die Weltkugel tragenden Gottheit (*ai. Śeṣa* = Atlas) identisch (vgl. M. Bh. I 36, 19 ff.; III 189, 11; V 103. 2 f.).

Auf den abendländischen Mithra-Denkmalern wird Mithra gewöhnlich von zwei Gestalten begleitet, von denen die eine teils eine Fackel erhebt, teils einen Stierkopf in der Hand hat, die andere teils die Fackel senkt, teils einen Skorpion trägt. Nun wird die Kraft des indoskythischen Sonnengottes ähnlich der der indischen Hauptgötter durch einen Stier (ved. *vṛṣan*, *vṛṣabha*) symbolisiert.<sup>3</sup> Ferner wird in Indien der Todesgott durch einen Skorpion an der Brust gekennzeichnet.<sup>4</sup> Die beiden Begleiter stellen den Mithra einerseits als den lebenspendenden Kraftquell, die Fülle, andererseits als den Tod dar. Der Erlösergott Mithra bildet mit diesen beiden

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Scheftelowitz, Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion 1929, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, Texts et Mon. I 123. 193. Im *Sūryasahasranāmastuti* vgl. *saptārcis*, *saptaruci*, *saptajihva*, vgl. auch AV. VII 107, 1, Viṣṇu P. VI c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. im *Sūryasahasranāmast.* *vṛṣadhvaṇja*; ähnlich bei Mayūra, *Sūryasatakam* Vers 16: *vṛṣabhāṇka*. Bereits in Pañc. Br. XVIII 3, 3 wird die Sonne als „Stier“ bezeichnet. In Yašt 10, 86 heißt Mithra Stier (*aśvan*).

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Scheftelowitz, Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit p. 30.

eine Dreiheit, weshalb er auch als ‚dreifacher Mithra‘ bezeichnet wird.<sup>1</sup> Als die Dreieinigkeit tritt uns der indoskythische Mihira entgegen, indem er, der Erlösergott, zugleich der lebenspendende (Gott Viṣṇu) und der lebensvernichtende Gott (Śiva) ist. Daß er bei iranischen Anhängern des Mithra-Sonnenkultes als Dreiheit verehrt worden ist, beweisen ferner die auf Basreliefs abendländischer Mithra-Denkmäler überlieferten iranischen Worte *nama nama sebesio* (CIL. VI 719 = 30189), d. h. ‚Verehrung, Verehrung den drei Heiligen‘. Das Wort *Sebesio*, das bisher nicht verstanden worden ist, ist mittelliran. *sēh vēz* (= aw. *avaeza*) (‚die drei Reinen‘ = Heiligen), wobei der iranische Buchstabe *z* nur durch lat. *sy* = *si* wiedergegeben werden konnte. Eine ähnliche Bildung ist der mittelpersische Personennamen *Sēbuxt* ‚durch die drei (nämlich Mithra, Rašnu, Sraoša) erlöst‘ (vgl. Justi, Ir. N. 293).

Die Abhängigkeit des abendländischen Mithras-Kultes von der Mihira-Religion der Indoskythen ist hierdurch klar gelegt worden. Trotz der zahlreichen Anleihen, die der sakische Mithra-Kult in Indien gemacht hat, ist er seinem Wesen nach iranisch geblieben. Er hat insofern einen dauernden Einfluß auf Indien ausgeübt, als die indische Sekte der Saurās auf ihn zurückgeht, denen der ehemals dem Mihira geweihte siebente Tag noch heute heilig ist. Kein anderer heidnischer Kult des Altertums hat eine solche weite Verbreitung nach dem Westen hin gefunden wie der des allmächtigen Sonnengottes Mithra, dessen Ursprung auf die Religion der Saken zurückgeht.

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Dionys., Areop. Epist. 7 (Cumont bei Roscher, Lex. II 2 p. 3058): τοῦ γενεῖου Μίθρου. Der Genius mit dem Stierkopf und der erhobenen Fackel heißt auf den Inschriften *Cantes* und der mit dem Skorpion und der gesenkten Fackel *Cantopates* (Cumont, T. et M. I 207 ff.; derselbe, Mysterien des Mithra, 3. Aufl. p. 117). Ersteres Wort führe ich zurück auf mp. \**kōtē* neben *kōtak* = arm. L.-W. *koit* neben *kutak* ‚Menge, Fülle, Herde‘, *kutem* ‚häufe‘, np. *kōd* ‚Getreidehaufen‘, aram. L.-W. 𐤒𐤕𐤍𐤏 ‚Herde‘. Dagegen ist *Cantopates* = mp. *kōt-pātē* (ai. *pāta* ‚Fall, Sturz‘) ‚Untergang der Fülle‘; mp. *kōt* = altiran. *kauta*: lit. *kugis*, lett. *kaudze* ‚Haufe‘, l. *cumulus*, W. *kou*. — H. H. Schaeders Erklärung (Iran. Beitr.‘), daß *Cantopates* ‚Herr der Glorie‘ bedeute, wird nicht dem Wesen dieser Figur gerecht.



13. Wir haben dargelegt, daß die Saken ursprünglich Zarathustrier gewesen waren, bei denen auch zarathustrische Litaneien im Ritual Verwendung gefunden haben müssen. Besonders das Mihir-Yašt muß bei ihnen heimisch gewesen sein.

Das uns überlieferte Mihir-Yašt, das kein einheitliches Stück ist, enthält manche sekundär eingeschobene, auf Mithra bezügliche Fragmente, was aus einzelnen Stellen hervorgeht. So fährt in yt. 10, 100 Sraoša auf der rechten Seite des Mithra-Wagens und Rašnu auf dessen linker Seite. Dagegen fährt nach yt. 10, 126 Rašnu an der rechten Seite dieses Wagens, während die Göttin Cišta Razišta nebst dem Bannfluch an der Linken Mithras fahren. Nach Dēnk. IV c. 16 hatten die Arsakiden die Reste der seit der Vernichtung der Achämenidenherrschaft im Reiche zerstreuten heiligen Schriften sammeln und zusammenstellen lassen. Aus jener Zeit könnten manche Einschreibungen im Mihir-Yašt stammen. Nun erscheint es als selbstverständlich, daß das im Ritual der zarathustrischen Saken eine bedeutende Rolle spielende Mihir-Yašt von den sakischen Magās mit Zusätzen versehen worden war, die die sakische Auffassung von Mithra als dem allmächtigen Sonnengott kennzeichneten. So beruht die Gleichstellung Mithras mit Ahuramazda in yt. 10, 1 auf sakischem Einfluß. In 10, 54 spricht Mithra: 'Ich bin der Beschützer aller Geschöpfe, der Gutes Wirkende (*hvaṇah*), ich bin der Wächter aller Geschöpfe, der Gutes Wirkende.' Der Ausdruck *hvaṇah* wird sonst nur als Epitheton für Ahuramazda gebraucht. Hier hat Mithra eine dem Ahuramazda ebenbürtige Stellung, ebenso in der Pahlawi-Übersetzung von y. 57, 2 und 42, 2, wo sie Mithra als den 'Schöpfer aller Geschöpfe' bezeichnet (vgl. auch dazu Neryosengh: *pātāram nirmitāram ā Mithiram yajdam*). Ferner ist Yašt 10, 136 als Einschlebsel sakischer Priester gekennzeichnet. Nachdem bereits in yt. 10, 124—126 (vgl. auch 10, 67—68) Mithras 'hochrädiger, goldener' Wagen eingehend geschildert worden ist, wird ganz ohne Zusammenhang in 10, 136 nochmals von seinem Wagen gesprochen und heißt dort Mithra 'der alles Licht Besitzende'. Die Stelle, die bisher zum Teil mißverstanden wurde, lautet: *Miθrēm . . . yahmāi aurūša aurvanta yuxta* (Acc. für



*yuxtem*, *vāša* (für *oəm*) *hanjasānte aēva-caṣra* (für *oəm*) *zaranaēna* (für *oəm*) *asānasca vispobāma* ‚Mithra, dem weiße Rosse den angeschirrten, mit nur einem Rade versehenen, goldenen Wagen ziehen. Herbeikommend (Part. Präs. Atm.) ist der alles Licht Besitzende (= Mithra), wenn man ihm Opfergaben bringt in sein Haus (= Tempel)‘. Daß *zaranaēna* sich nur auf ‚Wagen‘ bezieht, beweist yt. 10, 124. Hier ist der ‚das alles Licht besitzende‘ Mithra als sakischer Gott charakterisiert; denn gerade nach sakischer Vorstellung fährt der Sonnengott Mithra auf einem nur mit einem Rade versehenen goldenen Wagen, vgl. Bh. P. I 52, 8: *rathena hy ekacakreṇa . . . hiraṇmayena*. Dementsprechend heißt nicht nur sein Wagen *ekacakraratha* (Bh. P. I 157, 15), sondern auch er selbst *ekacakraratha* (‚Besitzer eines nur mit einem Rade versehenen Wagens‘, Bh. P. I 153, 52, ebenso im *Sūryasah.*).<sup>1</sup> Ferner führt Mithra bei den Saken den Beinamen ‚der alles Licht Besitzende‘ (*sarvadyota*, *Sūryasah.*) und ‚der alles Licht Herbeibringende‘ (*sarvadyutihara*, *Sūryasah.*).

Nach Bartholomae und Lommel soll auch yt. 10, 143 den Mithra als Sonnengott schildern. Allein diese Stelle, die bisher völlig mißverstanden worden ist, lautet: *yeṣhē vāšēṃ hangrəwnāiti adaviš paovirīš . . . yaθa dāmaṃ \*sraēštāi* (Ed. *sraēštāis*) *hū bāmya ṣšaštāi* ‚dessen Wagen die untrügliche, vornan Befindliche (Göttin) lenkt, wie die Morgenröte (den Wagen) des leuchtenden Sonnengottes, des trefflichsten unter der Schöpfung‘. Daß unter der ‚untrüglichen, vornan Befindlichen‘ die Göttin Aši gemeint ist, geht unzweideutig aus yt. 10, 68 hervor: *yeṣhe vāšēṃ hangrəwnāiti Ašiṣ*. In 10, 143 wird nur Ašiṣ als Wagenlenkerin mit der Morgenröte verglichen. Aus dem Vorkommen von Mithra im *Xoršed Nyāyiš* (woraus yt. 6) läßt sich nicht die Sonnennatur des Mithra erschließen, was J. Hertel, ‚Die Sonne‘ p. 125 ff., richtig bemerkt hat. Nur an einer einzigen Stelle im *Awesta* (yt. 10, 136) kommt also

<sup>1</sup> Dieser Auffassung, daß die Sonne nur ein Rad hat, begegnet man auch bei den vedischen Indern (vgl. *RV.* I 164, 20: *rātham ekacakram*).

Mithra als Sonnengott vor; und gerade diese Stelle zeugt vom sakischen Einflusse.<sup>1</sup>

Nachtrag zu S. 300: Unter den aus dem 5. Jhdt v. Chr. stammenden Funden aus dem Oxus-Tal finden sich Figuren von Skythen, die, mit *Paitidāna* versehen, Baresman-Zweigbündeln und ein Weihrauchgefäß in den Händen halten (Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus* 1926 Pl. XV). Dieselbe Darstellung ist auf einer in Kelermes (Kubangebiet) gefundenen, aus dem 7. Jhdt v. Chr. stammenden skythischen Axt zu sehen, die das Leningrader Museum besitzt, worauf mich Dr. Salmony, der letztere Axt im dortigen Museum studiert hat, aufmerksam macht. Diese Axt ist ohne die Figur abgebildet bei Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* 1922 Pl. VIII. Auf einem ebenfalls im Kubangebiet gefundenen Goldplättchen (aus dem 4. Jhdt v. Chr.) sieht man den skythischen Sonnengott auf seinem Wagen und auf einer skythischen Trinkschale den Sonnengott, wie er dem König den heiligen Trank reicht (Rostovtzeff, a. a. O. p. 104).

<sup>1</sup> Da die zarathustrischen Saken bereits buddhistischen Einflüssen ausgesetzt waren, so erscheint es begreiflich, daß die von ihnen gebrauchten zarathustrischen Texte einzelne vom Buddhismus beeinflusste Einschaltungen enthalten, auf die ich in folgendem hinweisen möchte. Ebenso wie Buddha als ein äußeres Zeichen seiner überirdischen Kraft lange Arme hat (*pralambabāhu*), die, wenn er sie herabhängen läßt, bis zu den Knien herabreichen (Lal. Vist. 105, 19; 106, 18), so besitzt auch Zarathustra lange Arme (yt. 17, 22). Ausdrücklich gibt Varāhamihira (Brh. S. 69, 10) an, daß solche lange Hände als äußeres Zeichen eines hervorragenden Mannes gelten. Daher heißt der Heros Arjuna *mahābāhu* (Bh. G. 10, 1). — Vend. 4, 47 f. wendet sich offenbar gegen das indische Asketentum, wenn darin betont wird, daß solche, die Frau, Kinder, Haus und Reichtum besitzen, höher zu schätzen sind als diejenigen, die diese verschmähen, und daß ferner nur derjenige, der Fleischspeisen genießt, den Vohumanah richtig begreift, da er hierdurch die Kraft erlangt, gegen die dämonischen Gewalten erfolgreich zu kämpfen (vgl. auch Ztschr. f. Buddhism. 1926, 272 ff.). — Auf Veranlassung des Zaubers Dūrārava legte der Vater Pourušaspa das Kind Zarathustra auf einen engen Pfad und ließ dann darauf viele Ochsen treiben, damit sie das Kind zertrampeln. Doch das größte unter diesen Tieren, das voranstürmte, blieb vor Zarathustra stehen, so daß das Kind unversehrt blieb (Dēnk. VII 2, 11 f.). Durch einen ähnlichen Anschlag sollte Buddha von seinem Gegner Devadatta aus dem Wege geräumt werden, aber sein Leben wird durch ein gleiches Wunder gerettet. Der wilde Elefant, der in der engen Gasse gegen Buddha getrieben wird, auf daß er ihn zertrample, bleibt vor ihm stehen.

# Additional Indices to The Doctrine of Prajñā-pāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya.<sup>1</sup>

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## Technical Terms and Expressions.

### Tibetan-Sanskrit.

*kun-ñon dan nram-byañ tha-dad-med-pa*  
= *saṃkleśa-vyavadāna - abheda*, the  
absence of an essential difference  
between the defiling and the purifying  
elements in the aspect of the Absolute;  
cogn. on the sixth Stage, 55.

*kun-tu-btags-paḥi mīshan-ñid (kun-btags)*  
= *parikalpita-lakṣaṇa*, 6, 93.

*kun-btags* = *parikalpita*, 38, 42, and for  
*kun-tu-btags-paḥi mīshan-ñid*, q. v.

*kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa (kun-ñon)* = *sāṃ-  
kleśika*, 6, 55.

*kun-byañ*, abbr. for *kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa*  
and *nram-par-byañ-ba*, q. v., taken  
together, 6.

*kun-ñbyuñ* = *samudaya*, 18.

*kun-ñbyuñ bden-pa* = *samudaya-satya*, 18.

*kun-gñi (nram-par-ñes-pa)* = *ālaya-vijñā-  
na*, 97.

*dkar-po nram-par-mthoñ-baḥi sa* = *śukla-  
vidarśana-bhūmi*, 49.

*dkar-poḥi chos* = *śukla-dharma*, 49.

*rkun-ma phyuñ-ba* = *caura-nipkāsana*, 41.

*rkyen* = *pratyaya*, 18.

*skad-cig gcig-paḥi mñon-par-rdzogs-par-  
byañ-chub-pa* = *eka-kṣaṇa-abhisam-  
bodha*, 63, 81.

*skad-cig-ma bcu-drug* = *rodaka kṣapāḥ*, 23.

*skad-cig-maḥi sdyor-ba* = *kṣaṇika-prayoga*,  
syn. of *skad-cig gcig-paḥi mñon-par-  
rdzogs-par byañ-chub-pa* = *eka-kṣaṇa-  
abhisambodha*, 63, 80, 81.

(*skabs*) *lta-pa*, the fifth Chapter of the  
Abhisamayālaṃkāra, i. e. Mūrdha-abhi-  
samaya-adhikāra, 86.

(*skabs*) *gnis-pa*, the second Chapter of  
the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, i. e. Mārga-  
jñatā-adhikāra, 87.

*skabs dan-po*, the first Chapter of the  
Abhisamayālaṃkāra, i. e. Sarva-ākāra-  
jñatā-adhikāra, 86.

*skabs-bñi-pa*, the fourth Chapter of the  
Abhisamayālaṃkāra, i. e. Sarva-ākāra-  
abhisambodha-adhikāra, 86.

<sup>1</sup> S. above, pp. 1 ff.

*skye-ba no-bo-nid-med-pa* = *utpatti-niḥ-svabhāvata*, 94.

*skyes-ba goig-gis thogs-pa* = *eka-jūti-pratibaddha*, 43.

*skye-baḥi sprul-eku* = *janma-nirmāṇa-kāya*, 47.

*skyes-bu chun-nu* = *adhama-puruṣa*, 14.

*skyes-bu chen-po* = *mahā-puruṣa*, 14, 66.

*skyes-bu chen-poḥi mshan* = *mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa*, 47.

*skyes-bu ḥbrin-gi lam* = *madhya-puruṣa-mārga*, "the Path of the intermediate individual," i.e. the Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha. Its general definition, 16.

*skyes-bu ḥbrin-pa* = *madhya-puruṣa*, 14, 66.

*skyon* = *doṣa*, 78, 88.

*khame* = *dhātu*, 81, 67.

*khon-khro* = *pratigṛha*, 51.

*khya-d-mshan* = *viśeṣa-lakṣaṇa*, 78.

*mkhyen-pa*, intuitive Transc. Wisdom,—a synonym of the Path, 65.

*mkhyen grum* = *thams-cad-mkhyen-pa grum*, q.v.

*ḥkhor-lo tha-ma* = *antiya-cakra*, 91, 96.

*ḥkhor-lo dan-po* = *prathama-cakra*, 91, 96.

*ḥkhor-lo bar-pa* = *madhya-cakra*, 91, 96.

*gañ-zag rtag-goig ran-dban-can-gyi bdag-gis ston-pa* = *nitya-eka-svatantra-ātma-sūnya-pudgala*, 21.

*gañ-zag-ran-rkya-thub-paḥi rdzas-yod-kyis ston-pa*, the Individual, devoid of the Ego as a real independent substance, 55.

*gañ-zag-gi bdag-med* = *pudgala-nairātmya*, 16, 21.

*gañ-zag-gi bdag-med rtags-paḥi mal-ḥbyor-gyi sa*, the Stage of Transic Meditation on which the object of intuition is the unreality of the Individual Ego, 48.

*go-sgrub* = *go-chahi sgrub-pa*, q.v.

*go-chahi-sgrub-pa* = *go-sgrub* = *saṃnāha-pratīpatti*, 63, 73, 77 (syn. of *sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha*), 86.

*gya-nom-maḥi-ba* = *sudarśana*, 58.

*gya-nom-pa* = *pravṛta*, 18.

*grah-med* = *asaṃkhyā*, 60.

*glin grum-gyi mi*, the human beings of three continents (Jambudvīpa, Pūrva-Videha and Aparā-Godbhāya), 58.

*glo-bur-gyi dri-ma* = *āgantuka-mala*, 45.

*dgag* = *gñan-lugs dgag-pa*, q.v.

*dge-chun* = *paritā-śubha*, 58.

*dge-ḥdun-rjes-su-dran-pa* = *saṃgha-anu-smṛti*, 81.

*dge-ḥdun ṅi-tu*, the 20 varieties of the Congregation of Saints (Kār. I. 23, 24), 84.

*dge-rgyas* = *śubha-kṛtsna*, 58.

*ḥgog-bden* = *ḥgog-paḥi bden-pa*, q.v.

*ḥgog-pa* = *nirōdha*, 18.

*ḥgog-paḥi bden-pa* (*ḥgog-bden*) = *nirōdha-satya*, 18.

*rgyu* = *hetu*, 18.

*rgyu-mthun-paḥi ḥbras-bu* = *nīṣyanda-phala*, 54.

*rgyu-rkyen-la-itos-pa* = *hetu-pratyaya-apekṣa*, 94.

*rgyud* = *saṃtāna*, 16, 66.

*rgyud tha-dad-med-pa* = *saṃtāna-abheda*, the absence of differentiation between the streams of elements constituting the diff. personalities,—the collective personality within the pale of the Absolute, cogn. on the fifth Stage, 55.

*rgyun-miḥi ye-tes*, the transcendental intuition at the end of the process (of Illumination i.e. the Path),—syn. with *eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* and *ānantarya-mārdha-prayoga*, 80.

*rgyun-lugs-kyi ḥbras-bu* = *srota-āpatti-phala*, 50.

*rgyun-zugs-kyi hbras-bu-la zugs-pa* =  
*śrota-apatti-phala-pratipannaka*, 49.

*sgo-bcad-pa* = *kapāṭa-piḍhāna*, 41.

*sgom-pa-las byin-baḥi ses-rab* = *bhāvanā-*  
*mayi prajñā*, 20.

*sgom-paḥi* = *bhāvanā-hcya*, 24, 42, 80.

*sgom-lam* = *bhāvanā-mārga*, 15, 28, 41,  
 58.

*sgom-lam-rtse-sbyor* = *bhāvanā-mārga-*  
*mūrdha-prayoga*, 80.

*sgriḥ-gñis zad-par epaḥi-paḥi mthar-*  
*thug-gi mkhyen-pa*, the Ultimate Divine  
 Transc. Wisdom, char. by the full  
 removal of both the Obscurations  
 (*kṛṣṇa-āvaraṇa* and *jñeya-āvaraṇa*),—  
 def. of the Mah. *asāṅga-mārga*, 44.

1) *sgriḥ-pa* = *nirhāra*, 43.

2) *sgriḥ-pa* = *pratīpatti*, 18.

*sgriḥ-paḥi rten* = *pratīpatter ādhāraḥ*, 33.

*sgriḥ-paḥi rten ran-bṭm-gnas-rigs* =  
*pratīpatter ādhāraḥ prakṛtiṣṭhām go-*  
*tram*, 73.

*sgriḥ-paḥi (mṣhan-ñid-kyi) sgom-lam* =  
*nirhāra-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga*, 75.

*brgyad-paḥi sa* = *aṣṭama-bhūmi*, 49.

*ña-rgyal* = *māna*, 51, 54.

*ñes-don* = *ntārtha*, 95, 96.

*ñes-par-hbyin-pa (ñes-hbyin)* = *nai-*  
*yaṇika*, 18.

*ñes-par-hbyin-ba (ñes-hbyin)* = *nai-*  
*saraṇa*, 18.

*ñes-hbyin* = *ñes-par-hbyin-pa*, q. v.

*ñes-hbyin* = *ñes-par-hbyin-ba*, q. v.

*ñes-hbyin-sgrub-pa* = *nirvāṇa-pratīpatti*,  
 73, 87.

*ñes-hbyed cha-mthun* = *nirvedha-bhūṭya*,  
 73, 78.

*ñes-hbyed-yaw-lag* = *nirvedha-anga*, 73.

*ño-bo-gcig*, of one essence, not in con-  
 flict,—the *saṃdhiṣṭa-jñāna* and *prajñā-*  
*labdha-jñāna* on the Stage of the  
 Buddha, 41.

*ño-bo-ñid-sku* = *svabhāva-kāya*, 45, 83.

*ño-bo-ñid mṣhan* = *svabhāva-lakṣaṇa*, 78.

*ño-bo-ñid-med-pa* = *niḥsvabhāva*, 92,  
*niḥsvabhāvatā*, 93.

*ños-gñen-du-gyur-pa*, that which repre-  
 sents the direct antidote, 38.

*ños-po brgyad* = *aṣṭau padārthāḥ*, 61,  
 62.

*mñon-rtogs* = *abhisaṃyā*, 7, 15, 49, 63.

*mñon-du-gyur-pa* = *abhimukhi*, 42, 55.

*mñon-par-tes-pa* = *abhijñā*, 19.

*mñon-sum* = *pratyakṣa*, 19, 23.

*mñon-sum-du* = *pratyakṣa* or *sūkṣāt*,  
 21, 27.

*ci-yañ-med-paḥi skye-mched* = *ākīp-*  
*canya-āyatana*, 25.

*head-tes*, subsequent cognition of some-  
 thing already cognized,—opp. to *tshead-*  
*ma* = *pramāṇa*, q. v., 19.

*bcos-mim-gyi myon-ba* = *akṛtrima-anu-*  
*bhava*, 19.

*chu-la chu biag-pa-ltar*, “like water unit-  
 ing with water,”—the coalescence of  
 subject and object at the time of final  
 Enlightenment, 44.

*chui-nu* = *nrdu*, 19, 20, 24.

*ched-du-bya-ba* = *uddṛṣṭa*, 73, 88.

*chen-po* = *adhimātra*, 19, 20, 24.

*chos* = *dharma*, passim.

*chos-sku* = *dharma-kāya*, 44, 83.

*chos-sku mñon-par-rtogs-pa* = *dharma-*  
*kāya-abhisamṣodha*, 64.

*chos-grva*, school of Buddhist philosophy  
 in a Tibetan or Mongolian monastery, 3.

*chos mñon-rtogs* = *dharma-abhisamaya*, 19.

*chos-mchog* = *hṃg-rtan-paḥi chos-kyi*  
*mchog*, q. v.

*chos-mchog-rtse-sbyor* = *laukika-agra-*  
*dharma-mūrdha-prayoga*, 80.

*chos-rjes-su-dran-pa* = *dharma-anuṣṃpti*,  
 81.

*chos-ñid* = *dharmaṭā*, the Absolute,  
 cognized as being the foundation of

- jñāna-vaśīlā*, q.v., on the ninth Stage of the Bodhisattva, 56.
- chos-tes* = *dharma-jñāna*, 23.
- chos-tes-paḥi bzod-pa* = *dharma-jñāna-kyānti*, 22.
- chos-kyi bdag-med* = *dharma-nairātmya*, 16.
- chos-kyi-sprin* = *dharma-meghā*, 43, 57.
- chos-kyi phun-po bryad-khri-bāi-ston-gi khkor-lo*, the Wheel of the Doctrine divided into 84,000 varieties (*dharma-skandha*), as the antidotes against the 84,000 forms of defilement, 65.
- chos-kyi dbyins* = *dharma-dhātu*, 31.
- chos-kyi dbyins rnam-par-dag-pa* = *dharma-dhātu-vibuddhi*, 45, 47.
- ji-lta ji-sfid-kyi rnam-pa ma-lus-pa skad-cig-ma geig-la mñon-sum-du mkhyen-paḥi mthar-thug-gi mkhyen-pa*, the Buddha's ultimate direct knowledge, in one single moment, of all the aspects of existence, absolute and empirical, — def. of *sarva-ākāra-jñatā*, q.v., 62.
- ljig-rtan-pa* = *laukika*, 16, 17, 36.
- ljig-rtan-paḥi chos-kyi mchog* (*chos-mchog*) = *laukika-agra-dharma*, 20, 35, 36.
- ljig-rtan-paḥi sgom-byun* = *laukika-bhāvanā-maya*, 36.
- ljig-rtan-las-hlas-pa* = *lokottara*, 16, 17.
- ljig-tshogs-la lta-ba* = *saikūya-dṛṣṭi*, 51.
- ljug-pa* (*hi phyogs-kyi rten-can-gyi*) *gzun-rtog* = *proertti-pakṣa-adhiṣṭhāna-grāhya-vikalpa*, 52.
- ljug-paḥi sgrub-pa* = *ljug-sgrub* = *prasthāna-pratipatti*, 73.
- rjes-thob-ye-tes* = *preṣṭha-labdha-jñāna*, 21, 38, 40, 43.
- rjes-dpag* = *rjes-su-dpag-pa*, q.v.
- rjes-la mñon-rtogs* = *śrāvaka-abhisamaya*, 24.
- rjes-tes* = *anvaya-jñāna*, 23.
- rjes-su-dpag-pa* (*rjes-dpag*) = *anumāna*, 19.
- rjes-su-gzun-baḥi don-du* = *anugrahāram*, 100.
- rjes-su-yi-rañ-ba* = *anumoda*, 43, 75.
- rjes-su-tes-paḥi bzod-pa* = *anvaya-jñāna-kyānti*, 22.
- brjod-du-med-pa* = *anabhilāpya*, 94.
- ñan-thos cig-car-pa*, the Śrāvaka Arhat who has removed the Obscurations simultaneously, 26.
- ñan-thos-kyi bden-pa mñon-rtogs don rjes-su-mthun-pa*, subservient to the intuition of the 4 Truths of the Saint by the Śrāvaka (cf. *bden-pa mñon-rtogs*), — characteristic of the Śrāvaka's Path of Training (*prayoga-mārga*), 20.
- ñan-thos-kyi sbyor-lam chos-mchog*, the Degree of Highest Mundane Virtues of the Śrāvaka's Path of Training (*laukika-agra-dharma*, q.v.), 58.
- ñan-thos-kyi gñi-tes*, the Śrāvaka's knowledge of the Empirical World, 89.
- ñan-thos-kyi lam-tes-paḥi lam-tes* = *śrāvaka-mārga-jñāna-mayī mārga-jñatā*, 74.
- ñan-thos-kyi lam-gyi bgrod-pa mthar-phyin-paḥi mñon-rtogs*, the intuition of the Śrāvaka who has terminated the course of the Path, — definition of the Śrāvaka's *asaikya-mārga*, 26.
- ñon-sgrib* = *ñon-moñs-kyi sgrib-pa*, q.v.
- ñon-sgrib kun-btags* = *parikalpita-kleśa-āvaraṇa*, 22.
- ñon-sgrib kun-btags spans-paḥi rnam-grol-lam-du-gyur-paḥi ñan-thos-kyi bden-pa mñon-rtogs*, the Śrāvaka's intuition of the 4 Truths of the Saint at the time when the removal of the defiling forces due to incorrect views is brought to accomplishment, — definition of *vimuktī-mārga*, 22.
- ñon-sgrib kun-btags-kyi ños-gñen-du-gyur-*

*pañi ñan-thos-kyi bden-pa mñon-rtogs*, the intuition of the 4 Principles of the Saint which represents the direct antidote against the defiling forces which are due to incorrect views,—definition of *ñanantarya-mārga*, 22.  
*ñon-sgrīb ñhan-skyes* = *sahaja-kleśa-āvarāṇa*, 24.  
*ñon-moñs-kyi sgrīb-pa* = *ñon-sgrīb* = *kleśa-āvarāṇa*, 32.  
*ñon-moñs-med-pañi ña-ba* = *araṇa-dṛṣṭi*, 85.  
*gñis-stoñ rtogs-pañi rnal-hbyor-gyi sa*, the Stage of Transic Meditation on which the object is the unreality of the external world, 48.  
*gñis-su-med-pañi skad-cig-mañi sbyor-ba* = *advaya-eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* (*kṣaṇika-prayoga*), 83.  
*gñen-po* = *pratipakṣa*, antidote, 65.  
*gñen-po-phyogs-kyi gñi-śes* = *pratipakṣa-bhūta-caustu-jñāna*, 77.  
*mñam-rjes*, abbreviation for *mñam-bāg-ye-śes* = *samāhita-jñāna* and *rjes-thob-ye-śes* = *prōṣṭha-labdha-jñāna*, 41.  
*mñam-ñid* = *śamatā*, 77.  
*mñam-ñid-ye-śes* = *śamatā-jñāna*, 45.  
*mñam-bāg-ye-śes* = *samāhita-jñāna*, 21, 38, 43.  
*ññān-rje chen-po* = *mañā-karuṇā*, 34.  
*ñin-ñe-ñdzin* = *śamādhi*, transic meditation, concentrated trance, 17.  
*gloñ-ba rjes-su-dran-pa* = *iyūga-anu-smṛti*, 81.  
*rtag-goig rañ-dbañ-can-gyi bdag* = *nitya-eka-svatantra-ātman*, 92.  
*rtags* = *linga*, 79, 87.  
*rten* = *śāhāra*, 31.  
*rten-hbrel yan-lag-bcu-gñis* = *doḍaśāṇ-ga-pratītya-samutpāda*, 85.  
*rtog-pa* = *kalpanā*, 23.  
*rtogs-pa-chen-po-ñid* = *adhigama-mahat-tva*, 89.

*ña-ba mchog-tu-ñdzin-pa* = *dṛṣṭi-parā-marṣa*, 52.  
*stan theg-goig-tu*, during one single practice of meditation, 59 (the 4 Paths, beginning with *prayoga-mārga*, are realized by the solitary Pratyekabuddha in such a way).  
*stoñ-ñid bcu-drug* = *śoḍaśa śānyatāḥ*, 6.  
*stoñ-pa* = *śānya*, 18.  
*stoñ-pu-ñid (stoñ-ñid)* = *śānyatā*, 7, 34, 35, 98.  
*stobs bcu* = *daśa balāni*, 46.  
*brtan-pa* = *nirvāḍhi*, 80.  
*bstod-bkur-bstags gsum* = *stuti-stobha-pra-saṃsāḥ*, 75.  
*thabs-mkhas-sbyor-ba* = *upāya-kauśala-prayoga*, 79.  
*thabs-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *upāya-pāramitā*, 55.  
*thams-cad-mkhyen-pa gsum (mkhyen gsum)* = *tisraḥ sarvaññatāḥ*, 62.  
*thams-cad-śes-pa-ñid* = *sarva-ññatā*, 62.  
*thar-pañi cha dan-mihun-pa (thar-pañi cha-mihun)* = *mokṣa-bhāgiya*, 19, 34, 78, 86.  
*thar-par bgrōd-pañi go-ekabs phyec-bśul-du-gyur-pañi mñon-rtogs*, the intuition of the Truth which makes a passage (is conducive) to the attainment of Salvation (*mokṣa*).—definition of the Path in general, 15.  
*thar-lam* = *mokṣa-mārga*, 15.  
*the-tshom* = *vicikitsā*, 51.  
*(theg-chen) sgom-lam-gyi byed-pa* = *bhāvanā-mārga-kāritra*, 74.  
*theg-chen-sgrub-pa*, the Mah. Activity (*pratīpatti*), a syn. of the Mah. Path, 63.  
*theg-chen thun-moñ-ma-yin-pañi bstan-bcos*, an especially Mah. treatise,—the *Abhisamayālamkāra*, 86.  
*theg-chen mñhoñ-lam phan-yon dan-bcas-pa* = *mañānustamso darśana-mārgaḥ*, 74.



- theg-chen sems-bstkyed-kyis min-paḥi chos mñon-rtoḡs*, the full cognition of the Doctrine which is dominated by the Bodhisattva's Mental Effort for Enlightenment,—another definition of the Mahāyānist *sambhūta-mārga*, 34.
- theg-chen-gyi chos mñon-rtoḡs*, the full cognition of the Mahāyānist Doctrine,—definition of the Mahāyānist *sambhūta-mārga*, 34.
- theg-chen-gyi bden-pa mñon-rtoḡs*, the intuition of the 4 Truths by the Mahāyānist Saint,—definition of the Mahāyānist *darśana-mārga*, 38.
- theg-pa* = *yāna*, 15.
- theg-pa che-chun-gi yon-tan*, the merits peculiar to the great and the small Vehicle, i.e. the virtuous properties of the Mahāyānist and the Hīnayānist Saints, 17.
- thos-pa-las byun-baḥi ses-rab* = *śruti-mayī prajñā*, 20.
- mīhaḥ-dpyod*, analysis of a separate subject in a *yig-cha* manual, 3.
- mīhar-gyis-paḥi mñon-rtoḡs* = *anupūrva-abhisamaya*, 63, 81.
- mīhar-gyis-sbyor-ba* = *anupūrva-prayoga*, syn. of *mīhar-gyis-paḥi mñon-rtoḡs* = *anupūrva-abhisamaya*, 63, 81.
- mīhar-thug-gi theg-pa gsum*, the 3 Ultimate Vehicles, or Paths to Enlightenment, i.e. of the Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha, and Bodhisattva. Are considered by the Yogācāras to be essentially different and real by themselves (opp. to *ekayāna*), 32.
- mīhar-hḍzin-gyi lta-ba* = *anta-grāha-dṛṣṭi*, 51.
- mñon-spaṅ* = *mñon-bas spaṅ-ba*, q.v.
- mñon-baḥi sa* = *darśana-bhūmi*, 50.
- mñon-bas spaṅ-ba* (*mñon-spaṅ*) = *dṛṣṭi-heya*, 21, 38, 41, 52, 80, 87.
- mñon-lam* = *darśana-mārga*, 15, 21, 27, 37, 58, 62, 77, 87, 88, 89.
- mñon-lam-rise-sbyor* = *darśana-mārga-mārdha-prayoga*, 80.
- dag(-paḥi)sa gsum*, "the three Pure Stages" (*acalā*, *sādhumati*, and *dharma-meghā*), 57, 79 (the 3 last topics of *Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra* relate to them).
- dad-paḥi sa* = *śraddhā-bhūmi*, 19, 34.
- de-bḍin-gṣegs-paḥi sñiṅ-po* = *tathāgata-garbha*, 31.
- don mñon-rtoḡs* = *artha-abhisamaya*, 20.
- don-geig*, synonymous, 7.
- don-dam rnam-par-ñes-paḥi chos-ḥkhor* = *paramārtha-viniścaya-dharma-cakra*, 91.
- don-dam-pa-ño-lo-ñid-med-pa* = *paramārtha-niṣṣvabhāvatā*, 94.
- don bḍun-cu* = *artha-septati*, 61, 72.
- drañ-don* = *neyārtha*, 95, 96.
- dri-ma-med-pa* = *vimalā*, 42, 53.
- dro-bar-gyur-pa* (*drod*) = *ūmagata*, 20, 27, 35.
- drod* = *dro-bar-gyur-pa*, q.v.
- drod rise-sbyor* = *ūmagata-mārdha-prayoga*, 79.
- dams-ñag* = *avaśāda*, 73, 86, 88.
- bden-pa mñon-rtoḡs* = *satya-abhisamaya*, 21.
- bden-par-grub-pa*, real as a thing in itself (the same as *rañ-gi-mīshan-ñid-kyis grub-pa* = *śvalakṣaṇa-siddha*), 97.
- bden-med-rtoḡs-paḥi rnal-ḥbyor-gyi sa*, the Stage of Transic Meditation on which the object is the unreality of all the separate elements of existence, 48.
- bden-hḍzin kun-btoḡs*, realism which is due to preconceived incorrect views, 38.
- bden-bḍiḥi chos-ḥkhor* = *catuḥ-satya-dharma-cakra*, 91.
- mdo dan-sbyar-ba*, "composed in connexion with the Sūtras," the first twelve Commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, 9.
- ḥdus-byas* = *samskṛta*, 48.
- ḥdus-ma-byas* = *asamskṛta*, 31.

*hdod-ichams* = *kāma-dhātu*, 23, 24, 48.

*hdod-chags* = *rāga*, 51.

*hdod-chags dan-bral-baḥi sa* = *vitārāga-bhūmi*, 50.

*hdod-paḥi lha*, the gods whose dwellings belong to the World of Carnal Desire (*kāmadhātu*), 58.

*rdo-rje-lta-huḥi tñā-ne-hdzin* = *vajropama-samādhi*, 44.

*ldog-pa* (*hi phyogs-kyi rten-can-gyi*) *gzun-rtog* = *nīrti-pakṣa-adhiṣṭhāna-grāhya-vikalpa*, 52.

*adug-beṇal-la chos-ṣes-pa* = *duḥkhe dharma-jñāna*, 39.

*adug-beṇal-la chos-ṣes-paḥi bzod-pa* = *duḥkhe dharma-jñāna-kṣānti*, 39.

*adug-beṇal-la rjes-su-ṣes-paḥi bzod-pa* = *duḥkhe antya-jñāna-kṣānti*, 39.

*nam-mkhaḥ mthaḥ-yas-kyi skye-mched* = *ākāśa-ānantya-āyatana*, 25.

*nam-kun mñon-par-rdzogs-par-rtogs-pa* = *sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha*, 63, 77.

*nam-mkhyen* = *nam-pa-thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-ñid*, q. v.

*nam-mkhyen-sbyor-ba*, the training for the attainment of the special Omniscience of the Buddha (*sarva-ākāra-jñatā*). A syn. of *sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha*), 77.

*nam-mkhyen mñon-byed-kyi chos bcu*, the 10 elements char. the special Omniscience of the Buddha (*sarva-ākāra-jñatā*), 72.

*nam-mkhyen-gyi nam-pa lrgya-rtsa-bcu*, the 110 aspects (*ākāra*, of the 173), relating to the special Omniscience of the Buddha (Kār. IV. 4, 5 = *Aṣṭasāhasr*. 207. 1-13—from *smṛty-upasthānādi-bodhipakṣa-dharma-pāramitē'yaṃ*, and up to *sarvajña-jñāna-pāramitē'yaṃ*), 78.

*nam-grol-lam* = *vimukti-mārga*, 22, 38.

*nam-rtog* = *vikalpa*, 87.

*nam-dag* (*-gi mñon-ñid-kyi*) *egom-lam* = *vikuddhi-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga*, 75.

*nam-pa* = *ākāra*, 73, 77, 86.

*nam-pa thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-ñid* = *nam-mkhyen* = *sarva-ākāra-jñatā*, 44, 62, 66, 72.

*nam-par-rtog-pa* = *vikalpa*, 43, 94.

*nam-par-byañ-ba* (*nam-byañ*) = *vaiyavadānika*, 6, 55.

*nam-par-mi-rtog-pa* = *nirvikalpaka*, 56.

*nam-par-smin-pa-ma-yin-paḥi skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba* = *avipāka-avasthāyām eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha*, 81.

*nam-hphel* = *virddhi*, 79.

*nam-par-smin-paḥi skad-cig-maḥi sbyor-ba* = *vipāka-avasthāyām eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* (*kṣaṇika-prayoga*), 82.

*nam-rdzogs-sbyor-ba* = *nam-kun-mñon-par-rdzogs-par-rtogs-pa*, 63, 77.

*nam-rdzogs-sbyor-ba mñon-paḥi chos bcu-gcig*, the 11 elements char. the process of intuition of all the (173) aspects of the 3 kinds of Omniscience, i. e. the 11 topics of *Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra*, 77.

*nam-ṣes-mthaḥ-yas-kyi skye-mched* = *vi-jñāna-ānantya-āyatana*, 25.

*nal-hbyor-mñon-sum* = *yogi-pratyakṣa*, 24.

*nal-hbyor-gyi sa* = *yoga-bhūmi*, 48.

*nal-hbyor-pa*, a meditator, Yogin, 17.

*snañ-ba thob-pa* = *āloka-labdha*, 20, 37.

*dpe-byad* = *vyañjana*, 47.

*spañ* = *risod-spañ*, q. v.

*spoñ-ba chen-po-ñid* = *prahāṇa-mahatṭea*, 89.

*spyod-pa bkag-paḥi sug-betan-kyi sbyor-lam*, the Path of Training as indicated indirectly in connexion with the rejection of realistic views (in Kār. III. 8), 88.

*sprin-med* = *anābhaka*, 58.

*sprul-ñu* = *nirmāṇa-kāya*, 47, 84.

*phar-phyin drug* = *saṣ pāramitāḥ*, 81.

*phyi-don bden-med*, the unreality of the external objects,—cognized by the Pratyekabuddha, 27.

*phyi-rol-don ston* = *bāhya-artha-tṛṇyatā*, the objective unreality of the external world,—the principal object of cognition on the Path of the Pratyekabuddha, 27.

*phyin-mi-ldog-paḥi rtags* = *avaivartika-lingāni*, 86.

*hphags-pa* = *ārya*, 19.

*hphags-paḥi bden-pa bḥi* = *catvāri ārya-satyāni*, 14, 18, 87.

*hphags-paḥi lam* = *ārya-mārga*, 21.

*Hphags-pa-la kha-gyar-ba*, "works erroneously attributed to the Saint" (*Ārya*), i.e. *Ārya Nāgārjuna*, 5.

*bar-chad-med-paḥi tñ-ñe-ḥdzin* = *ānantarya-samādhi*, 21, 36, 87, 80.

*bar-chad-med-paḥi rtes-sbyor* = *ānantarya-mūrdha-prayoga*, 80, 87.

*bar-chad-med-lam* = *ānantarya-mārga*, 22, 38.

*bya-ba sgrub-paḥi ye-ḥes* = *kṛtya-anuṣṭhāna-jñāna*, 45.

*byañ-chub bgröd-paḥi go-skabs phyē-bkul-du-gyur-paḥi mñon-rtogs*,—the intuition of the Truth which forms a passage (is conducive) to the attainment of Enlightenment (*bodhi*),—definition of the Path in general acc. to Sa-lam. Kh., 15.

*byañ-chub-tu sems-bekyed* = *bodhi-citta-utpāda*, 34, 72.

*byañ-phyogs-kyi chos* (cf. *byañ-chub-kyi phyogs* = *bodhipaksika dharmāḥ*), 88.

*byañ-sems-kyi lam* (i.e. *byañ-chub-sems-dpaḥi lam*), the Path of the Bodhisattva, syn. of the Mah. Path, 63, 77.

*byas-pa-rtogs-paḥi sa* = *kṛtavi-bhūmi*, 50.

*byed-paḥi mshan* = *kāṣṭha-lakṣaṇa*, 78.

*dbañ heu* = *daśa vaśīlāḥ*, 56.

*dbañ-rtul* = *mṛdv-indriya*, 26.

*dbañ-rnon* = *likṣa-indriya*, 26.

*dbu-mar gnas-paḥi blos* = *madhyastha-buddhyā*, 12.

*ḥbras-bu che-ba* = *bṛhat-phala*, 58.

*ḥbras-yum-la ñe-baḥi gñi-ḥes* = *phala-bhūta-mātur āsannī-bhūta-vastu-jñāna*, 76.

*ḥbras-yum-la rin-baḥi gñi-ḥes* = *phala-bhūta-mātur dūṛa-bhūta-vastu-jñāna*, 76.

*ḥbrin-dañ thun-mon-baḥi-lam*, the Path, i.e. the intuition of the Bodhisattva which is conformable to that of the "intermediate individual," i.e. the Hinayanist, 66.

*ḥbrin-pa* = *madhya*, 19, 20, 24.

*ḥbas-don*, the hidden meaning of the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras. Is considered to be the teaching of the Path as exposed by the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, 7.

*sbyin-paḥi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *dāna-pāramitā*, 53.

*sbyor-ha* = *prayoga*, 78.

*sbyor-ba bḥi* = *catvāraḥ prayogaḥ*, 63.

*sbyor-lam* = *prayoga-mārga*, 15, 20, 27, 34, 35, 51, 86, 88.

*ma-skyes-pa* = *anupanna*, 6, 92.

*ma-ḥgag-pa* = *aniruddha*, 6, 92.

*ma-dag sa*, "the Impure Stages," i.e. the first seven Stages of the Bodhisattva, 57.

*ma-rig-pa* = *avidyā*, 51.

*mī-che-ba* = *alrha*, 58.

*mī-ḥḡis-pa bḥi* = *catvāri vaiśāradyāni*, 46.

*mī-rtag-pa* = *amitya*, 18.

*mī-rtag-rtogs heu-drug*, the 16 aspects of the 4 Truths or Principles of the Saint, 66 (refer to *vastu-jñāna*; the aspects are indicated on p. 18).

*mī-mthun-phyogs-kyi gñi-ḥes* = *vipakya-bhūta-vastu-jñāna*, 76.

*mī-gdun-ba* = *atapa*, 58.

*mī-gyo-ba* = *acalā*, 43, 56.

*mī-slob-pa* = *asaila*, 26.

*mi-slob-lam* = *ataikṣa-mārga*, 15, 28, 43, 44.

*miñ dañ brdas* = *nāma-samketābhyām*, 94.

*me-loñ-ta-tuñi ye-śes* = *ādarśa-jñāna*, 45.

*mos-pa* = *adhīmukti*, 43.

*mos-pa* (*hi miñhan-ñid-kyi*) *sgom-lam* = *adhīmukti-lakṣaṇa-bhāvanā-mārga*, 74.

*mos-pas-spyod-pañi sa* = *adhīmukti-caryā-bhūmi*, 37, 51.

*myaṅ-ñdas-su bsgrod-pañi phyed-ñul-du gyur-pañi mñon-rtogs*, the intuition of the Truth which makes a passage (is conducive) to the attainment of Nirvāṇa,—general definition of the Path, 15.

*dmigs-pa* = *ālambana*, 37, 73, 86, 88.

*ñmon-naś-mkhyen-pa* = *pranidhi-jñāna*, 85.

*ñmon-lam-gyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *pranidhāna-pāramitā*, 56.

*rtse-sbyor* = *mūrdha-prayoga*, syn. of *rtse-moñi mñon-rtogs* = *mūrdha-abhisamaya*, 63, 79.

*rtse-sbyor-sgom-lam*, the Path of Conc. Contempl. as demonstrated in the *Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra*, 87.

*rtse-sbyor miñhan-pañi chos bgyed*, the 8 elements characterizing the Culminating Process of Illumination, i.e. the 8 topics of *Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra*, 79.

*rtse-sbyor-gyi miñhoñ-lam*, the Path of Illumination as demonstrated in the *Mūrdha-abhisamaya-adhikāra*, 87.

*rtse-mo* = *rtse-mor-gyur-pa*, q. v.

*rtse-moñi mñon-rtogs* = *mūrdha-abhisamaya*, 63, 79.

*rtse-moñi rtse-sbyor* = *mūrdhagata-mūrdha-prayoga*, 79.

*rtse-mor-gyur-pa* = *mūrdhagata*, 20, 35.

*rtsoḍ-span* = *vivāda-prahāṇa*, 3.

*brtson-bgrus-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *vīrya-pāramitā*, 54.

*tshañs-chen* = *mahā-brahma*, 58.

*tshañs-pa mdun-na-ñden* = *brahma-purohita*, 58.

*tshañs-riś* = *brahma-kāyika*, 58.

*tshad-ma* = *pramāṇa*, 19.

*tshad-med-dge* = *apramāṇa-śubha*, 58.

*tshad-med-ñod* = *apramāṇa-ābha*, 58.

*tshul-khrims-rjes-su-dran-pa* = *śīla-anu-smṛti*, 81.

*tshul-khrims dañ brtul-tugs mchog-tu-ñdzin-pa* = *śīla-vrata-parāmarṣa*, 52.

*tshul-khrims-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *śīla-pāramitā*, 54.

*tshogs-sgrub* = *tshogs-kyi sgrub-pa*, q. v.

*tshogs-spyod* = *varga-cārin*, 28.

*tshogs-spyod-chen-po* = *mahā-vargacārin* (see *tshogs-spyod* = *vargacārin*), 60 (the time of his realization of the Path).

*tshogs-lam* = *sambhāra-mārga*, 15, 18, 19, 27, 33, 51.

*tshogs-lam phal-pa*, the ordinary or the lowest degree of the Path of Accumulating Merit, 86.

*tshogs-kyi sgrub-pa* (*tshogs-sgrub*) = *sambhāra-pratipatti*, 73, 84, 87.

*miñhan-ñid* = *lakṣaṇa*, 78.

*miñhan-ñid-ño-bo-ñid-med-pa* = *lakṣaṇa-niḥsvabhāvatā*, 93.

*miñhan-ñid-med-pañi chos-ñkhor* = *alakṣaṇatoḍa-dharma-cakra*, 91.

*miñhan-ñid-med-pañi skad-cig-mañi sbyor-ba* = *alakṣaṇatoḍa-eka-kṣaṇa-abhisambodha* (*kṣaṇika-prayoga*), 82.

*miñhan-ñid gnem* = *triṇi lakṣaṇāni*, 6.

*miñhan-ma-med-pa* = *animittā*, 56.

*ñdzin-pa ñden-med*, the unreality of the perceiving subject, 36.

*ñi-gnas* = *śamatha*, 16, 17, 20, 27.

*ñi-ba* = *śānta*, 18.

*ñi-ba bsgrod-pa goig-pu'-pa*, the Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha Arhats who can only attain Hinayanistic Nirvāṇa and are unable to enter the Path of a Bodhisattva (acc. to the Yogācāras), 32.

*ñi-ba-la mi-gnas-pañi lam-śes* = *sama-apratipñhita-mārga-jñātā*, 76.

*tsin-dag-sbyor-ba* = *kṣetra-buddhi-prayoga*, 56, 79.

*gtag* = *rañ-lugs gtag-pa*, q.v.

*gñan-dbañ* = *gñan-gyi dbañ-gi mshan-tñid* q.v.

*gñan-lugs dgag-pa* = *para-mata-prati-śedha*, 3.

*gñan-gyi dbañ-gi mshan-tñid* = *gñan-dbañ* = *paratantra-lakṣaṇa*, 6, 94, 97.

*gñi-śes* = *vastu-jñāna*, syn. of *thams-cad-śes-pa-tñid* = *sarva-jñatā*, 62, 66, 75.

*gñi-śes-sbyor-ba* = *vastu-jñāna-prayoga*, 77.

*gñi-śes mshan-byed-kyi chos dgu*, the 9 elements char. the Omniscience in regard of the Emp. World, i.e. the 9 topics of *Sarva-jñatā-adhikāra*, 75.

*gñi-śes-kyi mthoñ-lam*, the Path of Illumination as demonstrated in the *Sarva-jñatā-adhikāra*, 87.

*gñi-śes-kyi tugs-bstan-gyi mthoñ-lam*, the Śrāvaka's Path of Illumination indirectly mentioned in the *Sarva-jñatā-adhikāra*, 89.

*gñi-śes-kyi rnam-pa ſier-bdun*, the 27 aspects (*ākāra*, of the 173) relating to the Omniscience in regard of the Empirical World (Kār. IV. 2 = *Aṣṭaśhasrikā*, 204. 20—206. 2—from *asat-pāramitē'yaṃ* and up to *acalita-pāramitē'yaṃ*), 77.

*zag-bcas* = *sāmrava*, 43.

*zag-bcas egom-lam lha*, the 5 aspects of the Pratyekabuddha's Path of Conc. Contempl., which is influenced by defilement (incl. in the 37 aspects rel. to the Omniscience in regard of the Emp. World, cf. *gñi-śes-kyi rnam-pa ſier-bdun*. They belong to the 15 aspects relating to *mārga-satya*), 89.

*zag-med mthoñ-lam drug*, the 6 aspects of the undefiled Path of Illumination of the Pratyekabuddha (incl. in the 37 aspects rel. to the Omniscience in regard of the Emp. World, cf. *gñi-śes-*

*kyi rnam-pa ſier-bdun*. They belong to the 15 aspects rel. to *mārga-satya*), 89.

*gzugs-sku* = *rūpa-kāya*, 46.

*gzugs-brñan* = *pratibimba*, 46.

*gzugs-khams* = *rūpa-dhātu*, 23, 58.

*gzugs-med-khams* = *ārūpya-dhātu*, 23, 25, 58.

*gzugs-med-kyi ſñoms-hjug bñi* = *caśasra ārūpya-samāpattayaś*, 48.

*gzugs-la-sogs-pañi chos thams-cad dños-po-med-pañi ño-bo-tñid-du khon-du chud-pa* = *rūpādi-sarva-dharma-abhāva-sva-bhāva-avabodha*, 81.

*gzun-ba chos-kyi bdag-med* = *grāhya-dharma-nairātmya*, 27, 28.

*gzod-ma-nas ñi-ba* = *ādi-kānta*, 92.

*bzodhi sprul-sku* = *ñilpa-nirmāṇa-kāya*, 47.

*bzod-pa* = *kṣānti*, 20, 35, 60.

*bzod-pañi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *kṣānti-pāramitā*, 54.

*bzod-pañi rñes-sbyor* = *kṣāntigata-mārdha-prayoga*, 80.

*hog-min* = *akaniṣṭha*, 46, 58.

*ñod-chuñ* = *paritta-ābha*, 58.

*ñod-hphro-ba(-can)* = *arñismatā*, 42, 54.

*ñod-byed-pa* = *prabhākarā*, 42, 54.

*ñod-geal* = *ābhāsvara*, 58.

*yig-cha*, Tibetan manual for the study of a special branch of Buddh. literature in the monastic schools, 3.

*ñid-la-byed-pa* = *manarñikāra*, 17.

*yum* = *mātr*, 15, 65.

*yum drug*, "the 6 Mother works," i.e. the six principal Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras acc. to the earlier Tib. authors, 8.

*yum gñum*, "the 3 Mothers," i.e. the 3 kinds of Omniscience (*sarva-ākāra-jñatā*, *mārga-jñatā*, and *sarva-jñatā*), 65.

*ye-śes* = *jñāna*, 15.

*ye-śes-chos-sku* = *jñāna-dharma-kāya*, 46, 83.

*ye-śes-kyi enañ-ba* = *jñāna-āloka*, 20.

*ye-śes-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *jñāna-pāramitā*, 57.

*ye-śes-la dbaṅ-ba* = *jñāna-vatitā*, 56.

*yoṅs-grub* = *yoṅs-su-grub-paḥi mīshan-ñid*, q. v.

*yoṅs-su-grub-paḥi mīshan-ñid* (*yoṅs-grub*) = *pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*, 6, 94, 97.

*yoṅs-su-baṅo-ba* = *pariṇāma*, 43, 75.

*yoṅs-su-sbyoṅ-ba* (*yoṅs-sbyoṅ*) = *parīcarman*, 53, 84.

*yoṅs-su-ḥdzin-pa med-pa* = *niṣparigraha* absence of attachment or interest in regard of the Doctrine of Scripture; cogn. on the fourth Stage, 54.

*yon-tan* = *guṇa*, 78, 88.

*rañ-ḥgrel* = *sva-vṛtti*, auto-commentary, 4.

*rañ-rgyal* = *pratyeka-jñāna*, the usual term for *pratyekabuddha* in the Tib. manuals, 27, 28.

*rañ-rgyal dgra-bcom-pa*, the *Pratyeka-buddha* Arhat, 28.

*rañ-rgyal-gyi lam-śes-paḥi lam-śes* = *pratyekabuddha-mārga-jñāna-mayī mārga-jñātā*, 74.

*rañ-bān-gyi myan-ḥdas* = *prakṛti-nirvāṇa*, 92.

*rañ-bān-gyis dag-pa* = *svabhāva-buddha*, 46.

*rañ-bān-gyis dag-pa daṅ glo-hur-gyi dri-mas dag-pa gñis daṅ-ldan-paḥi dbyings mīhar-thug*, the Ultimate Substance, completely pure by itself and free from every kind of additional defilement,—def. of *svabhāva-kāya*, 46, 88.

*rañ-yul-du-gyur-paḥi gaṅ-zag-gi bḍag-med-la rtse-gcig-tu mīam-par-bāg-paḥi ṇian-thos-kyi bden-pa mñon-rtoḡs*, the Śrāvaka's intuition of the 4 Truths of the Saint, which is characterized by the full concentration upon the Non-ego principle,—definition of the Śrāvaka's *samāhita-jñāna*, q. v., 22.

*rañ-lugs gtag-pa* = *sva-mata-sādhapanā*, 3.

*rañ-gi ṇos-skal-gyi spañ-bya*, the points to be shunned directly referring to it, i. e. to the Mah. *darśana-mārga*, 38.

*rañ-gi mīshan-ñid* = *svolakṣaṇa*, 94.

*rañ-gi-mīshan-ñid-kyis grub-pa* = *svolakṣaṇa-siddha*, 96.

*rañ-skye* = *pradhava*, 18.

*rañ-tu-dgaḥ-ba* = *pramuditā*, 42, 51.

*rige* = *gotra*, 31, 88.

*rige-ñes* = *niyata-gotraka*, 33, 38.

*rige-ma-ñes-pa* = *anīyata-gotraka*, 33.

*rige-kyis* = *gotra-bhūmi*, 49.

*rige-pa* = *nyāya*, 18.

*riñ-du-soṅ-ba* = *dūramgamā*, 42, 55.

*lan cig phyir-ḥoṅ-ba* = *sakṛd-āgāmin*, 50.

*lam* = *mārga*, passim.

*lam-gyi bden-pa* (*lam-bden*) = *mārga-satyā*, 18.

*lam-śer-phyin* = *mārga* (-*bhātā*) *prajñā-pāramitā* 7, 63, 77.

*lam-śes* (-*ñid*) = *mārga-jñātā*, 62, 66, 74.

*lam-śes-sbyor-ba* = *mārga-jñātā-prayoga*, the training for the attainment of the Omniscience in regard of the Path, syn. of *sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha*, 77.

*lam-śes mñon-byed-kyi chos bcu-gcig*, the 11 elements characterizing the Omniscience in regard of the Path, i. e. the 11 topics of *Mārga-jñātā-adhikāra*, 74.

*lam-śes-kyi agom-lam*, the Path of Conc. Contempl. as demonstrated in the *Mārga-jñātā-adhikāra*, 87.

*lam-śes-kyi ṇian-thos-kyi sbyor-lam mñon-lam*, the Paths of Training and Illumination relating to the Bodhisattva's knowledge of the Śrāvaka's Path demonstrated in the *Mārga-jñātā-adhikāra* (Kār. II. 2–5), 88.

*lam-śes-kyi mñon-lam*, the Path of Illumination (*darśana-mārga*) as demonstrated in the *Mārga-jñātā-adhikāra*, 87.

*lam-śes-kyi rnam-pa so-drug*, the 36 aspects (*ākāra*, of the 173) relating to the

- Omniscience in regard of the Path (Kār. IV. 3 = Aṣṭasāhasr. 206. 3—207. 1 —from *virāga-pāramitē'yaṃ* and up to *sarva-jñyatā-pāramitē'yaṃ*), 78.
- lam-tes-kyi yan-lag* = *mārga-jñatā-angāni*, 74.
- las-dañ-po-paḥi sa* = *ādikarmika-bhāmi*, 19, 34, 51.
- luñ-gi chos* = *āgama-dharma*, the Doctrine of Scripture, 54.
- lus dañ sems śin-tu-sbyaṅs-pa* = *kāya-citta-pratrabdhī*, 17.
- legs-paḥi blo-gros* = *sādhumatā*, 43, 56.
- log-sgrub* = *vipratipatti*, 80.
- log-lta* = *mūlhyā-dreṣṭi*, 51.
- loñs-epyod-rdzogs-paḥi sku* (or: *loñs-sku*) = *sambhoga-kāya*, 46, 84.
- lñ-rtahī erol-hbyed*, "Way-layer of the Vehicle,"—fundamental, independent interpretation of the Prajñā-pāramitā. There are four such works acc. to the earlier Tibetan authors and two acc. to the school of Tsoñ-kha-pa,—4—7.
- lñ-tu-mthoñ-ba* = *śūdrā*, 58.
- lñ-tu-rnam-dag-gi agom-lam* = *atyanta-viśuddha-bhāvanā-mārga*, 43.
- lñ-tu-sbyaṅs-dkaḥ-ba* = *śūdrjayā*, 42, 55.
- luḡs-don*, the indirect subject-matter of a work (opp. to *dños-don*), 6.
- ser-phyin* = *śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa*, q. v.
- ser-phyin btags-pa-pa* = *aupacārika prajñā-pāramitā*, 7.
- śes-sgrīb* = *śes-byaḥi sgrīb-pa*, q. v.
- śes-sgrīb kun-btags spañs-pas rab-tu-phyebahī theg-chen-gyi dden-pa mñon-rlogs*, the intuition of the Truths char. by the removal of the Obsc. of Ign. which is due to misconception,—def. of the Mah. vimukti-mārga, 39.
- śes-byaḥi sgrīb-pa* = *śes-sgrīb* = *jñeya-āvaraṇa*, 32, 52.
- śes-miśhan* = *jñāna-lakṣaṇa*, 78.
- śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *prajñā-pāramitā*, passim.
- sa-bon* = *bhja*, 31.
- sa-miśhams*, limits, 62.
- sañs-rgyas-rjes-su-dran-pa* = *buddha-anuśmṛti*, 81.
- sañs-rgyas-kyi sa* = *buddha-bhāmi*, the Stage of the Buddha (called: *samanta-prabhā*), 41.
- señ-ge-rnam-par-begyiñs-paḥi lñ-tis-hdzin* = *śiṅha-vijṛmbhita-samādhi*, 85.
- sems kun-tu-gnas-pa* = *citta-samsthiti*, 80.
- sems-bkgyed* = *byañ-chub-tu sems-škgyed* = *bodhi-citta-utpāda*, 88.
- sems-bkgyed dañ-po gsum*, the first 3 forms of the Creative Mental Effort for Enlightenment (*bodhi-citta-utpāda*), 86.
- sems-can kun-gyi mchog-ñid-kyi sems-chen-po-ñid* = *sarva-sattva-agraṭā-citta-mahatva*, 80.
- sems-dpaḥi rnal-hbyor*, the yoga of the Mah. Saint,—a synonym of the Path, 63, 77.
- so-so rañ-gis rig-par-bya-ba* = *pratyāt-ma-nedya*, 32.
- so-soḥi sbye-bo* = *prthagjana*, 19.
- so-sor-rtog-paḥi ye-ñes* = *pratyaśekṣaṇa-jñāna*, 45.
- so-sor-brtags-ḥgog* = *pratīsamkhyā-nirodha*, 41.
- so-sor-brtags-mñn-gyi ḥgog-pa* = *apratī-samkhyā-nirodha*, 41.
- śras bcu-gcig*, "the eleven filial works," the small Pr.-pār.-sūtras mentioned by the earlier Tib. authors, 8.
- śrid-pa-la mi-gnas-paḥi gñi-ñes* = *bhava-apratīṣhita-vastu-jñāna*, 75.
- śrid-rñse* = *bhavāgṛa*, 25.
- śrid-ñi mñam-ñid-kyi śhyor-ba* = *bhava-śānti-samatā-prayoga*, 79.
- śrol-hbyed-pa* = *lñ-rtahī erol-hbyed*, 97.
- ñol-pa phyin-mi-ldog-paḥi byañ-sems-kyi*



*dge-hdun* = *śaikṣa-avaivartika-bodhi-satto-saṅgha*, 79.  
*stob-lam* = *śaikṣa-mārga*, the first 4 main Degrees of the Path, 41.  
*gsar-du mi-stu-baḥi śes-pa*, the correct cognition of something for the first time, definition of *pramāṇa*, q.v., 19.  
*gsal-maṅ*, clear representation, cf. *jñāna-āloka*, 36.  
*bsam-gtan-gyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* = *dhyāna-pāramitā*, 55.  
*bsam-gtan bśi* = *catvāri dhyānāni*, 25, 48.

*bsam-pa-las byun-baḥi śes-rab* = *cintāmayi prajñā*, 20.  
*bsa-rs lta-bu* = *khadga-viṣṇu-kalpa*, 28.  
*bsod-nam-skyes* = *puṇya-prasava*, 58.  
*bsrab-paḥi sa* = *tanū-bhūmi*, 50.  
*lha-bla-ma-rjes-tu-dran-pa* = *devatā-anu-smṛti*, 81.  
*lhag-mhoṅ* = *vipaśyanā*, 16, 17, 20, 27, 34, 35.  
*lhag-paḥi beam-pa* = *adhyāśaya*, 34.  
*lhan-skyes* = *sahaja*, 42.  
*lhun-gyis-grub-par* = *anābhogam*, 55.

## Sutras and Śāstras.

### Sanskrit-Tibetan.

[For a detailed bibliography of the Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtras cf. Prof. M. Walleser, *Prajñā-pāramitā*, p. 17, 18, 19 sqq.]

*Akutobhaya* = *Ga-las-hjigs-med*, Comm. on the *Mūla-Mādhyanika*,—doubts as regards authorship, 4, 5.  
*Anupūrva-abhisamayā-adhikāra* = *Mthar-gyis-paḥi mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi skabs*, the sixth chapter of the *Abhisamayā-lampkāra*, 64.  
*Abhidharmakośa* = *Chos-mñon-paḥimdzod*, abbr. *Mdzod*, 13, 23 (on the 16 moments), 41, 59.  
*(Abhidharmakośa)-vyākhyā* of *Yaśomitra* (Tib. *Rgyal-sras-ma*), 13, 22 (on *ānanta-rya-mārga* and *vimukti-mārga*), 25, 26 (on the subdivisions of *bhāvanā-mārga*).  
*Abhidharma-samuccaya* = *Mñon-pa kun-btus*, of *Ārya Asanga*, 13, 19 (concerning *saṃbhāra-mārga*), 23 (on the 16 moments), 39 (on the 16 moments of the *Mah. darśana-mārga*), 40 (ditto), 41 (on *apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*), 95, 96, 97.  
*Abhisamayālampkāra*, full title *Abhisamayālampkāra-nāma Prajñā-pāramitā-*

*upadeśa-śāstra* = *Śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi man-nag-gi bstan-beos* *Mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyan*, abbr. *Mñon-rtogs-rgyan*, *passim*.  
*Abhisamayālampkāra-āloka* = *Mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyan-gyi snañ-ba*, abbr. *Rgyan-snañ*, also called *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-mahā-tīkā* = *Brgyad-stoñ ḥgrel-chen*, abbr. *Ḥgrel-chen*, *Commentary of Haribhadra* on the *Abhisamayālampkāra en regard Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, *passim*.  
*Abhisamayālampkāra - vārttika* = *Rnam-ḥgrel*, Comm. of *Bhadanta Vimuktasena*, 5, 9, 12 (doubts as regards the authorship of the text in the Tg, MDO. II. 1—207).  
*Abhisamayālampkāra-vṛtti-piṇḍārtha* = *Mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyan-gyi ḥgrel-paḥi bśud-don*, Tg. MDO. VII. 289—315, *Summary of Haribhadra's Sphuṭārthā* by *Prajñākaramati*, 11.  
*Ardhaśatīkā* = *Lūa-bcu-pa* (Kg. ŚER. I. No. 6), 8.  
*Aṣṭa-saṃāna-ārtha-śāsana* = *Don-brgyad-*

- kyis mthun-par-bstan-pa (Tg. MDO. II. 207—275), Comm. on the Abhisam. with references to the Śatasāhasrikā, the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrika, and the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā, ascr. to Smṛtijñānakīrti, 10 (doubts as regards authorship).
- Aṣṭasāhasrikā = Brgyad-stoṅ-pa, commented by the Abhis. Āloka, 2, 8, 9, 10, 66.
- Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha = Prajñā-pāramitā-artha-saṃgraha, q.v.
- Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā = Khri-brgyad-stoṅ-pa, 8, 9, 10.
- Āgama-mañjari = Luñ-gi sñe-ma, 2.
- Uttaratantra (full title: Mahāyāna-uttaratantra-śāstra = Theg-pa chen-po Rgyud-bla-maḥi bstan-beos, abbr. Rgyud-bla-ma or Rgyud-bla). Transl. (with the Uttaratantra-vyākhyā) in the Acta Orientalia (vol. IX), 1, 28, 29, 31, 41, 54, 55, 56, 57, 83, 85, 90 (acc. to the Tib. trad.—a Mādhy. Prāsang. work), 98, 99, 100.
- Eka-kṣapa-abhisamaya-adhikāra = Skad-cig-ma gcig-paḥi mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi skabs, the seventh chapter of the Abhisamayālamkāra, 64.
- Ekākṣari = Yi-ge-gcig-ma (Kg. RGYUD. XIII. No. 7), 8.
- Kīrtikalā = Grags-cha (Tg. MDO. IX. 223—310), Comm. on the Abhisam. by Ratnakīrti, 11.
- Kauśika-prajñā-pāramitā (Kg. RGYUD. XIII), 8.
- Ghana-vyūha = Rgyan-stug-po bkod-pa, 91, 99.
- Catubśatikā = Bāi-brgya-pa, of Āryadeva, quoted in the Akutobhaya,—an argument for denying the authorship of Nāgārjuna, 4.
- Jñāna-āloka-alamkāra-(sūtra) = Ye-śes-snañ-ba-rgyan-gyi mdo, 99, 100.
- Tippaṇi = Mchan-bu, of Jam-yañ ḥad-pa on the Lam-rim, 90.
- Tathāgata-garbha(-sūtra) = De-bāin-gsogs-paḥi sñiñ-poḥi mdo, 99.
- Triṃśikā = Sum-cu-pa, 96.
- Triśatikā = Sum-brgya-pa, 8.
- Daśadharmaka = Chos bu-pa, 29, 30 (mentioned in the Abhis. Āloka, as containing the teaching of the eka-yāna).
- Daśasāhasrikā = Śes-rab-khri-pa, 8.
- 1) Durbodha-āloka = Rtogs-dkaḥi snañ-ba (Tg. MDO. VII. 161—289), Comm. on the Abhisam. by Dharmakīrtiśīr from Suvarṇadvīpa, 11.
- 2) Durbodha-āloka = Rtogs-dkaḥi snañ-ba, of Mkhas-grub (Khai-ḥub), 3.
- Dharma-kāya-adhikāra = Chos-kyi skuḥi skabs, the eighth chapter of the Abhisamayālamkāra, 64.
- Dharma-dharmatā-vibhanga = Chos dañ chos-ñid rnam-ḥbyed, 1, 90 (is a Yogācāra work), 96.
- Nirṇaya-saṃgraha = Rnam-par-gtan-la-ḥbab-paḥi bsdu-ba, 96.
- Nirvikalpa-stotra = Rnam-par-mi-rtog-paḥi bstod-pa, 65.
- Paddhati = Gzūñ-bgrel, Commentary of Vasubandhu on the Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā. The Comm. on the three Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras by Daṃṣṭrāsena is confounded with it, 5, 12.
- Pañcaviṃśati-prajñā-pāramitā-mukha = Sgo-ñer-lha-pa (Kg. RGYUD. X), 8.
- Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā = Ñi-khri-lha-stoṅ-pa or Ñi-khri, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 97 (on *kālpita*, *vikalpita*, and *dharma-tā*).
- Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-āloka = Ñi-khri-snañ-ba (Tg. MDO. I. 15—249 Pek. Full title acc. to Tg.: Ārya-Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra-Abhisamayālamkāra-vṛtti),—the Comm. of Ārya-Vimuktasena, 9.

Pañcaśatikā = Lāa-brgya-pa (Kg. ŚER. I. No. 4), 8.

Prajñā-pāramitā-artha-saṃgraha, alias Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha = Brgyad-stoñ-don-bśdus, summary of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā by Dignāga. Is regarded by the early Tib. authors as an independent interpretation (śiñ-rtahī srol-lbyed) and by Tsoñ-kha-pa and his school as being founded upon the Yogācāra works of Asaṅga, 5, 6, 7 (on the meaning of *prajñā-pāramitā*), 45 (*dharma-kāya* = *tathāgata* = *prajñā-pāramitā*).

Prajñā-pāramitā-kośa-tāla = Śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi | Mdzod-kyi lde-mig (Tg. MDO. XI. 331-223), Comm. on the Abhisam. *en regard* Saṃcaya, ascr. to Dharmasī, 10 (doubts as regards authorship).

Prajñā-pāramitā-naya-śata-pañcaśatikā = Tshulbrgya-lāa-beu-pa (Kg. RGYUD. IX), 8.

Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha = Śer-phyin don-bśdus-pa, Tg. MDO. VIII. 128-135, Comm. on the Abhisam. by Kumāraśrī-bhadra, 11.

Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha pradīpa = Śer-phyin bśdus-don (or: don-bśdus) sgron-ma (Tg. MDO. X. 253-262), Comm. on the Abhisam. ascribed to Dīpaṃkara-Śrījñāna (Atīśa), 11 (doubts as regards authorship).

Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras = Śer-phyin-mdo, *passim*.

Prajñā-pradīpa = Śes-rab-sgron-ma, of Bhāṇaviveka. Commented on by Avalokitavratā, 4.

Prajñā-pradīpa-āvalī = Śes-rab sgron-mehi phreñ-ba (Tg. MDO. IX. 1-87), Comm. on the Abhisam. by Buddha-Śrījñāna, 11.

Prajñā-mūla = Rtsa-baḥi śes-rab, abbr. Rtsa-śe, the Mūla-mādhyaṃika-kārikās

of Nāgārjuna, 4, 6 (quoted in the Commentary of Daṃṣṭrasena on the three Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras).

Prajñā-hṛdaya (Bhagavatī-prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya) = Śes-rab-sñiñ-po (Śer-sñiñ, Kg. RGYUD. XII), 8.

Prasphuṭapadā = Tshig-gsal (Tg. MDO. VIII. 1-128 Pek.), Sub-commentary on the Sphuṭārthā of Haribhadra by the Mādhyaṃika Dharmamitra, 11.

Bodhi-patha-pradīpa = Lam-sgron, of Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (Tg. MDO. XXXI. 274-277 and XXXIII. 1-5), 14 (is the foundation of the Lam-rim).

Bodhisattva-bhūmi = Byañ-sa, 96, 97.

Bhāvanākrama = Sgom-rim, of Kamalaśīla, 17 (quoted in the Lam-rim).

Madhyānta-vibhanga = Dbus-mthal-rnam-lbyed, 1, 6 (the Prajñā-pāramitā-artha-saṃgraha of Dignāga is founded upon it), 53 (on the cognition peculiar to each of the 10 Stages of the Bodhisattva), 90 (the Madh.-vibh. is a Yogācāra work), 96.

Marmakaumudī = Gnad-kyi zla-hod (Tg. MDO. XI. 1-256 Pek.; full title acc. to Tg. Ārya-Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-vṛtti Marmakaumudī nāma), Comm. on the Abhisam. *en regard* Aṣṭasāhasrikā by Abhayākara-guṇa, 10.

Mahāvvyutpatti, 16, 58 (the divisions of the *rūpa-dhātu*), 88 (*bodhipaṅkīka dharmāḥ*).

Mahāyāna-saṃgraha = Theg-pa chen-poḥi bśdus-pa or Theg-bśdus, of Asaṅga, 6 (the Prajñā-pāramitā-artha-saṃgraha of Dignāga is founded upon it), 95, 96.

Mahāyāna-Sūtrālamkāra (Sūtrālamkāra) = Theg-pa chen-poḥi Mdo-sdeḥi rgyan (abbr. Mdo-sde-rgyan), 1, 37 (on the Mah. *nirveda-bhāṅgīya*; the text of the Sūtrā. is the source of Haribhadra), 38 (on the direct perception of the Absolute on the *darśana-mārga*), 59

- (Vasubandhu's Comm.—on the time of attainment of Nirvāṇa by the Śrāvakas), 86, 90, 96, 97.
- Mādhyamika-ālamkāra = Dbu-ma-rgyan, of Śāntirakṣita (Tg. MDO. XXVIII. 48–84), 90.
- Mārga-jñātā-adhikāra = Lam-śes-ñid-kyi skabs, the second chapter of the Abhisamayālamkāra, 64.
- Manimatālamkāra = Thub-paḥi dgoṅs-rgyan (Tg. MDO. XXIX. 71–398), the work of Abhayākara-gupta, 11 (acc. to Gaer. it must be counted among the Comm. on the Abhisamayālamkāra).
- Mūrdha - abhisamaya - adhikāra = Rtsemoḥi mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi skabs, the fifth chapter of the Abhisamayālamkāra, 64.
- Mūla-mādhyamika = Prajñā-mūla, q. v.
- Yukti-śaṣṭikā = Rigs-pa drug-cu-pa, of Nāgārjuna, 4.
- Yogacaryābhūmi = Rnal - ḥbyor-spyod-paḥi sa, of Asanga, 13, 95, 96.
- Ratnakūṭa = Dkon-brtsogs, section of the Kangyur, 91.
- Ratna-pradīpa = Rin-chen-sgron-ma, 3.
- Ratnamegha = Dkon-mchog-sprin, 29, 30 (mentioned in the Abhis. ālokā, as containing the teaching of the *eka-yāna*).
- Ratnāvalī = Rin-chen-phreñ-ba, of Nāgārjuna. Considered by some to be the sixth of the Mādhyamika-treatises (Dbu-ma rigs-tshogs drug), 4.
- Lankāvatīra, 29, 30 (mentioned in the Abhis. ālokā in conn. with the *eka-yāna*), 91, 99.
- Vārttika, cf. Abhisamayālamkāra-vārttika, 5.
- Vīgraha-vyāvartani = Rtsod-pa zlog-pa, of Nāgārjuna, 4.
- Vipśikā = Ñi-śu-pa, 96.
- Vaidalya-sūtra = 'Zib-mo rnam-thag, of Nāgārjuna, 4.
- Vyavahāra-siddhi = Tha-śñad-grub-pa, the sixth of the Mādhy. treatises of Nāgārjuna acc. to Bu-ston, 4.
- Vyākhyāyukti = Rnam-bśad-rigs-pa, 96.
- Vyākhyā-hṛdaya-ālamkāra = Rnam-bśad śñiñ-poḥi rgyan, 2.
- Śatasāhasrikā = Stoñ-phrag-brgya-pa, alias Yum ḥbum-pa or Ḥbum, 8, 9.
- Śatasāhasrikā, Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, and Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā, Commentary on,—ascribed to Daṃṣṭrāsena and confounded with the Paddhati of Vasubandhu, 5.
- Śatasāhasrikā-vivaraṇa = Stoñ-phrag-brgya-paḥi rnam-par-bśad-pa, Tg. MDO. XI. 256–331, ascribed to Dharmasīri; acc. to Tsoñ-kha-pa the authorship is dubious, 10.
- Śuddhimatī = Dag-ldan, Comm. on the Abhisamayālamkāra *en regard* Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā by Ratnākaraśānti (Tg. MDO. IX. 87–240), 9, 65 (quoted in Skabs.—expl. of *māṭr*).
- Śūnyatā-saptatī = Stoñ-ñid bdun-cu-pa, of Nāgārjuna, 4.
- Śrāvaka-bhūmi = Ñau-sa, 97.
- Śrī-māllī-devi-simhanāda (-sūtra) = Lhamo Dpal-phreñ señ-geḥi sgraḥi mdo, 99, 100.
- Samcaya (Gūpa-ratna-samcaya-gāthā) = Sdud-pa (Kg. ŚER. I. No. 1), 8, 9, 10.
- Samcaya-gāthā - pañjikā = Sdud-paḥi ākaḥ-ḥgrel (Tg. MDO. VIII. 135–223), Comm. on the Abhisam. *en regard* Samcaya, by Buddhaśrījñāna, 10.
- Samcaya-gāthā-pañjikā Subodhīnī nāma = (Sdud-paḥi) ākaḥ-ḥgrel rtogs-sla (Tg. MDO. VII. 1–93 Pek.), Comm. on the Abhisam. *en regard* Samcaya by Haribhadra, 10 (doubts as regards authorship).
- Satyaka-satyaki-parivarta, 29, 30 (mentioned in the Abhis. ālokā, as containing the teaching of the *eka-yāna*).

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka = Dam-paḥi chos padma-dkar-po), 29, 30 (quoted in the Abhis. Ālokā in connexion with the *eka-gāna*).

Samdhinirmocana = Dgoṅs-pa ṅes-par ḥgrel-pa (abbr. Mdo-sde Dgoṅs-ḥgrel or Dgoṅs-ḥgrel), 17 (quoted in the Lam-rim), 32 (quoted in Skabs), 91 (the S.-nirm. is the principal fundamental Sūtra of the Yogācāra system), 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99.

Saptaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā = Bdun-brgya-pa (Kg. ŚER. I. No. 3), 8.

Sarva-ākāra-abhisambodha-adhikāra = Rnam-kun-māon-par-rdzogs-par-rtogs-paḥi skabs, the fourth chapter of the Abhisamayālamkāra, 64.

Sarva-ākāra-jñātā-adhikāra = Rnam-pa-thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-ñid-kyi skabs, the first chapter of the Abhisamayālamkāra, 64.

Sarva-jñātā-adhikāra = Thams-cad-ṅes-pa-ñid-kyi skabs, the third chapter of the Abhisamayālamkāra, 64.

Sārottamā = Sñiṅ-poḥi mchog (Tg. MDO. X. 1—253 Pek; full title acc. to Tg. Ārya - Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-pañjikā Sārottamā nāma), Comm. on the Abhisamayālamkāra *en regard* Aṣṭasāhasrikā by Ratnākaraśānti, 10.

Suvikrānta-vikrami-pariprechā = Rab-rtsal rnam-guon-gyis ṅus-pa (Kg. ŚER. I. No. 2), 8.

Sūtra = Mdo, section of the Kangyur, 91. Sphuṭārthā = (Ḥgrel-pa) Don-gsal, Comm. of Haribhadra on the Abhisamayālamkāra (Tg. MDO. VII. 93—161 of the Pek. edition; full title acc. to Tg.: Abhisamayālamkāra-nāma - prajñā - pāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra-vṛtti), 2, 11, 12, 65.

Svalpākṣara-prajñā-pāramitā = Yi-ge ṅuṅ-ñu (Kg. RGYUD. XII), 8.

## Sūtras and Śāstras.

### Tibetan-Sanskrit.

Kun-las-btus (for Māon-pa-kun-las-btus) = Abhidharma-samuccaya, 96.

Dkon-brtsegs = Ratnakūṭa, 91.

Khri-brgyad-stoṅ-pa = Aṣṭāśāsa-sāhasrikā, 8.

Ga-las-ḥjigs-med = Akutobhaya, 4.

Grags-cha = Kīrtikālā, 11.

Grub-mthaḥ (Dub-mthā), of Jam-yañ-ñad-pa, 99 (on the fundamental Sūtras of the Yogācāras).

Gleñ-gāḥi leḥu = Nidāna-parivarta, introductory chapter, 96.

Dgoṅs-pa ṅes-par-ḥgrel-pa = Samdhi-nirmocana, 91, 93, 96.

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Ḥgrel-chuñ = Sphuṭārthā, q. v., 12.

Ḥgrel-chen (for Brgyad-stoṅ-ḥgrel-chen, q. v.), another abridged title of the Abhis. Ālokā, 2, 12.

Ḥgrel-pa Don-gsal = Sphuṭārthā, 2.

Rgyan-stug-po-bkod-pa = Ghana-vyuha, 91.

Rgyan-snañ, abridged title of the Abhis. Ālokā of Haribhadra. (Cf. Māon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyan-gyi snañ-ba), 2.

Sgo-ñer-lña-pa = Pañcaviṃśati-prajñā-pāramitā-mukha, 8.

Brgyad-stoṅ ḥgrel-chen = Aṣṭasāhasrikā-mahā-ṭikā, another title of the Abhis. Ālokā, 2.

Brgyad-stoṅ-don-bśus = Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha (Prajñā-pāramitā-artha-sam-graha), 5.

Brgyad-stoñ-pa = Aṣṭasāhasrikā, 8.

Mñon-rtogs-rgyan = Abhisamayālamkāra, 66 (a Mahāyānistie treatise *par excellence*).

Mñon-rtogs-rim-pa = Abhisamaya-krama, of Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma Rin-chen, 14.

Mñon-pa kun-btus = Abhidharma-samuccaya, 96, 97.

Mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyan-gyi snañ-ba = Abhisamayālamkāra-śloka, 2.

Lña-brgya-pa = Pañcaśatikā, 8.

Lña-beu-pa = Arhaśatikā, 8.

Chos-ḥbyuñ, History of Buddhism by Bu-ton (Bu-ston) with translation (vol. I), 4, 5, 45, 47, 59, 60, 61, 96, 98.

Ñi-khri-lña-stoñ-pa, or Ñi-khri = Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, 8.

Ñi-śu-pa = Vimśikā, 96.

Sñiñ-poḥi mehog = Śārotamā, 10.

Gtan-la-dbab-pa bsdu-ba, for Rnam-par-gtan-la dbab-paḥi bsdu-ba = Nirṇaya-saṃgraha, 96.

1) Rtogs - ḍkaḥi snañ - ba = Durbodha-śloka, Comm. on the Abhisam. by Dharmakīrtiśrī from Suvarṇadvīpa (Gser-gliñ-pa), 11.

2) Rtogs - ḍkaḥi snañ - ba = Durbodha-śloka, Comm. on the Abhisam. and the Sphuṭārthā (q.v.) by Mkhas-grub (Khai-ḍub) Dge-legs dpal-bzañ-po, 3, 69.

Stoñ-ñid bdun-cu-pa = Śūnyatā-saptati, 4.

Stoñ-thun Bskal-bzañ mig-ḥbyed (full title: Zab-mo stoñ-pa-ñid-kyi de-khona-ñid rab-tu gtal-bar-byed-paḥi bstan-bcos Bskal-bzañ-mig-ḥbyed), of Mkhas-grub (Khai-ḍub), 4 (denial of the authorship of Nāgārjuna in regard of the Akutobhaya), 90, 96 (on the Yogācāra literature).

Stoñ-phrag-brgya-pa = Śatasāhasrikā, 8.

Tha-sñad-grub-pa = Vyavahāra-siddhi, 4.

Thub-paḥi dgoñs-rgyan = Munimatālamkāra, 11.

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De-bñin-gsēgs-paḥi sñiñ-poḥi mdo = Ta-thāgata-garbha-sūtra, 99.

Don brgyad-kyis mthun-par-bstan-pa = Aṣṭa-samāna-artha-śāsana, 10.

Don bdun-cu, Summary of the 70 topics of the Abhisam., ascr. to Jam-yañ-ñad-pa, 46 (def. of *svabhāva-kāya*), 62, 63, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83.

Bdun-brgya-pa = Saptaśatikā, 8.

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Sdud-pa = Saṃcaya (Guṇa-ratna-saṃcaya-gāthā), 8.

(Sdud-paḥi) dkaḥ-ḥgrel rtogs-sla = Saṃcaya-gāthā-panjikā, 10.

Gnad-kyi zla-ḥod = Marmakaumudī, 10.

Rnam-ḥgrel = Abhisamayālamkāra-vārtika, 12.

Rnam-par-gtan-la-dbab-paḥi bsdu-ba = Nirṇaya-saṃgraha, 96.

Rnam-bśad sñiñ-poḥi rgyan = Vyākhyā-hrdaya-alamkāra, Comm. on the Abhisam. and the Sphuṭārthā (q.v.) by Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma Rin-chen (vol. II of his works), 2, 44, 71, 72, 97.

Rnam-bśad-rigs-pa = Vyākhyā-yukti, 96.

Dpal-phreñ-gi mdo = Lha-mo Dpal-phreñ señ-geḥi sgrahi mdo, q.v.

Phar-phyin skabs brgyad-ka, "the Eight Subjects of Prajñā-pāramitā," a manual (*yig-cha*) for the study of the Abhisam. by Jam-yañ-ñad-pa (Hjam-ābyaṇa-bśad-pa), 3, 32 (quot. from the Samdhinirmocana), 64, 65, 66, 82.

Bu-ston Phar-phyin, "the Prajñā-pāramitā Commentary of Bu-ston," another title of Luñ-gi sñe-ma, q.v., 2.

Byaṇ-sa = Bodhisattva-bhūmi, 97.

Byams-pas źus-paḥi leḥn, the Chapter

- (of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*) containing the questions of Maitreya, 97.
- Dbu-maḥi rigs-tshogs drug, the six Mādhyamika treatises of Nāgārjuna, 4.
- Hbum, abridged title of the *Śatasāhasrikā* acc. to the Tib. tradition, 8.
- Hbyed gñis, the two Vibhanga, i.e. *Madhyānta-vibhanga* and *Dharma-dharma-matā-vibhanga*, 97.
- Rtsa-baḥi śes-rab, abbr. *Rtsa-śe* = *Prajñā-mūla*, 4.
- Rtsod-pa zlog-pa = *Vigraha-vyāvartani*, 4.
- Mdzod-kyi lde-mig = *Prajñā-pāramitā-kośa-tāla*, 10.
- Žib-mo-rnam-thag = *Vaidalya-sūtra*, 4.
- Gśun-ḥgrel = *Paddhati*, 5, 12.
- Yum-ḥbum-pa, another title of *Stoñ-phrag-brgya-pa* = *Śatasāhasrikā*, 8.
- Ye-śes-snañ-ba-rgyan-gyi mdo = *Jñāna-śloka-ālamkāra-sūtra*, 99.
- Rab-rtsal rnam-rnon-gyis ŋus-pa = *Suvikrānta-vikrami-pariprechā*, 8.
- Rin-chen-sgron-ma = *Ratna-pradīpa* = *Phar-phyin skabs-brgyad-ka*, q. v., 3.
- Rin-chen-phreñ-ba = *Ratnāvali*, 4.
- Rigs-pa drug-cu-pa = *Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā*, 4.
- Lam-sgron = *Bodhi-patha-pradīpa*, 14.
- Lam-rim-chen-mo, 14, 17 (quotations from *Samdhinirmocana* and *Bhāvanākrama* regarding *śamaiha* and *vipaśyanā*), 90 (on the *Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-Svātantrikas*).
- Luñ-gi sñe-ma = *Āgama-mañjari*, Comm. on the *Abhisamayālamkāra* and the *Sphuṭārthā* (q. v.) by Bu-ton (Bu-ston), 2, 5, 87.
- Le-brgyad-ma, Summary of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* with explanations in correspondence with the *Abhisamayālamkāra*, by Haribhadra (Tg. MDO. III, IV, V), 9.
- Legs-bśad-sñiñ-po, of Tsoñ-kha-pa, 5 (arguments for denying the authorship of Nāgārjuna in regard of the *Akuto-bhaya*), 92, 94, 95, 98.
- Legs-bśad gser-phreñ, abbr. *Gser-phreñ*, q. v.
- Śes-rab-khri-pa = *Daśasāhasrikā*, 8.
- Śes-rab-sñiñ-po (Śer-sñiñ) = *Prajñā-hṛdaya* (*Bhagavati-prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya*), 8.
- Śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi man-ḥag-gi bstan-bcos Mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyan = *Abhisamayālamkāra-nāma Prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra*, 1.
- Śer-phyin-bśdus-don-sgron-ma = *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha-pradīpa*, 11.
- Sa-sde (lña), the 5 divisions of the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi* of Asaṅga (cf. Bu-ton, Transl. vol. I, p. 55 and 56), 96.
- Sa-lam-gyi rnam-gśag Mkhas-paḥi yid-ḥphrog, manual on the Teaching of the Path by Mkhas-grub (Khai-ḥub), 14, passim.
- Sa-lam-gyi rnam-gśag Theg-pa gsum-gyi mdzes-rgyan, manual on the Teaching of the Path by Dkon-mchog Hjigs-med-baḥ-po, 14, passim.
- Sum-brgya-pa = *Triśatikā*, 8.
- Sum-cu-pa = *Triṣatikā*, 96.
- Gser-phreñ (full title Śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-paḥi man-ḥag-gi bstan-bcos Mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi rgyan ḥgrel-pa dan-bcas-paḥi rgya-cher-bśad-pa Legs-bśad gser-gyi phreñ-ba, or: Legs-bśad-gser-phreñ, Comm. on the *Abhisam.* and the *Sphuṭārthā* (q. v.) by Tsoñ-kha-pa, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 23, 39, 40, 71, 86, 87, 88, 92.
- Gśun-ḥbum, full collection of works (of Tsoñ-kha-pa, Rgyal-tshab, &c.), 2.
- Lha-mo Dpal-phreñ señ-geḥi sgrahi mdo = *Śrī-mālā-devi-siṃhanāda-sūtra*, 99.



## Authors and Schools.

## A) Indian.

- Abhayākara-gupta = Hjiags-med hbyun-gnas sbas-pa, 10, 11.
- Avalokitavratā = Spyān-ras-gzigs brtul-zugs, 4.
- Asaṅga, see Ārya Asaṅga.
- Ārya Asaṅga = Hphags-pa Thogs-med, 12, 13, 90, 91, 93, 100.
- Āryadeva = Hphags-pa-lha, 4.
- Ārya Vimuktasena = Hphags-pa Rnam-grol-sde, 5, 9, 12, 13, 90.
- Eka-yāna-naya-vādinah = Theg-pa geig-gi tshul-du smra-ba, the adherents of the theory of the Unique Vehicle, viz. that the ultimate Path and Nirvāṇa is only one, i.e. that of the Buddha, and that the Hīnayānistic Nirvāṇa is only a state of temporary pacification, 29 (mentioned in the Abhis. śloka).
- Kaśalaśīla, 17.
- Kumāraśribhadra, 11.
- Candrakīrti = Zla-ba-grags-pa, 5.
- Triratnadāsa = Dkon-mchog gsam-gyi hbañs, Commentator of the Prajñā-pāramitā-artha-saṃgraha of Dignāga, 5.
- Damṣṭrāsena = Meche-baḥi sde, 5, 12.
- Dignāga = Phyogs-kyi glañ-po or Phyogs-glañ, 5.
- Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (Atīśa), 11, 14.
- Dharmakīrtiśīri from Suvarṇadvīpa = Gser-gliñ-pa, 11.
- Dharmamitra = Chos-kyi bśes-gñen or Mādhyamika Dharmamitra = Dbu-ma-pa Chos-kyi bśes-gñen, 11.
- Dharmaśrī, 10.
- Nāgārjuna = Klu-sgrub, 4, 6, 7, 29, 30 (is an Eka-yāna-naya-vādin), 92, 98.
- Prāsaṅgika = Mādhyamika-Prāsaṅgika, q. v.
- Buddhapālita = Sañs-rgyas-bskyañs, 5.
- Buddhaśrījñāna, 10, 11.
- Bhadanta-Vimuktasena = Btsun-pa Rnam-grol-sde, 5, 9, 12, 13.
- Bhāvariveka = Legs-ldan-hbyed, 5.
- Mādhyamika = Dbu-ma-ba, 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 33, 90.
- Mādhyamika-Prāsaṅgika = Dbu-ma thal-hgyur-ba, 29 (maintain the theory of the *eka-yāna*), 90, 100.
- Mādhyamika-Svātantrika = Dbu-ma rañ-rgyud-pa, 29 (maintain the theory of the *eka-yāna*).
- Yaśomitra, 13, 22, 25, 26.
- Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-svātantrika = Rnal-hbyor-spyod-paḥi Dbu-ma rañ-rgyud-pa, 13 (Haribhadra is a representative of this school), 90.
- Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, 6, 12, 13, 32 (on the Hīnayānistic Arhats who cannot attain Buddhahood), 90, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 100.
- Ratnakīrti, 11.
- Ratnākaraśānti = Rin-chen-hbyun-gnas zi-ba, or Śānti-pa, 9, 10.
- Vasubandhu = Dbyig-gñen, 5, 12, 13, 96, 97.
- Vijñānavādin, see Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda.
- Vedānta, 32 (the Ved. teaching of the *jīva* is similar to the Mahāyān. theory of *gotra* or *dhātu*).
- Vaibhāṣikas = Bye-brag-tu-smra-ba, or Bye-smra-ba, 41.
- Śāntirakṣita = Zi-ba-hiṣho, quoted in the Comm. on the three Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras ascr. to Damṣṭrāsena, 5, 90 (is the founder of the Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-Svātantrika school).
- Śūnyavādin = Mādhyamikas, 90.
- Śhīrapāla or Trilokṣa = Hbum-phrag-

- gsum-pa, 10 (denies the authorship of Haribhadra in regard of the Samcaya-gāthā-pañjikā Subodhini).  
 Svāntarika = Mādhyamika-Svāntarika, q.v.  
 Smṛtijñānakīrti, 10.  
 Haribhadra = Señ-ge bzan-po, 2, 9, 10, 12, 13, &c.

## B) Tibetan

(incl. names of Monasteries and Monastic Sections).

- Dkon-mchog Hjigs-med-dbañ-po (Kön-chog Jig-med-vañ-po), 14.  
 Bkra-śis chos-ḥphel-gliñ, the Tsugol Monastery of Transbaikalia, 3.  
 Khu-luñ Dgañ-ldan-chos-ḥkhor-gliñ, Gu-sinoozersky Monastery of Transbaikalia, 14.  
 Mkhas-grub (Khai-ḡub) Dge-legs dpal-bzañ-po, 3, 4, 14, 96.  
 Dgañ-ldan dar-rgyas-gliñ, the Chitutai Monastery of Transbaikalia, 3.  
 Dge-lugs-pa (Ge-lug-pa), Sections of, 3.  
 Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen, 2, 14.  
 Ņog Lo-dan Śei-rab (Rñog Blo-ldan Śes-rab), translator of the Abhisamayālamkāra, 10 (denies the authorship of Haribhadra in regard of the Samcaya-gāthā-pañjikā Subodhini).  
 Hjam-dbyaṅs-bzad-pa (Jam-yañ-zad-pa), author of the Ratna-pradīpa and founder of the Sgo-maṅ (Go-maṅ) school. (His proper name was Ņag-dbañ brtson-ḡrus), 3, 64, 90, 99.  
 Rje-btsun (Byams-pa) = Bhaṭṭāraka Ma-treya, 95, 97.  
 Thogs-med-sku-mched, the brothers Asanga and Vasubandhu, 96.  
 Bde-chen lhun-grub-gliñ, the Aga Monastery of Transbaikalia, 2.  
 Bu-ton (Bu-ston) Rin-chen-ḡub (grub), 2.  
 Bod śha-ma-pa, the early Tib. authors previous to Tsoñ-kha-pa, 8.  
 Bla-brañ (Labrañ), 2.  
 Blo-bzañ dkon-mchog, Commentator on the Grub-mthah, 99.  
 Blo-gsal-gliñ (Lo-sā-liñ), section of the Brā-buñ (or: Dā-puñ = Hbras-spuñs) Monastery, 3.  
 Tsoñ-kha-pa (Blo-bzañ-grags-pa = Sumatī-kīrti), 2, 4, 5, 6 (refutes the opinion of the early Tib. authors regarding the four fundamental interpretations of Prajñā-pāramitā), 12.  
 Tsho-mchog-gliñ, Monastery in Tibet, 17, 90.  
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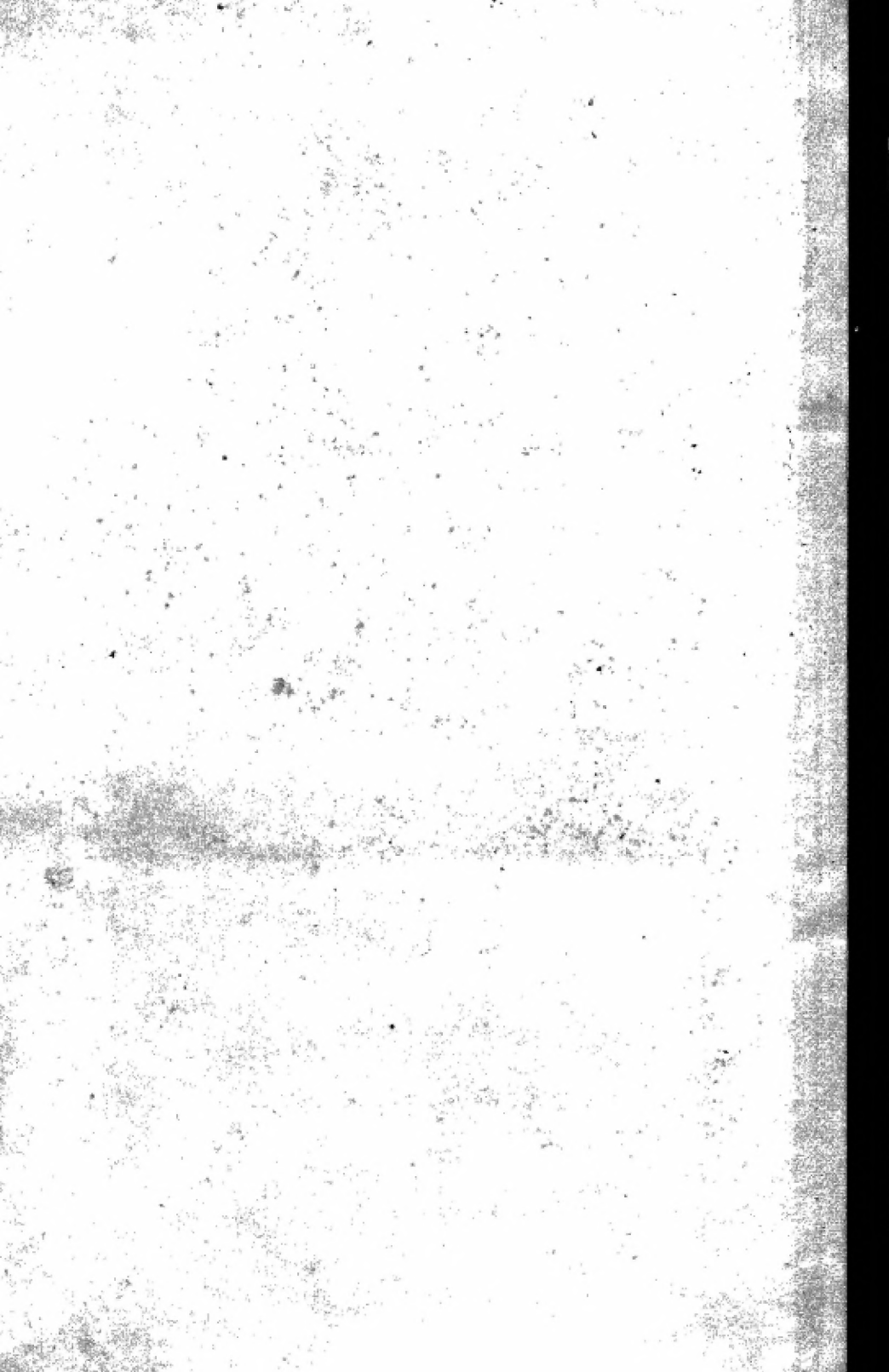
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